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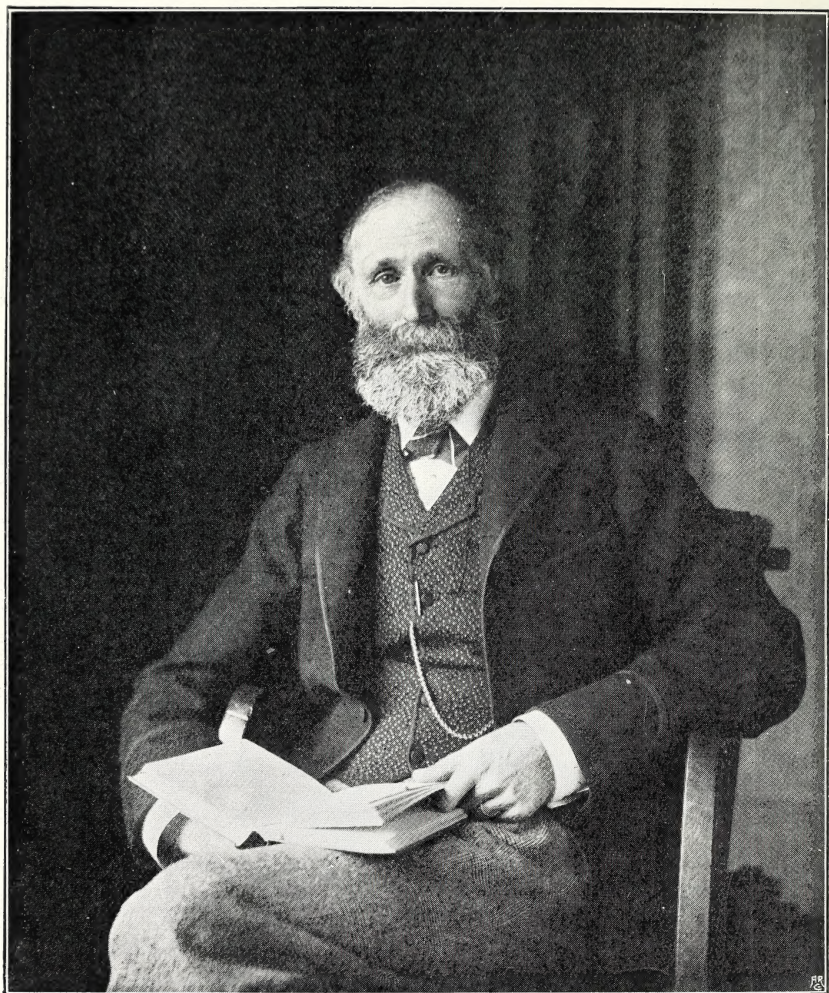
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JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN,

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PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND, 1903-5.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

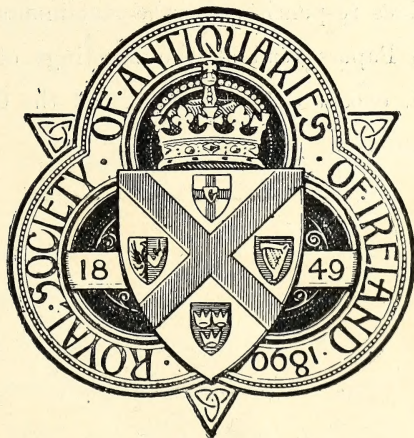
The Royal Historical and Archæological Association
OF IRELAND

FOUNDED, IN 1849, AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society

VOL. XXXIV.—CONSECUTIVE SERIES

[VOL. XIV.—FIFTH SERIES]



1904

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THE COUNCIL wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.

P R E F A C E.

FIFTEEN years ago the Society ventured to commence the publication of its *Journal* as a yearly volume. Doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of so ambitious an attempt, but after an experience of now fifteen years, it would appear to have been justified. It is an encouraging fact, that our Society has been more or less abundantly provided with material for its publications.

Within the same period four Annual Volumes have also appeared, with six Handbooks, based on those prepared for our excursions. That the latter are appreciated by the public is shown by the first four being now out of print.

Nor has another and very important branch of work been neglected. No year has passed without the Society visiting places of interest, often in the remotest and most inaccessible parts of the country. This was especially the case on the 1904 voyage, for, from only travelling by day, the party saw nearly all the finest features of the coast—the cliffs of Antrim, Donegal, and the noble heights at Broad Haven and Achill; the ramparts of rock at Dun Aenghus, Moher, and the Clare coast, which were seen to unusual advantage; the enormous hills and spiked headlands and islands of Kerry; the creeks and bays of Cork,

and the familiar mountains of Wicklow. The interesting district round Tuam was selected as a centre for the year's Summer Excursion.

To turn to the recorded work of the year in the volume now concluded—in Prehistoric Archæology and field antiquities, other than ecclesiastical, may first be noted several short articles in the "Miscellanea." Perhaps the most important is the illustrated account, by Mr. George Coffey, of Stone Celts and Food Vessels found in the County of Monaghan in 1866, and now in Mr. Day's Collection. The importance of a find, including so good an example of Neolithic Pottery along with stone implements, needs no comment.

Bullaun-stones, in the County of Clare, are described by Miss G. C. Stacpoole; the Dolmen of Clontygora, by Mr. T. Hall; several Earthen Forts near Bodyke, County of Clare, by Mr. T. J. Westropp; and the Ballindangan Gallaun in County of Cork, by Canon Courtenay Moore. The question of the origin and age of the Fethard and Baginbun Inscriptions is again discussed by Mr. Goddard Orpen and Mr. W. H. Lynn.

A contribution to the Volume from the pen of the late Rev. George R. Buick, LL.D.—on the interesting "Daff Stone" Cist near Moneydig, is well illustrated by Mr. S. K. Kirker. It is one of the few scribed cists outside East and West Meath. Several Forts, Souterrains, and Dolmens are noted or described in the account of the Society's visit to Tuam and its neighbourhood, and in the Papers arising therefrom.

Owing to the decision to publish the account of the Cruise around the Irish Coast as a separate Handbook, only a brief itinerary, by Mr. Cochrane, is embodied in the *Journal*.

On Defensive and Residential Buildings, will be found the conclusion of Mr. Westropp's Paper on Askeaton, giving a full account of its Castle. A Paper on Irish Motes and Early Norman Castles, by the same author, opens the question how far the views of certain English Antiquaries as to the exclusively Norman origin of the high motes applies to Ireland. The Bronze Age finds of implements and urn-burials not only in the "mount," but even in the "bailey," and rings of undoubtedly residential complex motes, and the numerous and unmistakable records of motes by pre-Norman writers, leave (for Ireland at least) the belief in the early origin of many high motes untouched. Mr. H. Grattan Flood treats of the origin and early history of the Castle of Enniscorthy in the thirteenth century.

Of Ecclesiastical History and Remains, Mr. Henry F. Berry carefully examines the history and scattered ruins of Kilcomenty Church, in the north of the County of Tipperary, with its remarkable well and bullauns. The folk-lore of the neighbouring Bird Hill is very curious. Mr. Cochrane gives the first full description of Abbey Knockmoy, a fine Cistercian House, and its curious Fresco Drawings. He also describes and figures the Round Tower and other remains at Kilmacduach. All these monuments are further elucidated in Papers

by Mr. J. A. Glynn and the Very Rev. Dr. Fahey, the latter the historian of the Diocese of Kilmacduach, the seat of the famous St. Colman mac Duach. Dr. Costello and Mr. R. J. Kelly also contribute Papers on the Antiquities of Tuam and the district around.

The recent entire demolition of the South Wall of Kiltoola Church, County of Clare, by the local authorities, should warn Antiquaries to use great vigilance in keeping the Society informed as to any such future intended "conservations."

Taking the Papers implying historical research in the order of time, comes Mr. Westropp's Paper on Motes and Castles, collecting the history relating to these structures from the days of King Laoghaire to those of King Edward I., and the Norman "encastling" of Ireland.

Mr. Orpen's contributions on the landing of the English under Raymond le Gros at Baginbun, and the fateful Battle of Dundonnell, belong to the critical period of the first Anglo-Norman Settlements of the late twelfth century. He considers the Baginbun Stone as an actual relic of the invaders; but this idea is traversed, at the close of the volume, by Mr. Lynn.

The President's study of the M^cCragh Monument at Lismore brings out some interesting account of the career of the versatile Miler Magrath, Roman Catholic Bishop of Down, and Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, simultaneously; indeed, for some years he was probably a singular phenomenon even for that unsettled period.

Mr. Langrishe gives in his interesting Paper on the Bouchier Tablet in Kilkenny a valuable story of a family of the "Old Englishry" in Ireland during the later Middle Ages down to the end of the sixteenth century, with some very interesting studies in Irish Heraldry. The conclusion of Mr. Westropp's Paper on Askeaton deals mainly with the same period, and brings out the interesting fact of the vitality of the Franciscan monks—the list of Guardians being practically unbroken from 1714 to 1872.

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald goes at some length into the history of the march of the Earl of Essex, in 1599, through Queen's County, and his sharp contest in forcing the Pass of Barnaglitty, as the defile of Cashel came to be called from the plumes of the combatants.

Largely to the same and the following century belong the extracts from the records of Cork, published by Colonel Lunham, and those of Cashel by Dr. Laffan. The former extend from 1644 to 1755; the latter, however, include a series of older documents from 1230 to 1640.

Mr. Wardell gives an elaborate study of the History and Antiquities of St. Catherine's Old Abbey, in the County of Limerick, during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods. Mr. Westropp describes and illustrates the Conventual Buildings.

Mr. M'Enery's Paper on the Siege of Limerick gives the long-promised publication of a contemporary account—a diary—of 1642. It is a document of the

greatest interest. The Author's perface is a just and thoughtful summary of the causes and grievances which led up to the great uprising of the Irish and Old English in 1641. The humanity of the Confederate Catholics to the garrison is well shown by the diarist, whose name is unfortunately unknown. He was a relation of the Stephensons.

Mr. Herbert Wood's Paper, "Addison's Connexion with Ireland," tells a chapter of Irish history under the rule of the last Stuart Queen, between 1708 and 1714. It gives a vivid picture of Governmental circles in Dublin at a time when even Irish-born Englishmen were not considered "safe" candidates for office. Among the many points of interest in the Paper, a glimpse is got of the Record Office of those days, as undervalued and inaccessible, so unlike the institution which nowadays has furnished so many of the workers of the Society. To the Cromwellian period belongs the struggle in Clonegal, well described by Canon French, with interesting notes on the Antiquities of the surrounding country.

Last in time come the Papers on the Judges and Courts of Ireland in 1739, by Mr. Elrington Ball and Mr. Richard J. Kelly. Mr. Ball has elaborately studied the personal history of these officials, and continues the official history of Dublin almost from the time treated by Mr. Wood, far into the years of the present dynasty.

Thus the volume given to the Society this year

touches more or less on the history of Ireland from its dawn—for the fact that a Latin writer of the third century mentions the books and philosophers of the Irish is noted—to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Family and Personal History is not unrepresented, for, among the Papers noted above, the families of McGrath, the Earls of Desmond, O'Heynes, Stephensons, Berkeleys, Taylors, and Bouchiers get much notice. Various Irish Statesmen and Judges are brought vividly before us in the Papers by Mr. Ball, Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Wood; and in the interesting note, by Brother Dillon Cosgrave, o.c.c., on Clonliffe. The Index, as for some years past, has been compiled by Mr. Westropp.

ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

31st December, 1904.

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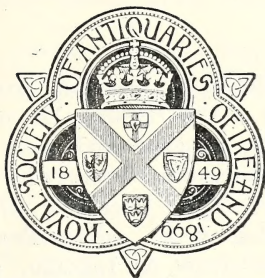
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WITH

LIST OF OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1904,

AND

GENERAL RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

THIS Society, instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with Ireland, was founded as THE KILKENNY ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY in 1849. Her late Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, on December 27th, 1869, was graciously pleased to order that it be called THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND, and was further pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND on 25th March, 1890.

The Society holds four General Meetings in each year, in Dublin and in the several Provinces of Ireland, when Papers on Historical and Archæological subjects are read, Fellows and Members elected, Objects of Antiquity exhibited, and Excursions made to places of Antiquarian interest. The Council meets monthly, at 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. Evening Meetings of the Society are also held monthly in Dublin during the Winter. Honorary Provincial and Local Secretaries are appointed, whose duty it is to inform the Hon. Secretary of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their Districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of any injury inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, and Ancient Memorials of the Dead.

The PUBLICATIONS of the Society comprise the *Journal* and the "Extra Volume" Series. The "Antiquarian Handbook" Series was commenced in 1895, of which five sets have been published.

The *Journal*, now issued Quarterly, from the year 1849 to 1904, inclusive, forming thirty-four Volumes (royal 8vo), with more than 2000 Illustrations, contains a great mass of information on the History and Antiquities of Ireland.

The following Volumes are now out of print:—First Series, Vols. I. (1849–51) and III. (1854–55); New Series, Vols. I. (1856–57) and III. (1860–61); Fourth Series, Vols. IV. (1876–78), VIII. (1887–88), and IX. (1889). Of the remaining Volumes, those for 1870–1885 can be supplied to Members at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd

Parts, included in some of the Volumes out of print, can be supplied at an average of 3s. each. Part I. of the Fifth Series (1890) is out of print; the other Parts of this, the present Series, can be had for 3s. each.

The Extra Volumes are supplied to all Fellows, on the roll at date of issue, free, and may be obtained by Members, at the prices fixed by the Council.

The Extra Volume Series consists of the following Works:—

1853.—“*Vita S. Kannechi, a codice in bibliotheca Burgundiana extante Bruxellis transcripta, et cum codice in bibliotheca Marsiana Dublinii adservato collata.*” Edited by the Most Hon. John, second Marquis of Ormonde. 100 copies presented by him to the Members of the Society. (*Out of print.*)

1855 and 1858.—Parts I. and II. of “*Social State of S.E. Counties*” as below.

1865–7.—“*Observations in a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland: being a collection of several Monuments, Inscriptions, Draughts of Towns, Castles, &c.* By Thomas Dineley (or Dingley), Gent., in the Year 1681.” From the original ms. in the possession of Sir T. E. Winington, Bart., Stanford Court. Profusely illustrated by fac-simile engravings of the original drawings of Castles, Churches, Abbeys, Monuments, &c. Price of issue, £1 10s. (*Out of print.*)

1868–9.—“*Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth Century: being the Presentments of the Gentlemen, Commonalty, and Citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, made in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.*” From the originals in the Public Record Office, London. Edited by Herbert F. Hore and Rev. James Graves, M.R.I.A. Price of issue, £1. (*Out of print.*)

1870–8.—“*Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language.*” From the earliest known to the end of the twelfth century. Chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, Esq. With Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive Letterpress. Illustrated by 107 plates and numerous woodcuts. Edited, with an Introductory Essay, by M. Stokes; revised by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D. 8 Parts in 2 Vols. Price of issue, £4. Price to Members, 10s., for Parts I., II., III., IV., VI., and VII.

1888–9.—“*Rude Stone Monuments of the County Sligo and the Island of Achill.*” With 209 Illustrations. By Colonel Wood-Martin. (*Out of print.*)

1890–1.—“*Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337–46, with the Middle English Moral Play, The Pride of Life.*” From the original in the Christ Church Collection in the Public Record Office, Dublin. With fac-simile of the ms. Edited, with Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by James Mills, M.R.I.A. Price to Members, 10s.

1892.—“*Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inismurray.*” By W. F. Wakeman, Hon. Fellow of the Society; Author of “*A Handbook of Irish Antiquities,*” &c. With a Preface by James Mills, M.R.I.A. 84 Illustrations. (*Out of print.*)

1893–5.—“*The Annals of Clonmacnoise*”: being Annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408, translated into English A.D. 1627, by Connell Mageoghagan, and now for the first time printed. Edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Vice-President of the Society. Price 10s.

1896–7.—“*The Register of the Diocese of Dublin in the times of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1467–1483.*” Edited by Henry F. Berry, M.A. 10s.

1898–1901.—“*The Index to the first 19 Volumes of the Journal of the Society, 1849–1899,*” forming Vol. XX. of the Consecutive Series. Parts I., II., and III., complete, 10s.

The following is in course of preparation as an Extra Volume:—

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31st December, 1904.

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1896	1899	BALL, Francis Elrington , M.R.I.A., J.P., Wilton-place, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1899; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1904.)
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	1879	BARTER, Rev. John Berkeley , M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S.I., F.R.Z.S.I. 21, Via Assietta, Corso Re Umberto, Turin, Italy.
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	1898	Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart., M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L., Bellingham Castle, Castlebellingham.
1889	1900	Berry, Henry F., I.S.O., M.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 51, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
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	1898	Brooke, Rev. Stopford A., M.A. 1, Manchester-square, London, W.
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	1887	BROWNE, William James , M.A. (Lond.), M.R.I.A., Inspector of Schools. 5, Crawford-square, Londonderry.
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1888	1889	Drew, Sir Thomas, P.R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A. Gortnadrew, Almaroad, Monkstown, Co. Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1889-1894, 1897; <i>President</i> , 1894-1897.)
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1869	1888	Moran, His Eminence Cardinal, D.D., M.R.I.A. Archbishop of Sydney, New South Wales. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1888-1896.)
	1897	Murphy, J. H. Burke. The Agency, Cultra, Holywood, Co. Down.
1889	1889	MURPHY , Michael M., M.R.I.A. Troyes Wood, Kilkenny.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
1888	1890	Norman, George, M.D. 12, Brock-street, Bath.
1877	1889	O'BRIEN, William, M.A., LL.D. 4, Kildare-street, Dublin.
1892	1893	* O'Connell, John Robert, M.A., LL.D. Ard Einin, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1869	1888	O'Connor Don, The Right Hon. LL.D., M.R.I.A., H.M.L. Clonalis, Castlereagh. <i>Patron.</i> (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1886-1897 and 1900-1904; <i>President</i> , 1897-1899; <i>Honorary President</i> , 1900.)
1887	1890	O'Donovan, The, M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L. Liss Ard, Skibbereen. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1894.)
1869	1895	O'Lavery, Right Rev. Monsignor, P.P., M.R.I.A. Holywood, Co. Down. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1896-1900 and 1902.)
	1890	O'NEILL, His Excellency The, Comte de Tyrone, (Grand Officier de la maison du Roi). 59, Rua das Flores, Lisbon, Portugal.
	1890	O'NEILL, Hon. Robert Torrens, M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L., M.P. Tullymore Lodge, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
	1895	O'REILLY, Rev. Hugh, M.R.I.A. St. Colman's Seminary, Newry.
1894	1898	O'Reilly, Patrick J. 7, North Earl-street, Dublin.
1885	1888	*** O'Rorke, Very Rev. Terence, D.D., M.R.I.A., P.P., Archdeacon of Achonry. Church of the Assumption, Collooney.
	1889	ORMSBY, Charles C., M.I.C.E.I. District Engineer's Office, M.G.W. Railway, Galway.
	1894	O'Shaughnessy, Richard, B.A., C.B., M.V.O., Barrister-at-Law. 3, Wilton-place, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1904.)
	1889	OWEN, Edward. India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.
	1875	Palmer, Charles Colley, J.P., D.L. Rahan, Edenderry.
	1903	Peacock, Dr. Charles James, D.D.I. 57, Queen's-road, Tunbridge Wells.
1867	1888	Perceval, John James, J.P. Slaney View, Wexford.
	1892	Perceval-Maxwell, Robert, J.P., D.L. Finnebrogue, Downpatrick.
	1873	Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S. 5, Carlton-terrace, Oakley-street, London, S.W.
	1888	Plunkett, George Noble, Count, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
	1896	Plunkett, Countess. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
1889	1890	Polson, Thomas R. J., M.R.I.A. Wellington-place, Enniskillen.
1889	1893	Pope, Peter A. New Ross.
	1872	Prichard, Rev. Hugh, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.) Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey.
	1902	RATH-MERRILL, Mrs. M. E. 80, North Weiner-avenue, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
1894	1894	* Robinson, Andrew, C.E., Board of Works. 116, St. Laurence-road, Clontarf.
	1894	* Robinson, Rev. Stanford F. H., M.A. 17, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
1880	1888	Rushe, Denis Carolan, B.A., Solicitor. Far-Meehul, Monaghan.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1898	SAUNDERSON, Rev. Robert de Bedick , M.A. (Dubl.). 46, Bellevue-road, Ramsgate.
	1891	Scott, William Robert, M.A. (Dubl.), D. PHIL. 4, Murray-place, St. Andrews, N.B., and Lisnamallard, Omagh.
	1904	Shallard, L. Stafford, F.R.H.S., F.N.A.M. Lydenhurst, Camden-road, North; and King's College, London.
	1896	Shaw, Sir Frederick W., Bart., J.P., D.L. Bushy Park, Terenure.
	1892	Sheehan, Most Rev. Richard Alphonsus, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Bishop's House, John's Hill, Waterford. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1896-1899 and 1901-1904.)
	1892	Smiley, Sir Hugh Houston, Bart., D.L. Drumalis, Larne.
1875	1875	* Smith, Joseph, M.R.I.A. Hood-lane, Sankey Bridge, Warrington.
	1873	Smith, Worthington G., F.L.S., M.A.I. 121, High-street, Dunstable, Beds.
1892	1902	Somerville, Bellingham Arthur. Clermont, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow.
	1903	Stapley, Sir Harry, Bart. Egypt Cottage, Cowes, Isle of Wight.
	1894	Stevenson, George A., M.V.O., Commissioner of Public Works, Custom House, Dublin.
1898	1902	Stokes, Henry J. Rookstown, Howth; and 24, Clyde-road, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1903.)
1890	1890	Stoney, Rev. Robert Baker, M.A., D.D., Canon. Holy Trinity Rectory, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
	1904	Strangways, Leonard Richard, M.A., M.R.I.A. Merton, Cullenswood, Co. Dublin.
1895	1902	Strangeways, William N. Lismore; 17, Queen's-avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.
1885	1888	Stubbs, Major-General Francis William, J.P. 2, Clarence-terrace, St. Luke's, Cork. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1901.)
1890	1900	STUBBS, William Cotter , M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 28, Hatch-street, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1900-1902.)
1892	1893	Swan, Joseph Percival. 22, Charleville-road, N.C.R., Dublin.
	1898	Tallon, Daniel. 136, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
	1900	Tate-Stoate, Rev. W. M., M.A., M.R.I.A. Pebworth Vicarage, near Stratford-on-Avon.
	1893	Tenison, Charles Mac Carthy, M.R.I.A. Barrister-at-Law J.P. Hobart, Tasmania.
	1904	Thorp, John Thomas, LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S. 57, Regent-road, Leicester.
	1892	Tighe, Edward Kenrick Bunbury, J.P., D.L. Woodstock, Inistoge.
	1893	* Uniacke, R. G. Fitz Gerald, B.A. (Oxon.). Schopwick-place, Elstree, Herts.
1896	1899	Upton, Henry Arthur Shuckburgh, J.P. Coolatore, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
1884	1890	Vinycumb, John, M.R.I.A. Riverside, Holywood, Co. Down.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
1874	1888	WARD, Francis Davis , M.R.I.A., J.P. 59, Botanic-avenue, Belfast.
	1891	Ward, John, F.S.A., J.P. Lenox Vale, Belfast.
1890	1897	Warren, the Rev. Thomas. Belmont, 29, Gipsy Hill, London, S.E.
1871	1871	Watson, Thomas. Ship Quay Gate, Londonderry.
1886	1893	WESTROPP, Thomas Johnson , M.A., C.E., M.R.I.A. 115, Strand-road, Sandymount, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1901.)
	1892	Wigham, John R., M.R.I.A., J.P. Albany House, Monks-town.
	1896	Windle, Bertram C. A., M.A., M.D., D.Sc. (Dubl.), F.R.S., President, Queen's College, Cork.
1889	1890	WOOLLCOMBE, Robert Lloyd , M.A., LL.D. (Dubl. Univ.); LL.D. Royal (Univ.); F.I.Inst., F.S.S., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
1887	1887	WRIGHT, Edward Perceval , M.D., M.A. (Dubl.); M.A. (Oxon.); M.R.I.A., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I., J.P., Professor of Botany. 5, Trinity College, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1899 and 1903; <i>President</i> , 1900-1902.)
	1903	Wyndham, Right Hon. George, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland. Chief Secretary's Lodge, Dublin.
1891	1891	Young, Robert Magill, B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., J.P. Rathvarna, Antrim-road, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1900 and 1904.)

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Elected 1902	Allen, J. Romilly, F.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). 28, Great Ormond-street, London, W.C.
1891	Avebury, Right Hon. Lord, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., M.P. High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.
1891	D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., Editor of <i>Revue Celtique</i> . 84, Boulevard Mont Parnasse, Paris.
1902	Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Dubl.), D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A. Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
1902	Montelius, Oscar, PH. D., Prof. at the Nat. Hist. Museum, Stockholm.
1891	Munro, Robert, M.A., M.D. (Hon. M.R.I.A.), Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 48, Manor-place, Edinburgh.
1891	Pigorini, Professor Luigi, Director of the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico Kircheriano, Rome.
1891	Rhys, John, M.A., D.Lit., Professor of Celtic, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Life Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	42
Honorary Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Annual Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	132
Total 31st December, 1904,	..	..	..	..	..	..	182

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

(Revised 31st December, 1904.)

A star [*] preceding a name denotes that the Subscription for 1904 was unpaid on 31st December, 1904; two stars denote that the Subscriptions for 1903 and 1904 are unpaid; and three stars that the Member owes for three years.

The Names of those who have paid the Life Composition, and are Life Members, are printed in heavy-faced type. (See Rules 4, 8, and 9, page 39.)

Elected	
1893	* Abbott, Rev. Canon, M.A. The Rectory, Tullow, Co. Carlow.
1896	Acheson, John, J.P. Dunavon, Portadown.
1898	Adams, Rev. William Alexander, B.A. The Manse, Antrim.
1901	Adams, Walton. Reading, England.
1892	Alcorn, James Gunning, Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 2, Kildare-place, Dublin.
1887	Alexander, Thomas John, M.A., LL.D. 1, Bellevue Park, Military-road, Cork.
1900	Allen, C. F., 2 Newtown-villas, Rathfarnham.
1903	Allen, Mrs. Ailsa Lodge, Kilrane, Co. Wexford.
1890	Allingham, Hugh, M.R.I.A. The Mall, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal.
1891	Alment, Rev. William F., B.D. Drakestown Rectory, Navan.
1890	Alton, J. Poë (Fellow, Inst. of Bankers). Elim, Grosvenor-road, Dublin.
1894	Anderson, William, J.P. Glenarvon, Merion, Co. Dublin.
1891	Andrews, James Thomas, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 36, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
1896	Annaly, The Lady. Holdenby House, Northamptonshire.
1897	Archdall, Right Rev. Mervyn, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe, &c. Clarisford, Killaloe.
1902	Archer, Miss Brenda E. The Rectory, Ballybunion, Co. Kerry, and Roslyn, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
1891	* Archer, Rev. James Edward, B.D. 4, Hillside-terrace, Glen-road, Belfast.
1894	Ardagh, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. The Vicarage, Finglas.
1868	Ardilaun, Rt. Hon. Lord, M.A., M.R.I.A. St. Anne's, Clontarf.
1900	Armstrong, Geo. Temple, Solicitor. 35, Victoria-street, Belfast.
1880	Atkins, W. Ringrose. 39, South Mall, Cork.
1890	Atkinson, Rev. E. Dupre, LL.B. (Cantab.). Donagheloney, Waringstown.
1894	Babington, Rev. Richard, M.A. Rectory, Moville.
1895	Badham, Miss. St. Margaret's Hall, Mespil-road, Dublin.
1890	Baile, Robert, M.A. Ranelagh School, Athlone.
1893	Bailey, William F., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 62, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
1894	Baillie, Col. John R., M.R.I.A., J.P. Strabane, Co. Tyrone.
1897	*Bain, Major Andrew, R.E., D.I., R.I.C. Newcastle West, Co. Limerick.
1897	Baker, Samuel. The Knowle, Howth.
1898	**Ball, H. Houston. South Lawn, Bishop's Stortford.
1885	Ballard, Rev. John Woods. 21, South-parade, Ballynaveigh, Belfast.
1888	Ballintine, Joseph, J.P. Strand, Londonderry.
1890	Banim, Miss Mary. Greenfield, Dalkey.
1890	**Bardan, Patrick. Coralsdown, Killucan.
1903	* Barkley, Dr. James. Maghera, Co. Derry.
1893	Barrett, John, B.A. Mount Massey House, Macroon.

Elected

- 1889 Barrington, Sir Charles Burton, Bart., M.A. (Dubl.), J.P., D.L. Glenstal Castle, Co. Limerick.
- 1868 **BARRINGTON-WARD, Mark James**, M.A., S.C.L. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S., F.L.S. Thorneioe Lodge, Worcester.
- 1890 Barry, Rev. Michael, P.P. Ballylanders, Knocklong, Co. Limerick.
- 1877 Barry, James Grene, D.L. Sandville House, Ballynuty, Co. Limerick.
- 1894 Battley, Colonel D'Oyly, J.P. Belvedere Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
- 1902 Bayly, Colonel W. H. Debsborough, Nenagh.
- 1891 Beardwood, Right Rev. J. Camillus, Abbot of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea.
- 1904 Beary, Michael, Borough Surveyor. Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
- 1898 Beater, George Palmer. Minore, St. Kevin's Park, Upper Rathmines.
- 1903 Beatty, Arthur W. 54, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
- 1883 **BEATTY, Samuel**, M.A., M.B., M.Ch. Craigatin, Pitlochrie, N.B.
- 1888 Beaumont, Thos., M.D., Dep. Surg.-Gen. Palmerston House, Palmerston Park, Upper Rathmines.
- 1892 Beazley, Rev. James, P.P. Tuosist, Kenmare.
- 1891 Beere, D. M., C.E. G. P. O., Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1893 Begley, Rev. John, C.C. St. Munchins, Co. Limerick.
- 1902 ****Behan, Rev. W. J.**, C.C. Killeentierna, Farranfore.
- 1898 Bell, Thomas William, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Philipstown, Dundalk.
- 1902 Bellew, the Hon. Mrs. Jenkinstown Park, Kilkenny.
- 1903 Bennet, Mrs. 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Bennett, Joseph Henry. Blair Castle, Cork.
- 1889 **BERESFORD, Denis R. Pack**, J.P., D.L. Fenagh House, Bagenalstown.
- 1884 Beresford, George De La Poer, J.P., D.L. Ovenden, Sundridge, Sevenoaks.
- 1895 Beresford, Rev. Canon, M.A. Inistioge Rectory, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1895 Bergin, William, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy. Queen's College, Cork.
- 1888 Bernard, Walter, F.R.C.P. 14, Queen-street, Derry.
- 1897 Bestick, Robert. 5, Frankfort-avenue, Rathgar.
- 1890 Bewley, Joseph. 8, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
- 1901 Bewley, Dr. H. T. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
- 1901 Bewley, Mrs. S. Knapton House, Kingstown.
- 1897 Biddulph, Lieut.-Col., Middleton W., J.P. Rathrobin, Tullamore, King's County.
- 1896 ****Bigger, Frederic Charles**. Ardrie, Antrim-road, Belfast.
- 1901 Black, Joseph. 24, William-street, Sligo.
- 1902 Blake, The Lady. Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Co. Cork.
- 1896 Blake, Mrs. Temple Hill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1904 Blake, Martin J. 13, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
- 1900 Bleakley, John T. Avenue-road, Lurgan.
- 1904 Bøedicker, Dr. Birr Castle Observatory, Birr, King's Co.
- 1902 Boland, John, M.P. 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
- 1893 Bolton, Charles Perceval, J.P. Brook Lodge, Halfway House, Waterford.
- 1899 Bolton, Miss Anna. Rathenny, Cloughjordan.
- 1903 Boothman, Chas. T., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Clarinda-park, W., Kingstown.
- 1903 Boothman, Mrs. Chas. T. 14, Clarinda-park, W., Kingstown.
- 1894 Bouchier, Henry James, C.I., R.I.C. Melbrooke, Clonmel.
- 1889 *****Bourke, Rev. John Hamilton**, M.A. The Parade, Kilkenny.
- 1889 Bowen, Henry Cole, M.A., J.P., Barrister-at-Law. Bowen's Court, Mallow.
- 1858 Bowers, Thomas. Cloncunny House, Piltown.
- 1904 Bowes, Mrs. E. R. Tara View, Castletown, Gorey, Co. Wexford.
- 1894 Boyd, J. St. Clair, M.D. Chateworth, Belfast.
- 1903 Boyle, Rev. Henry, P.P. Mount St. Michael, Randalstown.
- 1904 Brady, Sir Francis William, Bart. 26, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin.
- 1891 Bray, John B. Cassin. 56, Grosvenor-road, Rathmines.
- 1889 Brennan, James, R.H.A., M.R.I.A., 140, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
- 1883 Brennan, Rev. Samuel Arthur, B.A. Strand House, Cushendun, Co. Antrim.
- 1892 Brereton, Fleet-Surgeon R. W. The Rectory, Camolin, Co. Wexford.
- 1891 Bridge, William, M.A., Solicitor. Roscrea.

- Elected
- 1892 Brien, Mrs. C. H. 4, Palmerston Park, Upper Rathmines.
- 1895 Briscoe, Algernon Fetherstonhaugh, J.P. Curristown, Killucan.
- 1891 **BRODIGAN, Mrs.** Piltown House, Drogheda.
- 1904 Brodrick, Hon. Albinia L. District Infirmary, Ashton-under-Lyne.
- 1893 Brophy, Michael M. 48, Gordon-square, London, W.C.
- 1888 Brophy, Nicholas A. Glenlevan, Lansdown-road, Limerick.
- 1894 Brown, Miss. 66, Highfield-road, Rathgar.
- 1900 Browne, Charles R., M.D., M.R.I.A. 66, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Browne, Thomas. Mill House, Dundalk.
- 1894 Brunskill, Rev. K. C., M.A. Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone.
- 1866 Brunskill, Rev. North Richardson, M.A. Kenure Vicarage, Rush.
- 1903 Brunskill, Rev. T. R., M.A. The Rectory, Killenchoole, Castlebellingham.
- 1896 Buckley, James. 11, Homefield-road, Wimbledon, Surrey.
- 1888 Buckley, Michael J. C. Montmorenci, Youghal, Co. Cork.
- 1890 Budds, William Frederick, J.P. Courtstown, Tullaroan, Freshford.
- 1903 Budds, Mrs. Zoë M. 82, Leinster-road, Dublin.
- 1884 Buggy, Michael, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
- 1890 Burgess, Rev. Henry W., M.A., LL.D. 20, Alma-road, Monkstown.
- 1890 Burgess, John, J.P. Oldcourt, Athlone.
- 1903 * Burke, Miss A. Westport House, Middletown, Co. Armagh.
- 1895 Burke, John, J.P., Consul for Mexico and Uruguay. Corporation-street, Belfast.
- 1894 Burke, E. W. Sandy Mount, Abbeyleix.
- 1897 Burke, Rev. Thomas, P.P. Kinvara, Co. Galway.
- 1897 **Burke, Rev. W. P. 33, Catherine-street, Waterford.
- 1899 Burnard, Robert, F.S.A. Thicaby House, Princetown, S. Devon.
- 1892 Burnell, William. Dean's Grange, Monkstown.
- 1891 Burnett, Rev. Richard A., M.A. Rectory, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1903 Butler, Mrs. Cecil. Milestown, Castlebellingham.
- 1904 Butler, Miss E. The Lodge, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 1898 Butler, William F., M.A., F.R.U.I., Professor of Modern Languages. Mount Verdon House, Cork.
- 1902 Butler, Lieut.-General Sir W. F., K.C.B. Government House, Devonport.
- 1903 Byrne, Mrs. L. 1, Appian-way, Leeson-park, Dublin.
- 1891 Cadie de la Champignonnerie, M. Edward, F.R.U.I. Mon Caprice, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
- 1894 Caffrey, James. 3, Brighton-terrace, Brighton-road, Rathgar, Dublin.
- 1904 Caldwell, Charles Henry Bulwer, J.P. Antyilstown, Navan; and The Cedars, Wyndlesham.
- 1896 Caldwell, Charles Sproule, Solicitor. Castle-street, Londonderry.
- 1904 Callanan, Martin, Physician and Surgeon. The Square, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
- 1896 Callary, Very Rev. Philip, P.P., V.F. St. Brigid's, Tullamore, King's County.
- 1897 Campbell, A. Albert, Solicitor. 4, Waring-street, Belfast.
- 1891 Campbell, Rev. Joseph W. R., M.A. 34, Dartmouth-road, Dublin.
- 1890 * Campbell, Rev. Richard S. D., M.A., D.D. The Rectory, Athlone.
- 1880 Campbell, Rev. William W., M.A., R.N. Maplebury, Monkstown.
- 1898 **CARDEN, Lady.** Templemore Abbey, Templemore.
- 1893 Carey, William, Solicitor. 47, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.
- 1893 Carmody, Rev. William P., B.A. Carrowdoe Rectory, Donaghadee, Co. Down.
- 1900 Carmody, Rev. James, P.P. St. Colman's, Milltown, Co. Kerry.
- 1895 **Carney, Thomas. Hibernian Bank, Drogheda.
- 1894 Carolan, John, J.P. 77, North King-street, Dublin.
- 1900 Carolin, Geo. O., J.P. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
- 1888 Carrigan, Rev. William, C.C. Durrow, Queen's County.
- 1893 Carrigan, William, B.L., Solicitor. 13, Herbert-street, Dublin.
- 1889 Carroll, Anthony R., Solicitor. 47, North Great George's-street, Dublin.

Elected	
1890	Carroll, William, C.E., M.R.I.A.I. 12, Rue de l'Equerre, Bruger, Belgium.
1901	Carter, Mrs. Hugh Foxley, Burnham, Bucks.
1904	Carter, John Campbell, 145, Church-lane, Old Charlton, Kent.
1901	Carter, Joseph S., Solicitor. Veteran Lodge, Galway.
1897	Caruth, Norman C., Solicitor. Flixton-place, Ballymena.
1904	Cassidy, C. D., D.D.S. 16, Clare-street, Dublin.
1895	Casson, George W., J.P. 25, Clyde-road, Dublin.
1893	Castle Stuart, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Drum Manor, Cookstown ; Stuart Hall, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.
1901	Cavanagh, James A. 62, Grafton-street, Dublin.
1894	Chambers, Sir R. Newman. 15, Queen-street, Londonderry.
1895	* Christie, Robert William, F.I.B. 21, Elgin-road, Dublin.
1896	Clark, Miss Jane. The Villas, Kilrea, Co. Londonderry.
1889	Clarke, Mrs. Athgoe Park, Hazelhatch.
1890	CLEMENTS, Henry John Beresford, J.P., D.L. Lough Rynn, Leitrim.
1874	Clonbrock, Right Hon. Lord, B.A. (Oxon.), H.M.L. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1885-1896.) Clonbrock, Aghaseragh.
• 1904	Coakley, Rev. Cornelius, C.C. Farran, Co. Cork.
1892	Coates, William Trelford, J.P. 7, Fountain-street, Belfast.
1893	Coddington, Lieut.-Colonel John N., J.P., D.L. Oldbridge, Drogheda.
1900	Colahan, Rev. Richard Fallon, C.C. The Presbytery, Herbert-road, Bray.
1898	Coleman, Rev. Ambrose, O.P. St. Malachy's, Dundalk.
1888	Coleman, James. 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown, Co. Cork.
1893	Colgan, Nathaniel, M.R.I.A. 15, Breffni-terrace, Sandycove, Co. Dublin
1894	Colles, Alexander. 3, Elgin-road, Dublin.
1891	Collins, E. Tenison, Barrister-at-Law. St. Edmunds, The Burrow, Howth.
1898	Collis, Rev. Maurice H. Fitzgerald, B.D. The Vicarage, Antrim.
1903	Colvin, Miss Carolin, Ph.D. Orono, Maine, U. S. A.
1903	* Comerford, William. Urlingford National School, Co. Kilkenny.
1897	Commins, John. Desart N. S., Cuffe's Grange, Kilkenny.
1897	CONAN, Alexander. Mount Alverno, Dalkey.
1876	Condon, Very Rev. C. H., Provincial, O.P. St. Saviour's, Dublin.
1893	Condon, Frederick William, L.R.C.P.I., &c. Ballyshannon.
1894	**Condon, James E. S., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. 8, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
1892	* Conlan, Very Rev. Robert F., P.P., Canon. St. Michan's, Dublin.
1889	Connellan, Major James H., J.P., D.L. Coolmore, Thomastown.
1904	Connor, G. W., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S. 77, Hill-street, Newry.
1898	Conyngham, O'Meara. Hotel Metropole, Sackville-street, Dublin.
1896	Cookman, William, M.D., J.P. Kiltrea House, Enniscorthy.
1900	Cooper, Joseph Ed. Hibernian Bank, Monaghan.
1894	Coote, Rev. Maxwell H., M.A. Ross, Tullamore.
1894	CORBALLIS, Richard J., M.A., J.P. Rosemount, Roebuck, Clonskeagh.
1899	Corcoran, Miss. The Chesnuts, Mulgrave-road, Sutton, Surrey.
1896	Corcoran, P. Abbey Gate-street, Galway.
1894	Cosgrave, E. Mac Dowel, M.D. 5, Gardiner's-row, Dublin.
1890	Cosgrave, Henry Alexander, M.A. 67, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
1899	Costello, Thomas Bodkin, M.D. Bishop-street, Tuam.
1892	* Costigan, William. Great Victoria-street, Belfast.
1903	Coulter, Robert, Merchant. Thomas-street, Sligo.
1895	Courtenay, Henry, I.S.O. Hughenden, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar.
1904	Courtenay, Mrs. Louisa. Rathescar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
1892	COWAN, P. Chalmers, B.Sc., M. INST. C.E. Local Government Board, Dublin.
1891	Cowell, Very Rev. George Young, M.A., Dean of Kildare. The Deanery, Kildare.
1889	COX, Michael Francis, M.D., F.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A. 26, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1900	Craig, William Alexander, M.R.I.A., Fellow Inst. Bankers. Frascati, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

- Elected
- 1904 Crawford, Henry Sexton, C.E. 113, Donore-terrace, S. C. Road, Dublin.
- 1896 Crawford, Robert T. Estate Office, Ballinrobe.
- 1892 Creagh, Arthur Gethin, J.P. Carrahane, Quin, Co. Clare.
- 1890 Creaghe, Philip Crampton, M.R.I.A. Hugomont, Ballymena.
- 1895 * Cromie, Edward Stuart, District Inspector of Schools. Ivy Lawn, Douglas-road, Cork.
- 1893 Crone, John S., L.R.C.P.I. Kensal Lodge, Kensal Rise, London, N.W.
- 1898 Crooke, T. Evans Beamish, J.P. Lettercollum, Timoleague.
- 1898 Crookshank, Captain Richard R. G. 1, Sloperton, Kingstown.
- 1891 Crossley, Frederick W. 118, Grafton-street, Dublin.
- 1892 Crothwait, Thos. P. Sherard, B.A., M.Insr. C.E. 37, Marlborough-road, Donnybrook.
- 1904 Crowley, Timothy, M.D. Larchfield, Coachford, Co. Cork.
- 1882 Cuffe, Major Otway Wheeler. Woodlands, Waterford.
- 1896 Cullen, T. W., Manager, National Bank. Dundalk.
- 1894 Culverwell, Edward Parnall, M.A., F.T.C.D. The Hut, Howth.
- 1895 Cummins, Rev. Martin, P.P. Clare Galway, Co. Galway.
- 1895 Cunningham, Miss Mary E. Glencairn, Belfast.
- 1897 Cunningham, Miss S. C. Glencairn, Belfast.
- 1890 Cunningham, Rev. Robert, B.A. Ballyrashane Rectory, Cloyfin, Belfast.
- 1891 Cunningham, Samuel. Fernhill, Belfast.
- 1892 ***Cussen, J. S., B.A., D.I.N.S. Cork.
- 1899 Cuthbert, David, Superintendent, Pacific Cable Board. Fanning Island, North Pacific.
- 1889 Dallow, Very Rev. Canon Wilfrid. Upton Hall, Upton, Birkenhead.
- 1891 Dalrymple, J. D. G., F.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Maiklewood, Stirling, N.B.
- 1891 Dalton, John P., M.A., D.I.N.S. Glencore, Limerick.
- 1898 **DALY, Rev. Patrick, C.C.** The Palace, Mullingar.
- 1897 Daniell, Robert G., J.P. Newforest, Tyrrellspass, Westmeath.
- 1895 D'Arey, S. A., L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I. Rosslea, Co. Fermanagh.
- 1892 * Dargan, Thomas. 35, Dublin-road, Belfast.
- 1899 Darley, Arthur. 15, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
- 1899 Darley, Henry Warren. 15, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
- 1900 Davids, Miss Rosa. Greenhall, High Blantyre, N.B.
- 1891 **DAVIDSON, Rev. Henry W., M.A.** Abington Rectory, Murroe, Limerick.
- 1904 Davis, Rev. James, C.C. Belmullet, Co. Mayo.
- 1890 Davy, Rev. Humphry, M.A. Kimmage Lodge, Terenure.
- 1903 Davys, Miss Teresa. Mount Davys, Lanesborough, Co. Longford.
- 1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd., F.S.A., F.K.S., F.G.S., &c. Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.
- 1895 Dawson, Joseph Francis, Inspector. Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame-street Dublin.
- 1883 Dawson, Very Rev. Abraham, M.A., Dean of Dromore. Seagoe Rectory, Portadown.
- 1868 Deady, James P. Hibernian Bank, Navan.
- 1893 Deane, Mrs. J. William. Longraigue, Foulksmill, Co. Wexford.
- 1902 Delaney, James, County Surveyor. Tullamore, King's County.
- 1894 Delany, Rt. Rev. John Carthage, Lord Abbot of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin.
- 1889 Denny, Francis Mac Gillicuddy. Denny-street, Tralee.
- 1884 Denvir, Patrick J. 14, Trafalgar-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 D'Evelyn, Alexander, M.D. (Dubl.). Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
- 1895 Devenish-Meares, Major-General W. L., J.P., D.L. Meares Court, Ballinacargy, Co. Westmeath.
- 1896 Diamond, Rev. Patrick J. Port Stanley, Falkland Islands.
- 1899 Dickenson, Col. Wykeham Corry. 22, Hereford-square, South Kensington London, S.W.
- 1893 Dickinson, James A. 5, Belgrave-square, North, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1891 Dickson, Rev. William A. Fahan Rectory, Londonderry.
- 1892 Dillon, Sir John Fox, Bart., J.P., D.L. Lismullen, Navan.
- 1897 Dixon, Henry, Jun. 12, Cabra-road, Dublin.
- 1903 **DOLAN, Joseph T.** Ardee, Co. Louth.

- Elected
- 1904 Doherty, E. E. B. Oaklands, Bandon.
- 1901 Domville, Major Herbert W., J.P. (High Sheriff of Dublin). Loughlinstown House, Co. Dublin
- 1903 Donnelly, Rev. Michael. St. Macartan's Seminary, Monaghan.
- 1903 Donovan, Richard, D.L., LL.B., J.P. Ballymore, Camolin.
- 1887 **Donovan, St. John Henry, J.P. Seafield, Spa, Tralee.
- 1904 Doran, A. L. 1, Goldsmith-terrace, Bray.
- 1898 **Doran, George Augustus, J.P. University-road, Belfast.
- 1890 Doran-Falkiner, Rev. T. Howth, Co. Dublin.
- 1891 Dougherty, Sir James B., M.A., Assistant Under-Secretary. Dublin Castle.
- 1887 Douglas, M. C. Burren-street, Carlow.
- 1889 Dowd, Rev. James, M.A. 7, Swansea-terrace, Limerick.
- 1899 Doyle, Edward. Charleville Lodge, Cabra, Dublin.
- 1903 Doyle, Very Rev. Canon James, P.P. St. Canice's, Kilkenny.
- 1896 Doyle, Rev. Luke, P.P. St. Mary's, Taggart, Wexford.
- 1897 Doyle, M. J. N. S., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1904 Doynes, Miss M. Josephine. Rossbeg, Shrewsbury-road, Dublin.
- 1898 ***Dreaper, Richard H., Physician and Surgeon. Mossley, near Manchester.
- 1894 Drew, Lady. Gortnadrew, Alma-road, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1893 Drought, Rev. Anthony, M.A. Kilmessan Rectory, Navan.
- 1904 Duffy, Joseph J., 5, Brighton Vale, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1885 Duke, Robert Alexander, J.P., D.L. Newpark, Ballymote.
- 1891 Duncan, George. 82, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
- 1893 *Dunn, Michael J., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 42, Upper Mount-st., Dublin.
- 1892 *Dunn, Valentine. 3, Raglan-road, Dublin.
- 1900 *Dunne, Rev. E., C.C. Presbytery, Rathmines.
- 1901 Dunseath, David. Sea Cliff, Bangor, Co. Down.
- 1872 Durham, Dean and Chapter of, *per* C. Rowlandson. The College, Durham.
- 1890 Dwan, Rev. John J., P.P., V.F. Murroe, Co. Limerick.
- 1904 Eeles, Francis Carolus (Diocesan Librarian, Aberdeen). Munross, Stonehaven, N.B.; and 105, Adelaide-road, London, N.W.
- 1887 Elcock, Charles. Curator, Museum, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
- 1890 *Elliott, Rev. Anthony L., M.A. Killiney Glebe, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Elliott, Charles. 223, Amhurst-road, Stoke-Newington, London, N. E.
- 1894 **Ennis, Edward H., Barrister-at-Law. 41, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin.
- 1895 Ennis, Michael Andrew, J.P. Ardrudh, Wexford.
- 1884 Erne, Right Hon. the Countess of, care of Rev. J. H. Steele, The Cottage, Crom Castle, Belturbet.
- 1899 Evans, Mrs. 87, Eccleston-square, London, S.W.; Carnagaroe, Moville, Co. Donegal.
- 1894 Everard, Rev. John, P.P. Ballyporeen, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
- 1893 Everard, Lieut.-Col. Nugent Talbot, J.P., D.L. Randlestown, Navan.
- 1890 Fahey, Very Rev. Jerome, P.P., V.G. St. Colman's, Gort.
- 1889 **Fahy, Rev. John G. Rectory, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 1896 Falkiner, C. Litton, M.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Mapas Killiney, Co. Dublin.
- 1888 Falkiner, Rev. William F., M.A., M.R.I.A. Killucan Rectory, Co. Westmeath.
- 1897 Faren, William. Mount Charles, Belfast.
- 1904 Farrington, Thomas Edward (retired Collector of Inland Revenue). Baythorpe, Holywood, Co. Down.
- 1891 Fawcett, George. Montevideo, Roscrea.
- 1904 Fayle, Edwin. Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Fegan, William John, Solicitor. Market Square, Cavan.
- 1901 Felix, Rev. John. Cilcain, Mold, North Wales.
- 1893 Fennell, William J., M.R.I.A.I. Wellington-place, Belfast.
- 1887 Fennessy, Edward. Ardseradawn House, Kilkenny.
- 1896 Fenton, Mrs. St. Peter's Vicarage, 90, Westbourne-road, Birkenhead.

Elected
1898

- 1898 Fenton, Rev. Charles E. O'Connor, M.A. Parish Church Vicarage, Sheffield.
- 1898 Fenton, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, M.A. 355, Edge-lane, Liverpool.
- 1898 Fenton, Rev. S. L. O'Connor, M.A., Vicar of St. George's. Newcastle, Staffordshire.
- 1902 Ferguson, Rev. Samuel, B.A. Waterside, Londonderry.
- 1904 Ferrar, Benjamin Banks, B.A., M.D. (Univ. Dubl.). 7, Beresford-row, Armagh.
- 1897 Field, Miss. 6, Main-street, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1891 Fielding, Patrick J. D., F.C.S. 2, Holmwood-terrace, Southern-road, Cork.
- 1902 Finegan, Rev. Peter, C.C. St. Patrick's, Dundalk.
- 1894 Fisher, Rev. John Whyte, M.A., Canon. The Rectory, Mountrath, Queen's County.
- 1890 FitzGibbon, Gerald, M. INST. C.E. Cawood, Apperley Bridge, Leeds.
- 1892 Fitz Patrick, P., D.I.N.S. Rathkeale.
- 1899 * Fitz Simon, D. O'Connell. Moreen, Dundrum.
- 1868 Fitzsimons, John Bingham, M.D. 14, St. Owen-street, Hereford.
- 1896 **Flanagan, James. Model School, Inchicore, Dublin.
- 1904 Flannery, Rev. Daniel, P.P. Silvermines, Nenagh.
- 1891 Fleming, Hervey de Montmorency, J.P. Barragheore, Goresbridge.
- 1899 Fleming, Miss H. S. G. Pallisade House, Omagh.
- 1889 Fleming, Very Rev. Horace Townsend, M.A. The Deanery, Cloyne.
- 1893 * Flood, Rev. James. Rockville Centre, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
- 1899 Flood, William H. Grattan. Enniscorthy.
- 1894 Flynn, Very Rev. Patrick F., P.P. St. Anne's Presbytery, Waterford.
- 1901 Fogerty, George J., M.D., R.N. 67, George-street, Limerick.
- 1884 **Fogerty, Robert, C.E., Architect. Limerick.
- 1896 Foley, J. M. Galwey, C.I., R.I.C. Newtown Manor, Kilkenny.
- 1893 Fortescue, Hon. Dudley F., J.P., D.L. 9, Hertford-street, Mayfair, London, W.
- 1904 Fottrell, Miss Mary Josephine. 1, The Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin.
- 1904 Fox, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. (Camb.). Fielden Hotel, Todmorden, Lancashire.
- 1888 Franklin, Frederick, F.R.I.A.I. Westbourne House, Terenure.
- 1899 **Fraser, William, Solicitor. Downshire-road, Newry.
- 1903 French, Edward John, B.A. (Dubl.), Solicitor. St. Ann's, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin.
- 1903 Fricker, Rev. M. A., Canon, P.P. The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road, Dublin.
- 1898 Fry, Matthew W. J., M.A., F.T.C.D. 39, Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1891 * Furlong, Nicholas, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. Lymington, Enniscorthy.
- 1903 Gallagher, Miss Jane. Eglish, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
- 1891 **Gallagher, William, Solicitor. English-street, Armagh.
- 1904 Galway, William Berkeley, M.A., Solicitor. Scottish Provincial Buildings, Donegall-square, W., Belfast.
- 1894 Gamble, Major G. F. Mount Jerome, Harold's-cross, Dublin.
- 1896 **Galt-Gamble, T. E., D.I., R.I.C. 6, The Crescent, Lucan, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 **Geoghegan, Michael. P. W. Hotel, Athlone.
- 1891 Geoghegan, Thomas F. 2, Essex-quay, Dublin.
- 1894 Geoghegan, William P. Rockfield, Blackrock.
- 1890 George, William E. Downside, Stoke Bishop, Clifton.
- 1903 Geraghty, Rev. Bernard, P.P. Kilbegnet, Roscommon.
- 1893 Gerrard, Rev. William J. The Rectory, Rathangan, Co. Kildare.
- 1897 Gibson, Rev. Thomas B., Canon, M.A. The Rectory, Ferns.
- 1892 **GILFOYLE, Anthony Thomas**, M.A., J.P., D.L. Carrowcullen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo.
- 1899 ***Gill, R. P., A.M. INST. C.E. Fattheen, Nenagh.
- 1900 Gillespie, Rev. Ed. Acheson. Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo.
- 1887 Gillespie, James, Surgeon. The Diamond, Clones.

Elected

- 1901 Gilligan, Rev. Laurence, P.P. Shinrone, Co. Tipperary.
 1891 Gleeson, Gerald W. M. Timarana, Killaloe, Co. Clare.
 1894 Gleeson, Paul. Kilcolman, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 1897 ***Gleeson, Michael, Crown Solicitor. Nenagh.
 1899 Gloster, Arthur B., B.A. Education Office, Marlborough-street, Dublin.
 1898 Glover, Edward, M.A., M.Inst. C.E., F.R.I.B.A. County Surveyor's Office, Naas.
 1901 Glynn, Joseph A., B.A., Solicitor. Beech House, Tuam, Co. Galway.
 1891 Glynn, Thomas. Meelick Villa, 87, Aden Grove, Clissold Park, London, N.
 1897 Glynn, William, J.P. Kilrush.
 1903 Goddard, Norris, Solicitor. 52, Merrion-square, Dublin.
 1897 **GODDEN, George.** Phoenix Park, Dublin.
 1890 Goff, Rev. Edward, B.A. Kentstown Rectory, Navan.
 1894 Goodwin, Singleton, B.A., M.Inst. C.E. Tralee.
 1901 Gordon, Mrs., F.R.S.S., M.S.A. Auchintoul, Aboyne, N.B.
 1902 * Gordon, Patrick, D.I., R.I.C. Dunmanway.
 1897 Gore, John. 4, Cavendish-row, Dublin.
 1900 Gore, Mrs. Derrymore, O'Callaghan's Mills, Co. Clare.
 1901 Gorman, Major Lawrence. 37, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
 1852 Gorman, Venerable Wm. Chas., M.A., Archdeacon of Ossory. Rectory, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1902 Gormanston, the Viscountess. Gormanston Castle, Balbriggan.
 1891 Gosselin, Rev. J. H. Prescott, B.A. Muff Parsonage, Londonderry.
 1891 Gough, Joseph. 88, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
 1904 Gould, Mrs. Ellen Louisa. Newtown Park House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1894 Gray, Robert, F.R.C.P.I., J.P. 4, Charlemont-place, Armagh.
 1896 **GRAYDON, Thomas W., M.D.** La Fayette Circle, Clifton, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1897 * Greaves, Miss. 12, Rathgar-road, Dublin.
 1900 * Green, T. Geo., H., M.R.I.A. Lisnagar, Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
 1895 Greene, Mrs. J. Monte Vista, Ferns.
 1896 Greene, Mrs. T. Millbrook, Mageney.
 1897 Greer, Thomas MacGregor, Solicitor. Ballymoney.
 1901 Griffen, Mrs. C. M. New-street, Carrick-on-Suir.
 1899 Griffith, John E., F.L.S., F.R.A.S. Bryn Dinas, Bangor, N. Wales.
 1899 Griffith, Miss Lucy E. Arianfryn, Barmouth, N. Wales.
 1902 Griffith, Patrick Joseph, Professor of Music. 44, South Circular-road, Portobello, Dublin.
 1885 Grubb, J. Ernest. Carrick-on-Suir.
 1902 Grubb, Miss Rosa F. Coolshill, Clogheen, Cahir.
 1890 Guilbride, Francis, J.P. Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.
 1904 Guinness, Henry Seymour. Eversham, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 1895 Guinness, Howard R. Chesterfield, Blackrock.
 1899 * Hackett, T. Kirkwood. General Valuation Office, Ely-place, Dublin.
 1891 **HADDON, Alfred Cort, M.A., F.R.S., F.Z.S.** Inisfail, Hill's-road, Cambridge.
 1892 Hade, Arthur, C.E. Carlow.
 1895 Hales, Mrs. Arthur. 17, Lansdown-crescent, Bath; and Charmouth, Dorset.
 1899 Hall, Ernest Frederick. The Lodge, Westport.
 1893 Hall, Thomas. Derrynure House, Baillieborough.
 1904 Halpin, Rev. James, P.P. St. Colman's, Scariff, Co. Clare.
 1889 Hamilton, Everard, B.A. 30, South Frederick-street, Dublin.
 1900 Hamilton, Rev. James, M.A. Mayne Rectory, Coole, Co. Westmeath.
 1894 Hamilton, Mrs. Alfred. 14, Leeson-park, Dublin.
 1889 Hanan, Rev. Denis, D.D. The Rectory, Tipperary.
 1903 Hanna, Rev. Robert F., B.A. The Manse, White Abbey.
 1896 * Hannon, P. J. Maudeville, Foxrock, Co. Dublin.

Elected

- 1890 Harman, Miss Marion. Barrowmount, Goresbridge.
 1889 Harris, Henry B., J.P. Victoria-terrace, Ennis.
 1890 Hart, Henry Chichester, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.L.S., J.P. Carrabeagh, Port-salon, Letterkenny.
 1897 Hartigan, P. Castleconnell, Limerick.
 1895 Hartley, Rev. Frederic J., B.A., B.A.I. Offerlane Vicarage, Mountrath, Queen's County.
 1891 Harty, Spencer, M. Inst. C.E.I. City Hall, Dublin.
 1893 Hastings, Samuel. Church-street, Downpatrick.
 1891 * Hayes, Rev. Francis Carlile, M.A. Rectory, Raheny.
 1898 Hayes, James. Church-street, Ennis.
 1889 Hayes, Rev. William A., M.A. The Rectory, Omagh.
 1895 Hayes, Thomas, C.I., R.I.C. 2, Eden-terrace, Limerick.
 1891 Headen, W. P., B.A. (Lond.), D.I.N.S. 11, Charleville-road, North Circular-road, Dublin.
 1891 Healy, George, J.P. Glaslyn, Clontarf.
 1888 Healy, Rev. John, LL.D., Canon. The Rectory, Kells, Co. Meath.
 1869 Healy, Rev. William, P.P. Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1895 Healy, William, J.P. Donard View, Downpatrick.
 1897 **HEMPHILL, Rev. Samuel**, D.D., M.R.I.A., Canon. Birr Rectory, Parsons-town.
 1897 Henderson, William A. Belclare, Leinster-road, West, Dublin.
 1897 Hennessy, Bryan. 21, South-street, New Ross.
 1901 **HENSER, Rev. Herman J.** Overbrook, Pa., U.S.A.
 1892 Heron, James, B.E., J.P. Tullyvery House, Killyleagh, Co. Down.
 1887 Hewson, Rev. Edward F., B.A., Canon. Rectory, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny.
 1892 Hibbert, Robert Fiennes, J.P. Woodpark, Scariff.
 1890 Higgins, Rev. Michael, P.P. Castletownroche, Co. Cork.
 1889 Higinbotham, Granby. 46, Wellington Park, Belfast.
 1878 Hill, William H., B.E., F.R.I.B.A. Audley House, Cork.
 1902 * Hilliard, John. Castlelough, Killarney.
 1871 Hinch, William A. 22, Elm Grove, Ranelagh, Dublin.
 1892 Hitchins, Henry. 2, Crosthwaite Park, S., Kingstown.
 1893 Hoare, Most Rev. Joseph, D.D., Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois. St. Mel's, Longford.
 1896 Hobson, C. J. 139, 141, West 125th-street, New York, U.S.A.
 1890 Hodgson, Rev. William, M.A. 32, Holford-square, London, W.C.
 1891 Hogan, Rev. Henry, B.D., Canon. All Saints' Vicarage, Phibsborough-road, Dublin.
 1890 Hogg, The Right Hon. Jonathan, D.L. 12, Cope-street, Dublin.
 1895 Holding, T. H. Hazeldean, Fulham Park Gardens, London, S.W.
 1901 * Holland, Mrs. Marian. 1, Morningson-crescent, Bloomfield, near Belfast.
 1898 Holmes, Mrs. Severnbank, Shrewsbury, Shropshire.
 1889 Horan, John, M.E., M. Inst. C.E., County Surveyor. 8, Victoria-terrace, Limerick.
 1893 Hore, Philip Herbert, M.R.I.A. 121, Colehern Court, Earl's Court, London, S.W.
 1899 Horner, John, Chelsea. Antrim-road, Belfast.
 1902 Howie, William Forbes. 5, Mount Temple-terrace, Dartry-road, Palmerston Park.
 1895 Huband, Rev. Hugo R., M.A. (Cantab.). Killiskey Rectory, Ashford, Co. Wicklow.
 1904 Hudd, Alfred E., F.S.A. 94, Pembroke-road, Clifton.
 1895 Hughes, Benjamin. *Independent* Office, Wexford.
 1895 Hughes, Miss Helen. 34, Brighton-road, Rathgar, Dublin.
 1900 Hughes, Wm. C.E. Ahenny, Carrick-on-Suir.
 1895 Humphreys, Rev. John, B.A. The Manse, Tullamore.
 1901 Hunter, Samuel C. Norcroft, Ballyholme, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1890 Hunter, Thomas. Post Office, Glenarm.
 1890 Hurley, Rev. Patrick, P.P. Inchigeela, Co. Cork.
 1858 Hyde, Henry Barry, F.S.S. 5, Eaton Rise, Ealing, London, W.
 1899 Hynes, Miss. 7, Leeson Park-avenue, Dublin.
 1900 **Hynes, Rev. John, B.D., C.C. St. Mary's, Sligo.

- Elected
 1896 Ireland, William. 44, Arthur-street, Belfast.
 1904 Irvine, Rev. David D., Churchill, Clones, Co. Monaghan.
 1893 **Irvine, Charles E. R. A. Lisgoole Abbey, Enniskillen.
 1893 Irwin, Rev. Alexander, M.A. 6, Cathedral-terrace, Armagh.
 1902 Irwin, Rev. George F., B.D., M.A. Raglan Cottage, Mortlake, London, S.W.
 1891 Isaac, Very Rev. Abraham, B.A., Dean of Ardfert. Kilgobbin Rectory, Camp, R.S.O., Co. Kerry.
- 1903 Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law. 19, Langland Gardens, London, N.W.
 1890 Jeffares, Rev. Danby, M.A. Lusk, Co. Dublin.
 1889 Jennings, Ignatius R. B., C.I.R.I.C. Elysium, Waterford.
 1895 Jephson-Norreys, Mrs. Atherton. The Castle, Mallow.
 1904 Johnston, Miss Emily Sophie. 9, Regent-street, London, S.W.
 1901 ***Johnston, Professor Swift Paine, M.A. 6, Trinity College, Dublin.
 1900 Joly, Miss Anna M. 5, Upper Ely-place, Dublin.
 1894 JONES, Capt. Bryan John. 1st Leinster Regiment, Limawilly, Dundalk.
 1902 Jones, Cromwell Walter, B.A., T.C.D. Hollygrange, Ellesmore Park, Eccles.
 1895 Jones, Rev. David, M.A., Canon of Bangor Cathedral. Llandegai, N. Wales.
 1892 Jordan, Rev. William, M.A. St. Augustine's Moreland, Melbourne, Australia.
 1904 Joyce, Mrs. Frank. Issercleran, Craughwell, Co. Galway.
 1865 Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D., M.R.I.A. Lyre-na-Grena, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
 1904 Joynt, Alfred Lane, B.A. 5, Pembroke Park, Clyde-road, Dublin.
 1904 Joynt, Richard Lane, M.D. 84, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
- 1896 Kavanagh, Very Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P., V.F. New Ross.
 1891 Keane, Lady. Cappelquin House, Cappelquin.
 1893 Keane, Marcus, J.P. Beech Park, Ennis.
 1891 Keane, Miss Frances. Glenshelane, Cappelquin.
 1895 Keatinge, Rev. P. A., O.S.F. Franciscan Convent, Waterford.
 1898 Keelan, Patrick. 13, Greville-street, Mullingar.
 1889 Keene, Charles Haines, M.A. 19, Stephen's-green, and University Club, Dublin.
 1889 Keene, Most Rev. James Bennett, D.D., Bishop of Meath. Navan.
 1888 Kelly, Edmund Walsh. 1, Summer-hill, Tramore.
 1891 Kelly, Francis James, J.P. Weston, Duleek.
 1885 Kelly, Ignatius S. Bunnyconnellan, Myrtleville, Croshaven, Co. Cork.
 1899 Kelly, Rev. James, C.C. Milltown, Tuam.
 1890 Kelly, Very Rev. James J., P.P., V.F. St. Peter's, Athlone.
 1904 Kelly, Rev. J. Herbert, M.A., Rector of Dunany Union, Diocese of Armagh. Clonmore Rectory, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
 1896 Kelly, Rev. John, C.C. Dalkey.
 1898 Kelly, Dr. Joseph Dillon, J.P. 31, Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1902 Kelly, Owen J., J.P. Blackrock, Dundalk.
 1902 Kelly, Mrs. Owen J. Blackrock, Dundalk.
 1891 Kelly, Richard J., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 10, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
 1891 Kelly, Thomas Aliaga. Kilternan Abbey, Co. Dublin.
 1899 * Kelly, Thomas J. 32, Salisbury-road, Wavertree, Liverpool.
 1903 Kennedy, R. R., M.A. 8, Royal-terrace, Kingstown, East.
 1903 Kennedy, Thomas Patrick. 12, Alwyne Mansions, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 1898 Kennedy, Rev. Thomas Waring. Camolin, Ferns.
 1895 Kenny, Thomas Hugh. 55, George-street, Limerick.
 1893 * Kenny, William F., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 69, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 1896 **Kermode, P. M. C., F.S.A. (Scot.). Cool-ny-Freeney, Ramsey, Isle of Man.

- Elected
 1894 Kernan, George. 50, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1891 Kernan, Rev. Richard Arthurs, B.D., Canon. The Rectory, Hillsborough.
 1899 **Kerr, Miss. St. Lurachs, Londonderry.
 1889 Kerr, Rev. Wm. John B. Irchester Vicarage, Wellingborough.
 1898 Kerrigan, Dr. Owen P. Ardna Greina, Castletown-Geoghegan, Co. Westmeath.
 1897 Kiernan, Mrs. Leitrim Lodge, Dalkey.
 1897 Kiernan, Thomas. Leitrim Lodge, Dalkey.
 1904 Kincaid, Mrs. M. M. University Station, Seattle, Washington.
 1890 King, Lucas White, LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., C.S.I. Rawal Pindi, Punjab, India.
 1890 King-Edwards, William, J.P. Dartans House, Castlederg
 1895 **Kinnear, Ernest A. Ballyheigue Castle, Co. Kerry.
 1904 Kirkpatrick, J. C. Ballymullock, Larne.
 1885 Kirkpatrick, Robert. 1, Queen's-square, Strathbungo, Glasgow
 1904 Kirwan, Denis B., Jun. Dalgin, Milltown, Tuam.
 1899 Knox, Mrs. Godfrey. 5, Charlemont-terrace, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 1902 Kyle, Valentine Joyce. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
- 1890 Laffan, Thomas, M.D. Cashel.
 1890 ***Langan, Rev. Thomas, D.D. St. Mary's, Athlone.
 1895 Latimer, John. 12, Denny-street, Tralee.
 1901 Laughlin, Robert C. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
 1902 Laverty, Rev. Francis, P.P. St. Mary's Presbytery, Portglenone, Co. Antrim.
 1904 Laverty, John, 58A, Brougham-street, Belfast.
 1903 Lawler, Chas., J.P. 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
 1900 Lawless, Rev. Nicholas, C.C. Kilcurry, Dundalk.
 1891 Lawlor, Rev. Hugh Jackson, M.A., D.D. Trinity College, Dublin.
 1899 Lawlor, Rev. Thomas, P.P. Killorglin.
 1904 Lawrence, Arthur. Lavernock House, Penarth, South Wales.
 1891 Lawson, Thomas Dillon. Manager, Bank of Ireland, Galway.
 1901 Lebane, Daniel, District Inspector N. S., Galway.
 1890 Lecky, Rev. Alexander Gourley, B.A. Feddyglass, Raphoe.
 1893 Ledger, Rev. William Cripps, M.A. The Rectory, Lisnaskea.
 1895 Ledger, Z. J. 27, George-street, Limerick.
 1900 Ledoux, Rev. Llewelyn, P.T., M.A., B.D. St. Peter's Rectory, Drogheda.
 1889 **Lee, Rev. Timothy, C.C. St. John's, Limerick.
 1894 Leeson-Marshall, M. R., Barrister-at-Law. Callinafercy, Milltown, R.S.O., Co. Kerry.
 1892 Le Fanu, Thomas Philip, B.A. (Cantab.). Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle.
 1892 Leonard, Mrs. T. Warrenstown, Dunsany, Co. Meath.
 1891 Lepper, Francis Robert, Director, Ulster Banking Co., Belfast.
 1903 Leslie, Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A. Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham.
 1880 Lett, Rev. Henry Wm., M.A., M.R.I.A., Canon. Aghaderg Glebe, Loughbrickland.
 1883 Lewis, Professor Bunnell, M.A., F.S.A. Queen's College, Cork.
 1884 * Lewis, Thomas White, M.D. Kingscliffe, Wansford, Northamptonshire.
 1903 Librarian. Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin.
 1903 Librarian. Public Free Library, Town Hall, Clonmel.
 1868 Librarian. Public Library, Armagh.
 1869 Librarian. Belfast Library, Linen Hall, Belfast.
 1891 Librarian. Belfast Free Public Library, Belfast.
 1891 Librarian. Free Public Library, Liverpool.
 1890 Librarian. Public Library, Boston, U. S.
 1890 Librarian. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U. S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
 1890 Librarian. Public Library, New York, U.S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
 1868 Librarian. King's Inns Library, Henrietta-street, Dublin.
 1888 Librarian. Library of Advocates, Edinburgh.

Elected	
1894	Librarian. Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association. 97, George-street, Limerick.
1900	Librarian. Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's, Dublin.
1899	Librarian. Natural History and Philosophical Society, Armagh.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, North Strand, Dublin.
1882	Librarian. Public Library, Melbourne, <i>per</i> Agent-General for Victoria. 142, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.
1864	Librarian. Queen's College, Belfast.
1868	Librarian. Queen's College, Cork.
1888	Librarian. Queen's College, Galway.
1874	Librarian. Berlin Royal Library, <i>per</i> Messrs. Asher & Co., 13, Bedford-st., Covent Garden, London.
1899	Librarian. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
1869	Librarian. Board of Education, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1901	Librarian. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin.
1903	Librarian. London Library, St. James'-square, London.
1890	Lindesay, Rev. William O'Neill, M.A. Sealawn, Baldoyle, Co. Dublin.
1892	Lindsay, Dr. David Moore, L.R.C.P.I., &c. 373, East Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
1896	Lindsay, Rev. Samuel, B.A. Prospect House, Dungannon.
1892	Lipscomb, W. H. Church-road, Malahide.
1904	Little, E. A., M.A., LL.D. 55, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
1901	Little, Very Rev. R., P.P. Pairc-an-Tobair, Quin, Co. Clare.
1891	Livingstone, Rev. Robert George, M.A. Brinkworth Rectory, Chippenham, Wilts.
1903	Lloyd, Miss Annie. 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
1904	Lloyd, Edwin M., Solicitor. 4, Lower Ormond-quay; and Donore-terrace, South Circular-road, Dublin.
1889	Lloyd, William. 1, Pery-square, Limerick.
1894	Long, Mrs. 16, Appian-way, Dublin.
1898	Longfield, Robert O. 19, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
1888	Longfield, Thomas H., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. Science and Art Museum, Leinster House, Dublin.
1893	Longford, Right Hon. The Dowager Countess of. 24, Bruton-street, London, W.
1893	Lopdell, John. Stamer Park, Ennis.
1887	Lough, Thomas, M.P. 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W.
1863	**Loughnan, Henry James, Barrister-at-Law. 39, Belvidere-place, Dublin.
1896	Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., M.R.I.A. The Schoolhouse, Old Glee, Grimsby.
1896	Lowe, William Ross Lewin. Middlewych, St. Albans, Herts.
1899	Lowry, Thomas. 2, Clarinda Park, East, Kingstown.
1897	Lucas, Rev. Frederick John, D.D. 2, Cliff-terrace, Kingstown.
1868	Lunham, Colonel Thomas Ainslie, M.A., M.R.I.A., C.B., J.P. Ardfallen, Douglas, Cork.
1894	Lyle, Rev. Thomas, M.A. Dalriada, Howth-road, Dublin.
1893	LYNCH, J. J. Towanda, Pa., U.S.A.
1888	Lynch, Rev. Patrick. St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester.
1903	Lyons, Very Rev. James, Dean of Ossory. The Deanery, Kilkenny.
1891	Lyster, Rev. H. Cameron, B.D. Rectory, Enniscorthy.
1902	Lytle, Samuel Douglas. Maghera, Co. Londonderry.
1895	Macalister, R. Alexander Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. Torrisdale, Cambridge.
1890	Macaulay, Joseph, J.P., Solicitor. Donegall Chambers, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
1900	Mac Clancy, James. Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
1900	Mac Corkell, The Rev. Joseph. The Manse, Moville.
1899	Mac Enerny, Rev. Francis, C.C. Westland-row, Dublin.
1891	Mac Gillycuddy, Major John, J.P. Ballinagroun, Annascaul, Co. Kerry.
1893	Mac Ilwaine, Robert. Secretary, County Council Office, Courthouse, Downpatrick.

- Elected
1902 Mac Inerney, T. J. 27, Lower Sackville-street; and 8, Shamrock-villas, Drumcondra, Dublin.
- 1892 Mackenzie, John, C.E. Scottish Provident Buildings, Belfast.
- 1892 * Mac Mahon-Creagh, Mrs. Dangan, Kilkishen, Co. Clare.
- 1894 Macmillan, Rev. John, M.A. 76, South Parade, Belfast.
- 1890 Mac Mullan, Very Rev. Alexander, P.P., V.G. Ballymena.
- 1894 Macnamara, George Unthank, L.R.C.S.I. Bankyle House, Corofin.
- 1902 Mac Namara, Rev. John. St. Joseph's, Dundalk.
- 1894 Maonachie, Rev. James H., B.A. Heaton Presbyterian Church, New-castle-on-Tyne, England.
- 1852 Macray, Rev. Wm. Dunn, M.A., F.S.A. Ducklington, Witney, Oxon.
- 1891 Mac William, Rev. John W. A. 21, Ulsterville-avenue, Belfast.
- 1895 M'Aleer, H. K. X. L. Bar, Sixmilecross, Co. Tyrone.
- 1887 M'Arthur, Alexander, J.P. Knox's-street, Sligo.
- 1894 M'Bride, Francis, J.P. 39, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
- 1894 M'Bride, Joseph M. Harbour Office, Westport.
- 1893 M'Burney, James. Loughconnolly, N.S., Broughshane.
- 1888 M'Carte, James. 51, St. George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
- 1901 Mac Carthy, Brendan, M.D. Local Government Board, Custom House, Dublin.
- 1898 * M'Carthy, Charles. 41, Paul-street, Cork.
- 1904 M'Carthy, James. Newfound Well, Drogheda.
- 1892 M'Carthy, Samuel Trant, J.P. Srugrena Abbey, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
- 1890 M'Clintock, Rev. Francis G. Le Poer, M.A. (Cantab.), Canon. Drumcar Rectory, Dunleer.
- 1899 M'Clintock, Miss Gertrude. Drumcar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
- 1897 * M'Connell, James. 48, Lower Sackville-street, Dublin.
- 1899 M'Connell, John, J.P. College-green House, Belfast; Rathmona, Donaghadee.
- 1902 M'Connell, Sir Robert, Bart. The Moate, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1891 M'Cormick, H. M'Neile. Cultra House, Cultra, Co. Down.
- 1904 M'Cracken, George, Solicitor. Martello, Bangor, Co. Down.
- 1892 M'Creery, Alexander John. John-street, Kilkenny.
- 1884 M'Crum, Robert G., J.P. Milford, Armagh.
- 1897 M'Cutchan, Rev. George, M.A. Rectory, Kenmare.
- 1895 M'Elhatton, Rev. John, C.C. Strabane.
- 1892 M'Enery, D. T., M.A., D.I.N.S. Marlfield, Clonmel.
- 1890 M'Enery, M. J., B.A. Public Record Office, Dublin.
- 1893 M'Entire, Alexander Knox, Barrister-at-Law., J.P. 75, Merrion-square, Dublin.
- 1890 M'Fadden, Right Rev. Monsignor Hugh, P.P., V.G. Parochial House, Donegal.
- 1892 M'Gee, Rev. Samuel Russell, M.A. The Rectory, Dunlavin.
- 1891 M'Gee, William, J.P. 18, Nassau-street, Dublin.
- 1901 M'Getrick, James Finn, Government Revising Valuer. 6, Ely-place, Dublin.
- 1903 M'Glade, Patrick. Knockloughrim, Co. Derry.
- 1896 M'Glone, Rev. Michael, P.P. Annalore, Clones.
- 1901 M'Grath, Rev. Joseph B., C.C. 1, Clonmore-villas, Summerhill Bridge, Dublin.
- 1891 M'Inerney, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.G. Killaloe, Co. Clare.
- 1898 * M'Kean, Rev. William. The Manse, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1892 * M'Kee, Robert, M.A. Harlesden College, Bramshill-road, London, N.W.
- 1893 M'Keefry, Rev. Joseph, C.C., M.R.I.A. Waterside, Derry.
- 1895 M'Kenna, Rev. James E., C.C., M.R.I.A. St. Michael's Presbytery, Enniskillen.
- 1882 M'Kenna, Very Rev. James, P.P., Canon. Osier Hill, Brookeborough.
- 1890 M'Knight, John P. Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
- 1900 M'Mahon, Rev. John, P.P. Clare Castle, Co. Clare.
- 1890 M'Manus, Very Rev. Canon, P.P. St. Catherine's, Meath-street, Dublin.
- 1890 M'Neill, Charles. Hazelbrook, Malahide.
- 1898 **M'Watters, Morgan J. Bank of Ireland, Omagh.
- 1898 M'William, William. Corlatt House, Monaghan.

- Elected
 1900 Maffett, Rev. R. S., B.A. 17 Herbert-road, Sandymount.
 1898 **Magill, Charles. 15A, Donegall-place, Belfast.
 1900 * Magill, Rev. Robert, M.A., Ph.D. The Manse, Maghera.
 1896 **Magrath, Redmond. 53, Clanbrassil-street, Dundalk.
 1904 Maguire, Connor J. O'K., M.D. Claremorris, Co. Mayo.
 1890 Mahon, Thomas George Stacpoole, B.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L. Corbally, Quin, Co. Clare.
 1890 **Mahony, Bernard P. J., M.R.C.V.S. Annefield, Maryborough.
 1890 Mahony, Daniel, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Alverno, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Mahony, Denis M'Carthy, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 1898 Mahony, Rev. Henry. Cambridge House, Cambridge-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
 1887 Mahony, J. J. Leeview-terrace, 44, Sunday's Well, Cork.
 1895 Mahony, Thomas Henry. Clonard, Blackrock-road, Cork.
 1899 Malone, Laurence. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1899 Malone, Mrs. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1891 Mangan, Richard. 5, Brighton Villas, Western-road, Cork.
 1899 Manning, John Butler. 18, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1889 Mannion, Very Rev. Patrick, P.P., Canon. The Presbytery, Elphin.
 1891 Mara, Bernard S. Tullamore, King's County.
 1895 March, Henry Colley, M.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. Portesham, Dorchester.
 1894 Martin, R. T. Rosemount, Artane, Co. Dublin.
 1903 * Martin, William, Solicitor. Mill-street, Monaghan.
 1900 Mason, J. J. B. 6, Ely-place, Dublin; and Glenmahore, Bushy Park-road, Terenure.
 1887 Mason, Thomas. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1889 Maunsell, William Pryce, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 5, Martello-terrace, Kingstown.
 1900 Maxwell, Joseph A. 63, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1891 Mayne, Thomas, F.R.G.S.I. 9, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 1893 Mayo, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Palmerstown House, Straffan.
 1893 Meade, Right Rev. William Edward, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. The Palace, Cork.
 1865 Meagher, Very Rev. William, P.P., Canon. Templemore.
 1897 Meehan, Rev. Joseph, C.C. Creevelea, Drumkeerin, Co. Leitrim.
 1904 Meehan, Rev. J. W., B.D., B.C.L., Professor. St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, Co. Galway.
 1901 Mescal, Daniel. H. M. Patent Office, London.
 1903 Metford, Miss Isabella. Glasfryn, Dinas, Powys, Cardiff.
 1889 Middleton, Shireff. 73, Eccles-street, Dublin.
 1899 Micks, William L., M.A. Local Government Board, Dublin.
 1898 Miller, Mrs. The Manse, Armagh.
 1900 Miller, Rev. Richard M., M.A. Monaincha, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.
 1901 Milliken, James. 146, Anfield-road, Liverpool.
 1904 Milling, James. Edenville, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1891 **MILLNER, Colonel Joshua Kearney.** Barneageeha, Tartwilliam Park, Belfast.
 1904 Minchin, Mrs. Edith Margaret. Boskell, Cahirconlish, Co. Limerick.
 1904 Mitchell, Mrs. Mary E. Chipstone, Nasik-road, G.S.P.R., India.
 1891 Mitchell, William M., R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A. 5, Lenster-street, Dublin.
 1891 Moffatt, Rev. John E., M.D. 1, Palmerston Villas, Rathmines.
 1900 Moffett, Rev. Benjamin, M.A. The Glebe, Carrickmacross.
 1898 Moloney, Maurice T. Ottawa, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1891 Molony, Alfred. 12, Vincent-square Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.
 1897 Molony, Henry, M.D. Odellville, Ballingarry, Limerick.
 1904 Monahan, Miss M. A. 63, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1897 Monahan, Rev. Daniel, P.P. Tubber, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
 1901 Monteagle and Brandon, Right Hon. Lord. Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick.
 1892 Montgomery, Archibald V., Solicitor. 12, Molesworth-street, Dublin.

- Elected
- 1904 Montgomery, Henry C. Glenoe, Bangor, Co. Down.
- 1892 Montgomery, John Wilson. The Esplanade, Bangor, Co. Down.
- 1897 Moony, George M. S. Enraght, J.P. The Doon, Athlone.
- 1887 Moore, Rev. Courtenay, M.A., Canon. Rectory, Mitchelstown.
- 1889 Moore, Rev. H. Kingsmill, M.A., Principal, Training College, Kildare-street, Dublin.
- 1893 * Moore, Hugh Stuart, M.A. 7, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
- 1902 Moore, John. 117, Grafton-street, Dublin.
- 1892 Moore, John Gibson, J.P. Llandaff Hall, Merriion.
- 1885 Moore, Joseph H., M.A., M. Inst. C.E.I. 63, Eccles-street, Dublin.
- 1889 Moore, William. Castle Mahon, Blackrock, Co. Cork.
- 1889 Morgan, Arthur P., B.A. (Dubl.), D.I.N.S. 5, Richmond-terrace, Armagh.
- 1903 Morris, Henry, Eudon-na-Greine, Dundalk.
- 1889 Morrison, Alexander Kerr. Maghera, Co. Derry.
- 1889 Morton, John. 45, Wellington-road, Dublin.
- 1903 Mulhall, Mrs. Marion. 19, Via Boncompagni, Rome.
- 1889 Mullan, Rev. David, M.A. Christian Union Buildings, Lower Abbey-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Mullan, James. Castlerock, Co. Londonderry.
- 1891 Mullan, Robert A., B.A. Cairn-hill, Newry.
- 1889 Mullen, Frank. Custom House, Belfast.
- 1901 Munton, Rev. Henry J. The Manse, Compass Hill, Kinsale, Co. Cork.
- 1897 ** Mulqueen, John T., Collector of Inland Revenue. 2, Ravenscroft Park, High Barnet, Herts.
- 1902 Mulvany, Rev. Thomas, C.C. The Presbytery, St. Columbkille's, Kells.
- 1890 Murphy, Rev. Arthur William, P.P. Kilemlagh, Cahirciveen.
- 1901 Murphy, Francis. 284, Newport-road, Cardiff.
- 1904 Murphy, H. L., B.A. Glencarin, Sandford, Co. Dublin.
- 1900 Murphy, James Edward. Bank of Ireland, Limerick.
- 1892 ** Murphy, Rev. James E. H., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish, Dublin. University. Rathore Rectory, Enfield, Co. Meath.
- 1889 Murphy, Very Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., P.P. Macroom.
- 1900 Murphy, James, Collector of Inland Revenue. Custom House, Cork.
- 1890 ** Murphy, John J. 6, Castle-avenue, Clontarf.
- 1895 Murphy, John J., H. M. Customs. 1, Mount Charles, Belfast.
- 1896 Murphy, M. L. Ballyboy, Ferns.
- 1897 Murphy, Miss. 77, Ulverton-road, Dalkey.
- 1889 Murray, Archibald. Portland, Limerick.
- 1899 Murray, Daly, J.P. Beech Hill, Cork.
- 1895 Murtagh, Mrs. 11, Wellington-road, Dublin.
- 1904 Musgrave, Miss. Grange House, Whiting Bay, Youghal; and 63, Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.
- 1889 Myles, Rev. Edward A., M.A. Tullylish Rectory, Gilford, Co. Down.
- 1889 Nash, Lieut.-Colonel Edward, J.P. Beaufort House, Beaufort R. S. O., Kerry.
- 1895 Nash, Richard G., J.P. Finnstown House, Lucan.
- 1897 Nason, William H., M.A. 42, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Neale, Walter G. 86, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.
- 1896 Neeson, Rev. Arthur J., P.P. Braid, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
- 1892 Neill, Sharman D. 12, Donegall-place, Belfast.
- 1890 Nelis, John. Londonderry.
- 1891 Newell, P., B.A., D.I.N.S. Limerick.
- 1904 Nichols, James. 85, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
- 1899 Nichols, Mrs. Kilbrack, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
- 1893 Nixon, James H. F., F.R.G.S., J.P. Cragbeg, Clarina, Co. Limerick.
- 1902 Nolan, Rev. John, P.P. Ahoghill, Co. Antrim.
- 1889 * Nolan, Michael J., M.D. The Asylum, Downpatrick.
- 1890 Nolan, Pierce L., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
- 1896 * Nolan, William R., B.A. Brookville, Simmonscourt-avenue, Donnybrook.
- 1898 Nooney, Thomas F., J.P. Earl-street, Mullingar.

Elected	
1904	Oakden, Charles K., F.R.P.S. 48, Meadow-road, Shortlands, Kent.
1902	O'BRIEN, Conor. Trinity College, Oxford.
1898	O'Brien, Daniel. 2, Belfast-terrace, N. C. Road, Dublin.
1900	O'Brien, Mrs. South Hill, Limerick.
1889	O'Brien, Rev. Lucius H., M.A. The Rectory, Adare, Co. Limerick.
1871	O'Brien, Robert Vere, B.A. (Oxon.), J.P. Ballyalla, Ennis.
1901	O'Byrne, William L. Woodville, The Hill, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
1890	O'Callaghan, Mrs. Maryfort, O'Callaghan's Mills, Limerick.
1894	**O'Callaghan, Rev. Joseph. 59, Eccles-street, Dublin.
1890	O'Callaghan-Westropp, Lieut.-Col. George, J.P. Coolreagh, Bodyke.
1903	O'Conchobhair, Domhnall. 46 and 47, Dame-street, Dublin.
1901	O'Connell, Daniel, J.P., D.L. Derrynane Abbey, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
1902	O'Connell, Mrs. Mary. Killeen, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1893	O'Connor, Charles A., M.A., K.C. 50, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
1897	O'Connor, M. J., Solicitor. 2, George-street, Wexford.
1890	*O'Connor, Rev. T. C., M.A., Canon. Donaghmore, Baltinglass.
1895	O'Connor-Morris, Miss L. Gartnamona, Tullamore.
1904	Odell, Mrs. Cloncoskraine, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
1902	O'Donovan, Rev. J., P.P. Loughrea, Co. Galway.
1897	O'Duffy, John, L.D.S., R.C.S.I. 54, Rutland-square, Dublin.
1900	O'Duffy, Kevin E. 85, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
1904	O'Grady, John Shiel, J.P. Rickardstown, Newbridge, Co. Kildare.
1856	O'Hanlon, Very Rev. John, P.P., M.R.I.A., Canon. 3, Leahy-terrace, Irishtown, Dublin.
1889	O'Hanrahan, Timothy Wm., J.P. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
1890	O'Hara, Right Rev. John M., Monsignor, P.P., V.F. Crossmolina.
1896	O'Hennessy, Bartholomew. Kilkee.
1889	O'Keefe, Stephen M., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Delville, Glasnevin.
1895	**Oldham, Miss Edith. 33, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
1903	O'Leary, Very Rev. Canon David, P.P. The Presbytery, Dingle.
1891	O'LEARY, Rev. Edward , P.P. Portarlington.
1888	O'Leary, John. 17, Temple-street, Dublin.
1892	O'LEARY, Rev. John , P.P. Kilmalchedor, Ballyferriter, Dingle.
1884	O'LEARY, Patrick . Main-street, Graigueanamanagh, Co Kilkenny.
1870	**O'Loughlen, John. 188, Burdett-road, London, E.
1899	O'Malley, Arthur M. The Quay, Westport.
1891	O'Malley, Thomas. 29, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar, Dublin.
1891	O'Meara, John J., Solicitor, T.C. 211, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.
1894	O'Morchoe, The. Kerry-mount, Foxrock.
1891	O'Morchoe, Rev. Thomas A., M.A. Kilternan Rectory, Golden Ball.
1890	O'Mulrenin, Richard J., M.A. 6, Carlisle-street, S. C. Road, Dublin.
1903	O'Neill, Mrs. Jocelyn-street, Dundalk.
1863	O'Neill, Very Rev. Archdeacon, P.P., V.F. Clontarf, Dublin.
1898	**O'Reilly, Rev. Edward, Adm. Frankford, King's County.
1896	O'RIORDAN, Rev. John , C.C. Cloyne.
1904	O'Ryan, Rev. T. W., C.C. Presbytery, Inchicore.
1870	Ormonde, Most Hon. the Marquis of, K.P. The Castle, Kilkenny.
1887	Orpen, Goddard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
1903	Orpen, Miss Lilian Iris. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
1890	Orpen, Ven. Raymond d'A., M.A., Archdeacon of Ardfert. Rectory, Tralee.
1903	Orpen, Lieut.-Col. R. T. St. Leonard's, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1898	O'Sullivan, Michael. 17, Claremont Gardens, Milngavie, Glasgow.
1904	O'Sullivan, Dr. W. J. Maiville, Lisdoonvarna, Co. Clare.
1898	**O'Toole, Arthur. 5, Foster-place, Dublin.
1890	Oulton, Rev. Richard C., M.A., B.D., Glynn Rectory, Glynn, Belfast.
1894	Overend, Trevor T. L., LL.B. 12, Ely-place, Dublin.
1894	Palmer, J. E. Roselawn, Ballybrack.
1900	Palmer, Miss. Dunkerrin, Kenmare, Co. Kerry.
1879	Palmer, Mrs. Carrig House, Lower Road, Cork.

- Elected
 1888 Panton, John. 25, St. Andrew-street, Dublin.
 1896 Parkinson, Miss. Westbourne, Ennis.
 1899 Paterson, Thomas. Tildarg, Merrion-road, Dublin.
 1892 Patterson, Mervyn S. Tullyard, Dungannon.
 1868 Patterson, William Hugh, M.R.I.A. Garranard, Strandtown, Belfast.
 1890 Pentland, George Henry, B.A., J.P. Black Hall, Drogheda.
 1895 Perry, James, M.E. M. Inst. C.E., County Surveyor. Well Park, Galway.
 1893 Peter, Miss A. 78, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
 1900 Peyton, Geo., LL.D. 4, Prince Arthur-terrace, Leinster-square, Rath-
 mines.
 1890 Phelps, Ernest James. Water Park, Castleconnell.
 1888 Phillips, James J., C.E., Archt. 61, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
 1896 Piatt, Arthur Donn, Vice-Consul, U.S.A. 7, Churchill-terrace, Sandy-
 mount-avenue, Dublin.
 1903 Pim, A. Cecil. Monarna, White Abbey, Co. Antrim.
 1900 Pim, Miss E. M. Newtown Park, Waterford.
 1898 Pim, Edward W., J.P. 27, High-street, Belfast.
 1902 Pim, Miss Ida. Lonsdale, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Pim, Jonathan, Barrister-at-Law. 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 1894 ****Pim, Miss Mary E.** Greenbank, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Pirrie-Conerney, Rev. John, M.A. The Rectory, Alla, Claudy, London-
 derry.
 1904 Place, G. W., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
 1903 Place, Thomas. Dumayne, Rosemount, New Ross.
 1890 Plummer, Rev. Richard, D.D. Ashfield Glebe, Cootehill.
 1887 Plunkett, Thomas, M.R.I.A. Enniskillen.
 1891 Poë, Lieut.-Col. Wm. Hutcheson, C.B., J.P., D.L. Heywood, Ballinakill.
 1864 **POER, COUNT DE LA**, Lord le Power and Corroghmore, D.L. Gurteen le
 Poer, Kilsheela, Co. Waterford.
 1899 Pollock, Hugh, Barrister-at-Law. 50, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1892 Pounder, Festus Kelly, B.A. St. John's-terrace, Enniscorthy.
 1904 Powell, Miss Una T. E. Bella Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1892 Powell, Rev. William H., D.D. Garrycloyne Rectory, Blarney.
 1897 Power, Ambrose William Bushe. Glencairn Abbey, Lismore.
 1884 Power, Rev. George Beresford, B.A. Kilfane Glebe, Thomastown.
 1876 Power, Rev. John, P.P. Kiltelly, Pallasgreen, Co. Limerick.
 1868 Power, Laurence John, J.P. Parade House, Kilkenny.
 1884 Power, Rev. Patrick. De La Salle Training College, Waterford.
 1890 Preston, Captain John, R.M. The Moorings, Athlone.
 1902 Prochazka, the Baroness P. Leyrath, Kilkenny.
 1890 Purdon, Henry Samuel, M.D. 60, Pakenham-place, Belfast.
 1894 Purefoy, Rev. Amyrald D., M.A. The Rectory, Chapelizod, Co. Dublin.
 1898 Puxley, Rev. Herbert Lavallin, M.A. (Oxon.) Catton Rectory, Stamford-
 bridge, York.
 1890 Quan-Smith, Samuel A. Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 1889 ****Quin, James, J.P.** Temple Mungret, Limerick.
 1893 ****Quinn, Rev. Bartholomew, P.P.** Laveragh, Ballymote.
 1890 Quinn, Very Rev. Edward T., Canon, P.P. Ballybrack.
 1896 Rankin, Rev. R. B., B.A. All Saints, Newtown-Cunningham.
 1880 Raphael, George. Galgorm House, Ballymena.
 1891 Rapmund, Rev. Joseph, P.P. Parochial House, Silverstream, Co. Monaghan.
 1898 Redington, Miss Matilda. Kilcornan, Oranmore.
 1903 Reeves, Jonathan Townley. Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bank of Ireland,
 Dublin.
 1891 Reynell, Miss. 22, Eccles-street, Dublin.
 1902 Reynolds, Mrs. Kate Isabella. The Mullens, Ballyshannon.
 1890 ****Rice, Mrs.** Grange Erin, Douglas, Co. Cork.
 1881 Rice, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Justice, J.P. Bushmount, Lixnaw.
 1897 Rice, Thomas. 5, Carlisle-street, Dublin.

- Elected
 1895 Richardson, Miss Anna H. Craigentemple, Portrush.
 1898 **Richey, Henry A., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 13, Lower Pembroke-street, Dublin.
 1904 Robb, Alfred A., M.A., PH. D. Lisnabreeny House, Castlereagh, Belfast.
 1897 Roberts, Edward, M.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools. Plás Maesincla, Carnarvon.
 1890 Roberts, George C., J.P. Summer Hill, Enniscorthy.
 1902 * Roberts, W. Johnson, Solicitor. 14, Adelaide-road, Dublin.
 1900 * Roberts, Rev. W. R. Westropp, F.T.C.D. Clonlea, Dundrum.
 1902 Robertson, Hume. Rose Park, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Robinson, James, Solicitor. 47, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 1891 **Robinson Thomas. Drogheda.
 1897 Roche, H. J. Borodale, Enniscorthy.
 1871 Roche, Patrick J. Woodville, New Ross.
 1900 Rochfort, William., J.P. Cahir Abbey, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
 1892 Rock, Thomas Dennis. 62, Leadenhall-street, London, E.C.
 1892 Rogers, William E. Belfast Banking Company, Portaferry.
 1896 Roice, Bernard Herron. Churchtown House, Tagoa.
 1892 Rolleston, Thomas William, B.A. 104, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1894 **ROTHERAM, Edward Crofton.** Belview, Crossakiel, Co. Meath.
 1896 Russell, John, C.E. 16, Waring-street, Belfast.
 1890 Ryan, Very Rev. Arthur, President, St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
 1904 Ryan, Rev. Edmond J., C.C. Kilcommon, Thurles.
 1889 Ryan, Rev. James J., V.-P. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
 1891 Ryland, Richard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Mount-street Crescent, Dublin.
 1895 * Salazar, Count Lorenzo. Director of the Museo di S. Martino, Naples.
 1889 Sankey, Lieut.-General Sir Richard H., K.C.B., M.R.I.A. 32, Grosvenor-place, London, S.W.
 1879 Scott, Rev. Charles, M.A. St. Paul's Parsonage, Belfast.
 1892 Scott, Conway, C.E. 15, Wellington Park, Belfast.
 1900 Scott, Geo. Curraghgower, Limerick.
 1901 Scott, John Alfred, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.I. 36, Lr. Baggot-street, Dublin.
 1891 Scott, John William, J.P. Roslevan, Ennis.
 1892 Scott, Samuel. Adengorm, Campbeltown, N.B.
 1891 Scriven, Rev. Rowland, M.A. (Cantab.), M.R.I.A. Balbriggan.
 1892 Semple, Rev. R. H., M.A. 80, George-street, Limerick.
 1896 Shackleton, George. Anna Liffey House, Lucan.
 1892 Shackleton, Mrs. J. F. Anna Liffey House, Lucan.
 1902 Shaw, Frederick, M.R.I.A. 20, Laurence-street, Drogheda.
 1895 Shaw, His Honor Judge, M.A. 69, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1898 Shaw, Thomas J., J.P. 58, Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1900 Shea, Wm. Askin, J.P. 8, Westland-row; and 27, Belgrave-road, Rathmines.
 1896 Sheridan, Mrs. 26, North Earl-street, Dublin.
 1896 Sheridan, Rev. N. T. Ramsgrange, Athurstown, *via* Waterford.
 1898 * Sherwin, Rev. James P. St. Michael's Hospital, Kingstown.
 1902 Sheil, H. Percy. Benedine, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
 1896 Shore, The Hon. Mrs. Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1901 **Shuley, John. 1, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
 1902 **Sibley, John Churchill, Mue. Doc. 22, Fernshaw-road, West Brompton, London, S.W.
 1894 Simmons, John, Solicitor. 4, Duncairne-terrace, Bray.
 1890 Simms, James. Abercorn Arms, Strabane.
 1900 Simpson, James Knight. 2 Bedford-street, Bolton, Lancashire.
 1895 Simpson, Mrs. West Church Manse, Ballymena.
 1887 Simpson, William M. Walmer, Ballyholme-road, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1893 Skeffington, Joseph Bartholomew, M.A., LL.D., D.I.N.S. Waterford.
 1903 Slevin, Felix. Manager, Hibernian Bank, Londonderry.
 1888 Sloane, Mrs. Moy Hill, Co. Tyrone.
 1893 * Small, John F., Solicitor. 37, Hill-street, Newry.
 1902 Smith, Blair, J.P. Errigal House, Laurence-street, Londonderry.
 1894 **Smith, Rev. George Nuttall, M.A. Enniskerry.
 1898 * Smith, John, B.E., M. Inst. C.E., Co. Surveyor. Ballinasloe.

- Elected
 1887 Smith, Owen. Nobber, Co. Meath.
 1890 Smith, Rev. Canon, D.D. Vicarage, Clyde-road, Dublin.
 1901 Smith, Ruthven Frederic Ruthven. Mount Cottage, Sunningdale, near Ascot.
 1889 **Smithwick, Edmund, J.P. Kilerene House, Kilkenny.
 1900 Smyth, Major B. W., M.V.O., Roy. Hib. Military School. Phoenix Park.
 1893 Smyth, Edward Weber, J.P. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1895 Smyth, Mrs. E. Weber. 73, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1894 Smyth, Richard O'Brien, C.E., Archt. 2, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.
 1895 Smyth, Robert Wolfe, J.P. Portlick Castle, Athlone.
 1897 Smyth, Thomas. 2, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin.
 1891 Somerville-Large, Rev. William S., M.A. Carnalway Rectory, Kilcullen.
 1902 Spring, Richard Francis, C.E. Polehare, Wexford.
 1890 **STACK, Rev. C. Maurice, M.A.** The Vicarage, Magheraclone, Kells.
 1904 Staapooles, Guildford William Jack, c/o Messrs. Milward Jones & Cameron, Solicitors, 6, Dawson-street, Dnblin.
 1904 Staapooles, Miss Gwendoline Clare. Edenvale, Ennis, Co. Clare.
 1903 Staapooles, Mrs. J. Care of Messrs. Jones & Cameron, Dawson-street, Dublin.
 1893 Stanley, Rev. William Francis, P.P. St. Joseph's Church, Stockport, Cheshire.
 1894 Steele, Charles W. 18, Crosthwaite Park, Kingstown.
 1895 Steele, Rev. William B., B.A. Levally Rectory, Enniskillen.
 1891 Stephens, Pembroke Scott, K.C. Plowden Buildings, Temple, London.
 1894 * Stephens, Samuel. Ardshane, Holywood, Co. Down.
 1903 Stevenson, Mrs. James. Fort James, Londonderry.
 1903 Stevenson, James. Fort James, Londonderry.
 1893 Stewart, Rev. Harvey, M.A. All Saints' Rectory, Blackrock.
 1898 Stewart, Rev. Joseph Atkinson. Killowen, Lisburn.
 1889 Stirrup, Mark, F.G.S.L. High Thorn, Bowden, Cheshire.
 1899 Stoney, Robert Vesey. Rossturk Castle, Westport.
 1900 Stourton, Miss. South Gate, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth
 1893 Stubbs, Henry, M.A., J.P., D.L. Danby, Ballyshannon.
 1879 Swanston, William. 4A, Cliftonville-avenue, Belfast.
 1901 Swanzy, Rev. Henry Beddall, M.A. Ivy Lodge, Newry, Co. Down.
 1889 Synnott, Nicholas J., B.A. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law. Furness, Naas.
- 1890 Tarleton, Mrs. The Abbey, Killeigh, Tullamore.
 1898 Tarleton, Thomas. 30, Ormond-road, Rathmines.
 1897 ***Teague, Bernard. Scotstown, Co. Monaghan.
 1894 Telford, Rev. William H. Reston Free Church Manse, Berwickshire.
 1890 Tempest, William, J.P. Douglas-place, Dundalk.
 1901 Tenison, Arthur Heron Ryan, A.R.I.B.A. 12, Little College-street, Westminster, London, S.W.; and 19, Bath-road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, W.
 1887 Ternan, Obadiah, M.D. Enniskillen.
 1897 Thomas, W. J. Mullingar.
 1895 Thunder, Francis P. Municipal Buildings, Cork-hill, Dublin.
 1903 Tibbs, John Harding, B.A. 10, Windsor-road, Rathmines.
 1900 ***Tibbs, Rev. P. Graydon, B.A. Oxmantown Mall, Birr, King's County.
 1901 **Tighe, M. J., M.R.I.A.I. Hillside House, Galway.
 1896 Tivy, Henry L., J.P. Barnstead, Blackrock, Cork.
 1893 Tohill, Rev. John, Adm. St. Peter's, Milford-street, Belfast.
 1890 Toler-Aylward, Hector J. C., J.P., D.L. Shankill Castle, Whitehall, Co. Kilkenny.
 1889 *Toner, Rev. Joseph. St. Lawrence, Atlantic-avenue, Pittsburg, U.S.A.
 1892 **TORRENS, Thomas Hughes, J.P.** Edenmore, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.
 1896 **Townsend, George C. Cordangan Manor, Tipperary.
 1895 Townsend, Thomas Courtney, B.A. (Dubl.). 23, South Frederick-street, Dublin.
 1883 Traill, William A., M.A., C.E. Giant's Causeway, Bushmills.
 1891 Tresilian, Richard S. 9, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1899 ***Trimble, Andrew, M.B., B.Ch. 2, Violet-terrace, Crumlin-road, Belfast.

Elected

- 1897 Tuite, James, M.P. 14, Greville-street, Mullingar.
 1896 Turtle, Frederick Locke. The Villa, Aghalee, Lurgan.
 1902 Tweedy, John. Friendly Brothers' House, 22, St. Stephen's-green, North, Dublin.
 1891 * Twigg, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Canon. Vicarage, Swords, Co. Dublin.
 1904 Twigg, Thomas S. 16, Royal-terrace, West, Kingstown.
 1901 Twigge, R. W., F.S.A. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- 1904 Ussher, Beverley Grant, H. M. Inspector of Schools. Meole Brace, Shrewsbury.
 1893 Ussher, Richard John, J.P., D.L. Cappagh House, Cappagh R.S.O., Co. Waterford.
- 1900 Vandeleur, Capt. Hector, Lord Lieutenant of Co. Clare. Cohercon, Co. Clare.
 1897 **VANSTON, George T. B.**, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. Hildon Park, Terenure-road, Rathgar.
 1890 Vaughan, Joseph, J.P. Mount View, Athlone.
 1891 Venables, William J. Gortallowry House, Cookstown.
 1901 Vereker, Henry. 89, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
 1903 Verlin, W. J., Solicitor. Youghal.
- 1890 Waldron, Laurence A., M.P., M.R.I.A. 10, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
 1904 Walker, Richard Crampton, Solicitor. Fonthill Abbey, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Walkington, Miss, M.A., LL.D. Edenvale, Strandtown, Co. Down.
 1901 Wall, Rev. Francis J. St. Mary's, Haddington-road, Dublin.
 1897 Wallace, Colonel Robert H., C.B. Downpatrick.
 1894 Walpole, Thomas, C.E., M. Inst. N.A. Windsor Lodge, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1896 Walsh, John Edward, M.A. (Dubl.), Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Belville, Donnybrook.
 1890 Walsh, Rev. James H., D.D., Canon. 44, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 1903 Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P. Williamstown House, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
- 1891 Walsh, Rev. Robert, D.D., Canon. St. Mary's Rectory, Donnybrook.
 1890 Walsh, Thomas Arnold, Kilmallock.
 1899 Walsh, V. J. Hussey. 81, Onslow Gardens, London, W.
 1898 Walsh, Captain Walter H. Hussey-, Leicestershire Regt. Field Post Office, Shan-hai-Kwan, North China.
- 1899 Walshe, Richard D. 20, Harrington-street, Dublin.
 1902 Ward, Edward. Ulster Bank, Dundalk.
 1896 Ward, H. Somerset. Dunibert House, Balfron, N.B.
 1904 Ward, Joseph, J.P., Chairman, Killiney District Council. Ardmore, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
- 1896 Wardell, John, B.A. (Dub.), M.R.I.A., Professor of Modern History, Dublin University; and of Political Economy, Queen's College, Galway. 34, Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1900 Warnock, Frank H. 9, Herbert-road, Sandymount.
 1903 Watters, Rev. Thomas F., B.A. St. John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1901 Weaver, Lawrence, F.S.A. 109, Victoria-street, Westminster, London, S.W.
- 1884 **WEBB, Alfred.** Shelmalier, Orwell Park, Rathgar.
 1890 Webber, William Downes, J.P. Mitchelstown Castle, Co. Cork.
 1896 Webster, Henry, M. Inst. C.E., Co. Surveyor. Westgate House, Wexford.
 1898 Webster, William, Solicitor. 35A, Church-street, St. Helens.
 1888 Welch, Robert. 49, Lonsdale-street, Belfast.
 1902 Weldon, Rev. P. S. Nurney Rectory, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.
 1889 Weldrick, George. 40, Park-avenue, Sandymount, Co. Dublin.
 1901 West, Capt. Erskine Eyre, Barrister-at-Law. White Park, Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh.
- 1902 West, George Francis, M.D., Resident Medical Superintendent, Kilkenny County and City Lunatic Asylum, Kilkenny.

Elected)	
1893	Westmeath, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Pallas, Tynagh, Loughrea.
1895	Westropp, Miss. Park House, Clonlara.
1889	Westropp, Lieut.-Colonel William Keily, M.R.I.A., J.P. 6, Shorncliffe-road, Felkestone.
1895	Wheeler, Francis C. P. 1, Lisgar-terrace, West Kensington, London.
1891	Whelan, Rev. Percy Scott, M.A., Warden, St. Columba's College, Rath-farnham.
1892	White, Very Rev. George Purcell, M.A., B.D., Dean of Cashel. Cashel.
1887	White, Rev. Hill Wilson, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Wilson's Hospital, Multifarnham, Co. Westmeath.
1889	White, James, L.R.C.P.S.E., J.P. Kilkenny.
1883	White, Colonel J. Grove, J.P. Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
1899	White, John. Derrybawn, Bushey Park-road, Rathgar.
1880	White, John Newsom, M.R.I.A., J.P. Rocklands, Waterford.
1894	White, Very Rev. P., P.P., V.G., Dean of Killaloe. Nenagh.
1896	WHITE, Rev. Patrick W., B.A. Stonebridge Manse, Clones.
1896	WHITE, Richard Blair. Ashton Park, Monkstown.
1889	White, Robert. Scotch Rath, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
1889	White, W. Grove, LL.B., Crown Solicitor for Co. Kildare. 18, Elgin-road, Dublin.
1901	Whitfield, George. Modreeny, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary.
1889	Wilkinson, Arthur B. Berkeley, B.E. Drombroe, Bantry, Co. Cork.
1902	Wilkinson, George, B.A. Ringlestown, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
1900	Wilkinson, W. J. Newtown Park, Trim.
1888	Willcocks, Rev. Wm. Smyth, M.A., Canon. Dunleckney Glebe, Bagenals-town.
1868	Williams, Edward Wilmot, J.P., D.L. Herrington, Dorchester.
1894	Williams, Rev. Sterling de Courcy, M.A. Durrow Rectory, Tullamore.
1874	Williams, Mrs. W. Parkside, Wimbledon Common, London, S.W.
1899	Williamson, Rev. Charles Arthur, M.A. 14, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
1896	Willis, Rev. J. R., B.A. Moyne Rectory, Rathdrum.
1889	Willoughby, John, High-street, Kilkenny.
1904	Wilson, Charles J., Barrister-at-Law. 6, St. James'-terrace, Clonskeagh, Co. Dublin.
1893	Wilmot, Henry, C.E. 22, Waltham-terrace, Blackrock.
1903	Wilson, George James. 8, Cope-street, and Tavistock, Ranelagh-rd., Dublin.
1887	Wilson, James Mackay, M.A., J.P. Currygrane, Edgeworthstown.
1895	Wilson, R. H. The Old Croft, Holmewood, Surrey.
1872	Windisch, Professor Dr. Ernst, Hon. M.R.I.A. Universitäts Strasse, 15, Leipzig.
1900	Wood, Herbert. 6, Clarinda-park, E., Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
1890	Woodward, Rev. Alfred Sadleir, M.A. St. Mark's Vicarage, Ballysillan, Belfast.
1890	Woodward, Rev. George Otway, B.A. St. John's Vicarage, Hillsborough,
1887	Wright, Rev. Wm. Ball, M.A. Osbaldwick Vi-arage, York.
1888	Wybrants, W. Geale, M.A., J.P. 55, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
1901	***Wynne, Captain Graham. Clogherweigh, Sligo.
1904	Yeates, Miss Ada. 39, Ormond-road, Rathmines.
1890	YOUNGE, Miss Katharine E. Upper Oldtown, Rathdowney.
1901	Zimmer, Heinrich, D. PHIL., Professor of Celtic Philology in the Univers of Berlin. Halensee, Berlin, Auguste Viktoriastrasse, 3.

Total number of Fellows, . . .	182	(Life and Hon. Fellows, 50.)
„ „ Members, . . .	1073	(Life Members, 35.)
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Total, 31st December, 1904,	1255	

N.B.—The Fellows and Members of the Society are requested to communicate to the Honorary Secretary, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, changes of address, or other corrections in the foregoing lists which may be needed.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH RECEIVE THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland FOR 1904.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.

Antiquary (Editor of), 62, Paternoster-row, London, E.C.

Architect, The (Editor of), Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Hill, London, W.C.

Architects of Ireland: The Secretary, Royal Institute of, 20, Lincoln-place, Dublin.

Belfast Naturalists' Field Club: The Museum, Belfast.

Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society: Rev. William Bazeley, M.A.,
Librarian, The Society's Library, Eastgate, Gloucester.

British Archæological Association: Hon. Secretary, 32, Sackville-street, Piccadilly,
London, W.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society: Rev. C. H. Evelyn
White, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society: J. E. Foster, Secretary, 10, Trinity-street,
Cambridge.

Cambrian Archæological Association: c/o the Rev. Canon Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A.,
Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan, R.S.O., N. Wales.

Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society: John Hewitt, Hon.
Librarian, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.

Cork Historical and Archæological Society: Hon. Secretary, care of Messrs.
Guy & Co., 70, Patrick-street, Cork.

Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club: Captain Elwes, Bossington,
Bournemouth.

Folk Lore (Editor of), 270, Strand, London, W.C.

Galway Archæological and Historical Society: The Secretaries, Queen's College,
Galway.

Glasgow Archæological Society: W. G. Black, Secretary, 88, West Regent-street,
Glasgow.

Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: The Secretary, Royal Institution,
Colquitt-street, Liverpool.

His Majesty's Private Library: The Librarian, Buckingham Palace, London.

Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland: Hon. Secretary, 35, Dawson-street,
Dublin.

Irish Builder, Editor of: R. M. Butler, Esq., Dawson Chambers, Dawson-street,
Dublin.

Kent Archæological Society: The Hon. Secretary, Maidstone, Kent.

- Kildare (County) Archæological Society : c/o Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster's Office, The Castle, Dublin.
- Louth (County) Archæological Society.
- National Library of Ireland, Kildare-street, Dublin.
- Numismatic Society : The Secretaries, 22, Albemarle-street, London, W.
- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia : Hall of the Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.
- Palestine Exploration Fund (Secretary of), 38, Conduit-street, London, W.
- Paris, Museum of St. Germain.
- Revue de Faculté de Midi, Bordeaux.
- Royal Institute of British Architects : The Librarian, 9, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall : The Hon. Secretary, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.
- Royal Irish Academy : 19, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : A. H. Lyell, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, 20, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles : 11, Rue Ravenstein, Bruxelles.
- Société des Bollandistes, 14, Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles.
- Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord : Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, London.
- Society of Antiquaries of London : W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., Assistant Secretary, Burlington House, London, W.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne : Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland : Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D., National Museum of Antiquities, Queen-street, Edinburgh.
- Society of Architects, Staple Inn Buildings, South Holborn, London, W.
- Society of Biblical Archæology : W. C. L. Nash, Secretary, 37, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.
- Smithsonian Institution : Washington, D. C., U.S.A., c/o Wm. Wesley, 28, Essex-street, Strand, London.
- Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society : William Bidgood, Taunton Castle, Taunton.
- Stockholm, Academy of Antiquities.
- Suffolk Institute of Archæology. The Librarian, Athenæum, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Surrey Archæological Society : Hon. Secretaries, Castle Arch, Guildford.
- Sussex Archæological Society : Care of Hon. Librarian, The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- The Copyright Office, British Museum, London.
- The Thoresby Society, 10, Park-street, Leeds.
- The Library, Trinity College, Dublin (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The University Library, Cambridge (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The Bodleian Library, Oxford (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society : Honorary Secretary, Waterford.
- Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society : The Secretary, Devizes.
- Yorkshire Archæological Society : E. K. Clark, Esq., Hon. Librarian, 10, Park-street, Leeds.

GENERAL RULES

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

(As Revised at the Annual Meeting, 1898.)

OBJECTS.

1. The Society is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments and Memorials of the Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with the Antiquities, Language, and Literature of Ireland.

CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of FELLOWS, MEMBERS, ASSOCIATES, and HONORARY FELLOWS.

3. FELLOWS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, each name having been previously submitted to and approved of by the Council, with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Fellow shall pay an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1, or a Life Composition of £14, which includes the Entrance Fee of £2.

4. MEMBERS shall be similarly elected, on being proposed by a Fellow or Member, and shall pay an Entrance Fee of 10s. and an Annual Subscription of 10s., or a Life Composition of £7, which shall include the Entrance Fee of 10s.

5. ASSOCIATES may be elected by the Council, on being proposed by a Fellow or Member, for any single Meeting or Excursion of the Society at a Subscription to be fixed by the Council; but they shall not vote, or be entitled to any privileges of the Society except admission to such Meeting or Excursion.

6. All Fees due on joining the Society must be paid either before or within two months from the date of Election. Fellows and Members failing to pay shall be reported at the next General Meeting after the expiration of this period.

7. Any Fellow who has paid his full Annual Subscription of £1 for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE FELLOW on payment of a sum of £8.

8. Any Member who has paid his full Annual Subscription of 10s. for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE MEMBER on payment of £5.

9. Any Member who has paid his Life Composition, on being advanced to the rank of Fellow, may compound by paying a sum of £7, which sum includes the Entrance Fee for Fellowship.

10. A Member paying an Annual Subscription of 10s., on being elected to Fellowship, shall pay an admission Fee of 30s., instead of the Entrance Fee of £2 provided for in Rule 3.

11. All Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on 1st day of January in each year, or on election. The Subscriptions of Fellows and Members elected at the last Meeting of any year may be placed to their credit for the following year. A List of all Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions are two years in arrear shall be read out at the Annual General Meeting, and published in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.

12. Fellows shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and all extra publications of the Society. Members shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and may obtain the extra publications on payment of the price fixed by the Council.

13. Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions for the year have not been paid are not entitled to the Journal; and any Fellow or Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives and *retains* the Journal, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of 3s. for each quarterly part.

14. Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at all General Meetings of the Society. Any such Fellow present at a General Meeting can call for a vote by orders, and, in that case, no resolution can be passed unless by a majority of both the Fellows and of the Members present and voting. Honorary Fellows have not the right of voting, and are not eligible for any of the Offices mentioned in Rules 15 and 16, nor can they be elected Members of Council. In cases where a ballot is called for, no Candidate for Fellowship or Membership can be admitted unless by the votes of two-thirds of the Fellows and Members present, and voting.

OFFICE-BEARERS AND COUNCIL.

15. The Officers of the Society, who must be Fellows, shall consist of a Patron-in-Chief, Patrons, President, four Vice-Presidents for each Province, a General Secretary, and a Treasurer. All Lieutenants of Counties to be *ex-officio* Patrons on election as Fellows.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting in each year. The nominations for these offices must be received at the Rooms of the Society on or before the first day of December preceding the Annual General Meeting, addressed to the General Secretary, and endorsed "Nomination of Officers." Each Nomination Paper must be signed by seven or more Fellows or Members as proposers; and in the case of a Candidate who has not held such office before, his Nomination Paper must be accompanied by an intimation under his hand that he will serve in that office if elected. In case the number of persons so nominated shall exceed the number of vacancies, a printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates arranged in alphabetical order, distinguishing those recommended by the Council, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with an asterisk the name of each Candidate for whom he, or she, votes. The Voter shall then return the Balloting Paper to the General Secretary, on or before the day preceding the Election, in an addressed envelope, which will be supplied; sealed, and marked *Balloting Paper*, and signed outside with the name of the Voter: the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a Voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than

the number specified thereon, such vote shall be void. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized on the day of election by at least two Scrutineers appointed by the Council, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held on the evening of that day. The Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a List of the Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions have been paid up to the day preceding the Election, and who are consequently qualified to vote at such Election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, subject to the provisions of Rule 17, provided that, when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate whose name is longest on the books of the Society, shall be declared elected. The President shall be elected for a term of three years, and the same person shall not be elected for two consecutive periods. The four senior or longest elected Vice-Presidents, one in each province, shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the General Meeting at which they retire. The Council may submit to the Annual General Meeting the name of a Fellow, Hon. Fellow, or Member, who will act as Hon. President, and the Meeting may adopt the name submitted, or may elect another by a majority of votes, such Hon. President to hold office for one year, and shall not be elected for two consecutive periods.

17. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council of Twelve, eight of whom at least must be Fellows (exclusive of the President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary General Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council). The Council shall meet on the last Tuesday of each month, or on such other days as they may deem necessary. Four Members of Council shall form a quorum. The three senior or longest elected Members of the Council shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting at which they retire. In case of a vacancy occurring for a Member of Council during the year, the Council shall at its next Meeting co-opt a Fellow or Member, to retire by rotation. A Member of Council who has failed to attend one-third of the ordinary Meetings of the Council during the year shall forfeit his seat at the next Annual General Meeting. The vacancies caused by the retirement by rotation of Members of Council shall be filled up in the manner prescribed for the election of President and Vice-Presidents in Rule 16.

18. The Council may appoint Honorary Provincial Secretaries for each Province, and Honorary Local Secretaries throughout the country, whose duties shall be defined by the Council, and they shall report to the Honorary General Secretary, at least once a year, on all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, investigate Local History and Tradition, and give notice of all injury inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, on Monuments of Antiquity or Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted to restore or preserve them.

19. The Council may appoint Committees to take charge of particular departments of business, and shall report to the Annual General Meeting the state of the Society's Funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year. They may appoint an Hon. Curator of the Museum, and draw up such rules for its management as they may think fit. The Hon. General Secretary may, with the approval of the Council, appoint a paid Assistant Secretary; the salary to be determined by the Council.

20. The Treasurer's Accounts shall be audited by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting in each year, who shall present their Report at a subsequent General Meeting of the Society.

21. All property of the Society shall be vested in the Council, and shall be disposed of as they shall direct. The Museum of Antiquities cannot be disposed of without the sanction of the Society being first obtained.

22. For the purpose of carrying out the arrangements in regard to the Meetings and Excursions to be held in the respective Provinces, the Honorary Provincial Secretaries may be summoned to attend the Meetings of Council *ex-officio*. Honorary Secretaries of the County or Counties in which such Meetings are held shall be similarly summoned.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

23. The Society shall meet four times in each year on such days as the Council shall ascertain to be the most convenient, when Fellows and Members shall be elected, Papers on Historical and Archæological Subjects shall be read and discussed, and Objects of Antiquarian Interest exhibited. Excursions may be arranged where practicable.

24. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in Dublin in the month of January ; one Meeting in the year shall be held in Kilkenny ; the other Meetings to be held in such places as the Council may recommend. Notice of such General Meetings shall be forwarded to each Fellow and Member. Evening Meetings for reading and discussing Papers, and making exhibits, may be held at such times as shall be arranged by the Council.

PUBLICATIONS.

25. No Paper shall be read to the Society without the permission of the Council having previously been obtained. The Council shall determine the order in which Papers shall be read, and the time to be allowed for each. All Papers listed or Communications received shall be the property of the Society. The Council shall determine whether, and to what extent any Paper or Communication shall be published

26. All matter concerning existing religious and political differences shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the discussions held at the Meetings of the Society.

27. The Proceedings and Papers read at the several Meetings, and where approved of by the Council, shall be printed in the form of a Journal, and supplied to all Fellows and Members not in arrear. If the funds of the Society permit, extra publications may be printed and supplied to all Fellows free, and to such Members as may subscribe specially for them.

GENERAL.

28. These Rules shall not be altered or amended except at an Annual General Meeting of the Society, and after notice given at the previous General Meeting. All By-laws and Regulations dealing with the General Rules formerly made are hereby repealed.

29. The enactment of any new Rule, or the alteration or repeal of any existing one, must be in the first instance submitted to the Council ; the proposal to be signed by seven Fellows or Members, and forwarded to the Hon. Secretary. Such proposal being made, the Council shall lay same before a General Meeting, with its opinion thereon ; and such proposal shall not be ratified unless passed by a majority of the Fellows and Members present at such General Meeting subject to the provisions of Rule 14.

ROBERT COCHRANE, I.S.O., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
Honorary General Secretary.

ST. STEPHEN'S-GREEN, DUBLIN.
31st December, 1904.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1904.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I., VOL. XXXIV.

Papers.

SOME NOTES ON THE JUDGES OF IRELAND IN THE YEAR
1739.

BY FRANCIS ELRINGTON BALL, M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read APRIL 28, 1903.]

IN the brief Paper which Mr. R. J. Kelly contributes to the *Journal* of the Society, many judges now forgotten, but in their day well known in our country, are mentioned; and I hope some further information about them may prove not without interest. As perhaps has been at times apparent in my Papers on the topography of the County Dublin, the biography of the members of the judicial bench in Ireland has for me a great attraction. It seems somewhat presumptuous, however, in one like myself, who belongs to neither branch of the legal profession, to attempt to write about its worthies; and I have only been induced to do so from a consideration of the valuable material their lives afford for the illustration of social history.

The year 1739, to which Mr. Kelly's Paper refers, found Ireland under the complete control of England; and, as Mr. Lecky has said,¹ the Irish nation was then as passive as clay in the hands of the potter.

¹ "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," by the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky (London, 1892), vol. i., p. 241.

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 { Vol. xxxiv., Consec. Ser. {

It was not considered safe for England that a native—a term which included everyone who had been born or educated in Ireland—should have power in the government of his country; and if such a one was admitted to high place, care was generally taken that his voice should be counterbalanced by that of an official freshly arrived from England. The Lord Lieutenant was only resident for about six or eight months, every second year, when the Irish Parliament met; but during his absence the chief government of the country was vested in Lords Justices, whose selection was largely influenced by the reliance which could be placed on them to protect what was called the English interest. The office of Lord Lieutenant was held in 1739 by a member of the noble house of Cavendish, William, third Duke of Devonshire, who had been appointed to that office two years before, and who arrived on his second visit to Ireland in that year. He paid two subsequent visits to this country before he surrendered the sword; and his administration is said, by a contemporary writer,¹ to have been exceptionally long and useful. In a measure its success is attributed by this writer to the fact that the Duke became allied to the family of Ponsonby, then prominent in Irish political life, but mainly to the confidence which the Duke placed, under the advice of Sir Robert Walpole, in the Primate of Ireland, who was always at the head of the three Lords Justices who administered affairs in the absence of the Viceroy.

The Primate of Ireland at that time was Hugh Boulter, an episcopal statesman, who was unconnected in any way with Ireland previous to his promotion in 1724 from the Bishopric of Bristol, and Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, to the Archbishopric of Armagh. He had but one thought in the government of this country—how it could be best used for the advantage of England. A few months after his arrival we find him writing that the only way to keep things quiet here, and make them easy to the English ministry, was by filling the great places with natives of England; and although his advice was not always followed, he continued to advocate that policy throughout his life. At the same time, owing, to a great extent, to his diplomatic disposal of smaller patronage, support was obtained in the Irish House of Commons for the Government measures; and so long as he lived, not one of those proposed during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Devonshire was lost. As was only to be expected under a system which threw upon him so much responsibility in civil affairs, Primate Boulter became almost completely absorbed in politics, and his other duties are seldom mentioned in his correspondence. It is stated, however, that he was a man of piety as well as of extraordinary charity; and the reply which he made when complimented on the latter quality—that he would die shamefully rich—indicates that he was a man of estimable character. His liberality has seldom been exceeded; and during two periods of great

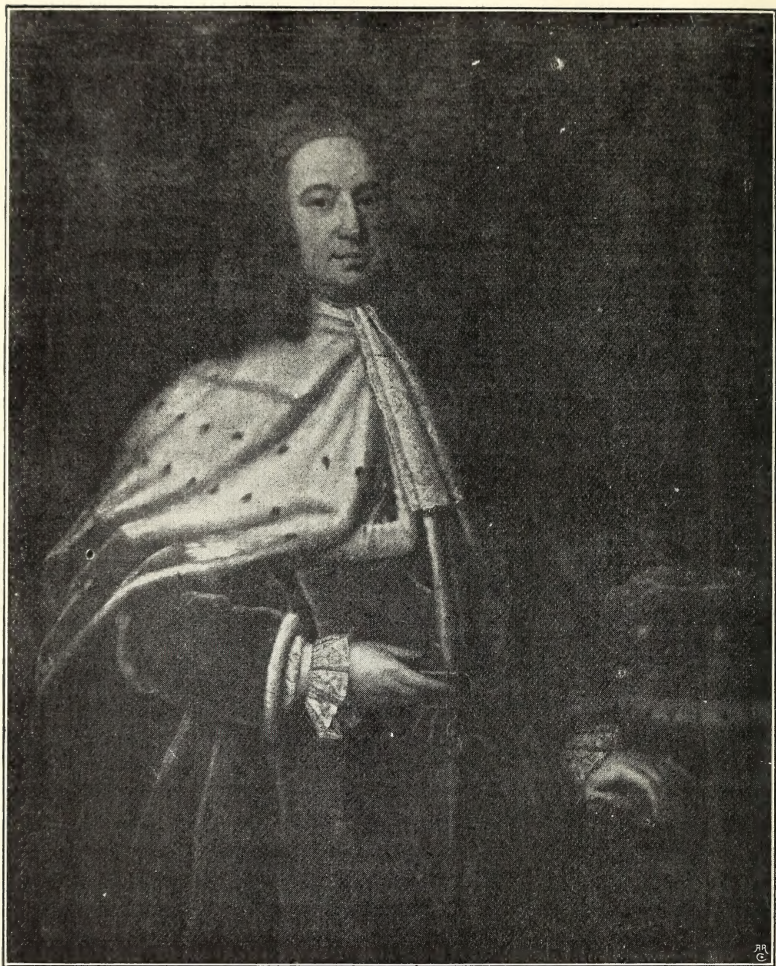
¹ "Letters written by Hugh Boulter, D.D." (Dublin, 1770), vol. ii., p. 168, *note*.

distress that occurred while he held the see of Armagh, in the years 1729 and 1740, it was exercised in so remarkable a way, that the House of Commons passed a special vote of thanks to him. The Primate's colleagues as Lords Justices were the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons.¹

The Lord Chancellor at the beginning of 1739 was Thomas Wyndham, who had been created a peer under the title of Baron Wyndham of Finglas. Like Primate Boulter, Wyndham was unknown in Ireland until promoted to its judicial bench in 1724—the year in which Primate Boulter arrived—as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; but he had quickly established a high judicial reputation; and, owing to his being more in sympathy with Irish opinion than the Primate, he had obtained considerable popularity. It is of interest that we have now enrolled amongst the Fellows of the Society a descendant of the ancient Wiltshire family to which Wyndham belonged, in the person of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Right Hon. George Wyndham; but in past ages the family had members equally identified with public life. Several of Lord Wyndham's ancestors had adopted the legal profession. Both his grandfather and one of his granduncles occupied seats on the English judicial bench in the reign of Charles II.; and his grandfather is said to have been only inferior in ability to Sir Matthew Hale, the greatest lawyer of that time. In politics members of his family had also taken a prominent part. Sir William Wyndham, the Jacobite statesman of Queen Anne's reign, from whom the Earls of Egremont were descended, was his cousin; and his own father had sat in two Parliaments as member for Salisbury. In a female line Wyndham was descended from the founder of Wadham College at Oxford; and there, after receiving his early education at the Cathedral School of Salisbury, he matriculated in 1698, when not quite seventeen years of age. A few months previously he had entered Lincoln's Inn as a law student, and from that Inn, seven years later, when in his twenty-fourth year, he was called to the English Bar. In a diary preserved by a secretary who became his train-bearer, and to whom he bequeathed his "Chancellor's velvet robe, trimmed with gold," we catch a few glimpses of Wyndham's early life; we see him suffering under that scourge of our ancestors the smallpox; acting as pall-bearer at the stately funerals of his relations; appointed Recorder of the Close of Sarum, and taking part in the prosecution, at Liverpool, of followers of the Pretender.

To what influence Wyndham owed his appointment in October, 1724, to the Irish bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas is not apparent; but amongst those on whose friendship he could rely was the Earl of Pembroke of his time, of whose pocket-borough, Wilton, near Salisbury, he had been in the previous year made a burgess. A month

¹ "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. v., p. 7; "Letters written by Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., p. 224, *note*.



THOMAS LORD WYNDHAM.
(From a portrait in Wadham College, Oxford.)

after his nomination to his judicial office, Wyndham set out for Ireland, and landed in Dublin twenty-two days later, more than seven having been spent at Chester, near which place he embarked at Parkgate, waiting for a favourable wind. He was received in Ireland by the English officials with every demonstration of goodwill; and for some time Primate Boulter found in him one of his most valuable assistants in carrying out his policy. On the death of Lord Chancellor West, after a tenure of his office which little exceeded a year and a half, in 1726, Primate Boulter lost no time in writing to the English ministers, to urge that the post should again be filled by one of their own countrymen, but recommended that Wyndham or Dalton, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, an Englishman who had been a year in this country, should be promoted, no less on account of the encouragement it would give to an Englishman of merit to accept the place vacated, than of the knowledge of Irish affairs possessed by both judges. Without any delay the King's letter for the appointment of Wyndham, whom Primate Boulter had placed first on account of his seniority, was despatched; and within three weeks of the death of his predecessor, Wyndham was sworn in as Chancellor and as one of the Lords Justices.¹

While Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Wyndham had gone circuit with regularity, taking either the Munster or the North-East; and after his promotion to the woolsack, he appears to have been no less active in the discharge of his new duties. The Corporation of Dublin presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box which cost £30; the University conferred on him an honorary degree; while the King expressed his approbation of his services by creating him a peer five years after his appointment as Chancellor. During the thirteen years in which he retained the custody of the Great Seal, Wyndham was sworn a Lord Justice eight times, and acted as Speaker of the House of Lords in six sessions. The Chancellor, whose income is estimated at that time to have been about £3,600 a year, was expected to maintain great state; and we find Wyndham taking part in many grand functions, and extending splendid hospitality. In 1729 he was prominent in the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Houses of Parliament; in 1730 he exercised the privilege of a Lord Justice to confer knighthood on the Lord Mayor of Dublin; in 1732, when on his way to the County Fermanagh, to visit Sir Ralph Gore, the Speaker of the House of Commons, he was accorded by the Corporation of Cavan a great reception; and on his arrival at Sir Ralph's seat, Bellisle, on Lough Erne, he was received with every mark of respect; in 1733 he gave an entertainment in honour of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset; and in 1739 he

¹ Wyndham appointed as his purse-bearer Archbishop Boulter's friend and secretary, Ambrose Philips, the poet, and, as his aide-de-camp—an officer to whom he was entitled as a Lord Justice—Colonel Edward Richbell. (See *Dublin Weekly Journal*, December 24, 1726; "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xlv., p. 172; and "Letters written by Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., p. 88.)

presided in the House of Lords as High Steward at the trial of Lord Santry for murder, setting out from his house in St. Stephen's Green, attended by a vast retinue, in a coach drawn by six horses.

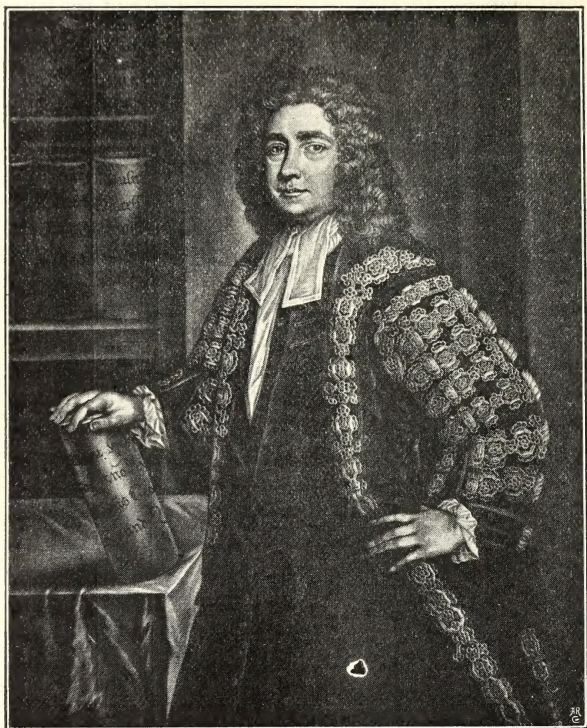
Four months after Lord Santry's trial, in July, 1739, Wyndham, although then only in his fifty-eighth year, wrote to Sir Robert Walpole, tendering his resignation, on the ground of ill-health, which he attributed to the fatigue incurred on that occasion. During the later years of his official life there is a change in the tone of Primate Boulter's references to him; and more than once the Primate says that the timorousness of the Chancellor was the cause of difficulties in the government of Ireland. Wyndham had resisted an attempt to exclude from the Irish Bar Lord Clare's father, John Fitz Gibbon, who was a convert from the Roman Catholic Church, at a time when Primate Boulter was representing the danger of admitting such persons; and there is some indication that, at any rate for a time, he was under the influence of the immortal Dean. In the diary preserved by Wyndham's secretary, it is recorded that, in 1735, Swift was a guest at the Chancellor's table. Two years afterwards Wyndham had to express disapproval of the Dean's conduct in hanging out a black flag on St. Patrick's Cathedral, and ringing a funeral peal, on a change made in the gold coinage; but it is not clear what action he took a few weeks later, when Primate Boulter, on account of an alleged insult offered to him by Swift at a mayoral banquet, declined civic hospitality. Wyndham had never married; and on his resignation he prepared to return at once to England, where all his relatives lived, and to which country he had paid at least one visit while resident in Ireland. In the announcement of his departure, which took place on September 8th, 1739, the popularity to which he had attained is displayed:—"This morning their Excellencies the Lords Justices, attended by a squadron of horse and the battle-axe guards," says *The Dublin Evening Post*, "went to George's Quay, where His Excellency the Lord Wyndham took boat for Parkgate; several persons of distinction waited on him to the water-side to wish him a good voyage; his lordship is gone off with a universal good character, and greatly esteemed by all that had the honour to be known to him." Wyndham's elder and only surviving brother, who possessed the estate and baronial residence, then falling into ruin, near Salisbury, which had belonged to their grandfather the great judge, resided in that fair city; and in its calm atmosphere, under the shade of its glorious cathedral, Wyndham passed the few remaining years of his life. He died in 1745, and is buried in the cathedral which he knew so well, under what has been pronounced to be a beautiful monument by the masterly hand of Michael Rysbrack. He left handsome bequests to Wadham College; and in its hall a portrait of him, which is here reproduced, is to be seen.¹

¹ "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. lxiii., pp. 250-252; "Letters written by Hugh Boulter, D.D." vol. i., pp. 26, 85, 86, 88, 97, 104; vol. ii., pp. 67, 153;

The position of Master of the Rolls—an office which then entailed no judicial duties—was held in 1739 by the Right Hon. Thomas Carter, an ancestor of the Carters of Shaen Manor. He was an Irishman; and inherited considerable property from his father, who is said to have secured for King William, while fighting for that monarch at the Battle of the Boyne, valuable papers belonging to King James. To his possessions and his influence, Carter added by his marriage with one of the daughters and heiresses of Thomas Claxton—a sister of the lady who was first married to the eccentric Earl of Rosse, and afterwards to Lord Chancellor Jocelyn.¹ He became a member of the Irish House of Commons, as his father had been before him; and to political intrigues was due probably the permission granted in 1725 to the Earl of Berkeley, who then held the Mastership of the Rolls, to sell to him the reversion of his office. The hearts of the English officials sank within them when they heard of this transaction; and Primate Boulter wrote that all of those whose affections were still with their country were afraid that the necessity of supporting the English interest was forgotten when a native of Ireland was allowed to purchase what was then considered one of the greatest places of the law, inasmuch as it was held for life, and not at pleasure like other legal offices. Carter took what was called the patriotic side in the House of Commons; and about that time his conduct much excited the indignation of Primate Boulter and some leading politicians. Some years later, however, when Carter aspired to the Speaker's Chair, at the time Henry Boyle was elected to it, it was rumoured that there was a secret understanding between him and the Government, and that the Primate was a party to the arrangement, which was, however, not acquiesced in by Lord Chancellor Wyndham. In the year of which I am writing an extraordinary announcement, which I may perhaps be allowed to quote as a specimen of the journalism of that day, appeared with regard to Carter. It reads as follows:—"Last week the Right Hon. Thomas Carter, Esq., Master of the Rolls, had a toe cut off on account of a mortification; and we hear he is now much better." He recovered completely from what was, judging by this paragraph, a very alarming state of health, and survived for many years. In 1754, when a violent political convulsion took place, he is said to have been removed from the Mastership of the Rolls, but in the following year was

"Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," edited by Joseph J. Howard, 2nd Ser., vol. iv., pp. 34, 54, 80; O'Flanagan's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 51; Duhigg's "History of the King's Inns," pp. 277, 285; Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Dublin," vol. vii., p. 368; "Letters to and from Bishop Nicolson," p. 589; "Modern History of Wiltshire," by Sir R. C. Hoare. "Hundred of Chalk," p. 82; "Registers of Wadham College," by the Rev. Robert B. Gardiner, p. 400; Sundon Correspondence, British Museum MS. 20,102, f. 136; Letters from Coghill to Southwell, British Museum MS. 21,122, ff. 31, 66, 87; 21,123, ff. 1, 7; Newcastle Correspondence, British Museum MS. 32,690, ff. 354, 356; *Dublin Evening Post*, Aug. 1-5, and 8-12, 1732; Sept. 18-22, 1733; July 1-8, 1738; Sept. 4-8, 1739; *Dublin News-Letter*, Jan. 11-15, 1736-1737; the *Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 298.

¹ See the *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 338.



THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS CARTER.

(From a Mezzotint, by John Brooks, after a picture by Charles Jervas.)

appointed Secretary of State. The latter office he held until his death, which occurred in 1763. He built one of the finest of the houses in Henrietta-street, now known as No. 9, as his town residence, and had also a seat in the county Meath. A mezzotint of him, which is here reproduced, is preserved in the Irish National Gallery.¹

There were in 1739 three Common Law Courts, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer; and in each of these there were three judges, a chief and two puisnes. The chiefship of the King's Bench was a place of much labour; and as the salary was only about £1300 a year, Primate Boulter despaired of getting an Englishman to accept it. It was held at the time of which I write by the Right Hon. John Rogerson. He was the son of Sir John Rogerson, sometime Lord Mayor and M.P. for the city of Dublin, whose memory is preserved in the quay called by his name, and through the marriage of his eldest daughter to the first peer of the house of Crichton is a direct ancestor of the present Earl of Erne.² His wife was a grandniece of Edmund Ludlow, the regicide,³ and was also aunt to the first Earl Ludlow. Rogerson, who was returned to the last Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne, as member, like his father, for the city of Dublin, was, on the accession of George I., appointed Solicitor-General, and six years later, in 1720, promoted to be Attorney-General. When a vacancy in the Chancellorship was imminent, owing to Lord Midleton's resignation in 1725, Rogerson sought that position. He went to London to see the English Ministers, and was recommended to them by Lord Carteret, who was then Lord Lieutenant, as a person who had served the Crown with great ability and integrity, and who had a universal good character as well as considerable influence in Dublin as Recorder—an office which he held together with the law-officerships. In making this recommendation, Lord Carteret had apparently not consulted Primate Boulter, who, although he acknowledges that the only objection to Rogerson was his nationality, speaks of the rumour that he was to be given the custody of the Great Seal as an idle one. By the time Wyndham was appointed to the woolsack, Primate Boulter's influence was too strong to allow the elevation of an Irishman to that office to be even mentioned; and Rogerson, although reluctant to do so, was obliged to accept the chiefship of the King's Bench, from which Chief Justice Whitshed, the subject of Swift's invective, was transferred to Wyndham's place in the Common Pleas. To press his claims Rogerson had gone to London; and he was still in

¹ Burke's "Landed Gentry," under "Carter of Shaen Manor"; "Letters written by Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., pp. 17, 56; "Liber Munerum"; *The Irish Builder* for 1893, p. 149; Letters from Coghill to Southwell, British Museum MS. 21,122, ff. 29, 31, 91, 97; 21,123; ff. 20, 24, 32, 41, 62, 64; *Pue's Occurrences*, Aug. 11, 1739.

² In Lodge's "Irish Peerage" (edition edited by Mervyn Archdall, vol. iii., p. 7) it is stated that Chief Justice Rogerson left a son; but in his will he mentions that he had no male issue.

³ See the *Journal*, vol. xxx., p. 115.

England when Whitshed, who only survived his transfer a few months, died. Rogerson then urged that the precedent established in Whitshed's case should be followed, and that he should be transferred to the chiefship of the Common Pleas, which was little more than a sinecure; but Primate Boulter opposed his claim, saying that the cases were entirely different, Whitshed having worn himself out in the King's Bench, while Rogerson had never sat a day in it; and the Primate was successful in his opposition. The circuits which at that period afforded the best accommodation for the judges were the Leinster and the Munster; and one or other of these Rogerson usually selected. The arrival of the judges was made the occasion for much hospitality and gaiety in the county towns. When Rogerson was on the Leinster circuit in the summer of 1732, we read that at Wicklow two gentlemen of the grand jury gave a ball, which lasted until four o'clock in the morning, and that at Carlow, where magnificent preparations for a ball were also made, the sheriff and gentlemen of the county, after the courts rose, refreshed themselves in the taverns, and, having obtained drums and trumpets, diverted themselves in serenading the ladies until five o'clock in the morning. Rogerson's death took place in 1741, soon after the summer circuit, in his house in Henry-street, and he was interred privately but decently, as the newspapers of that day record, in the family burial-place in St. Werburgh's Church.¹

The puisne judges of the King's Bench were Michael Ward and Henry Rose. Michael Ward, whose son was created Viscount Bangor, and who was a direct ancestor of the present holder of that title, was a man of good family, and became related by marriage to the noble house of the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough. As in the present day, a seat in Parliament was a desirable preliminary—so far as those promoted from the Irish Bar were concerned—to a seat on the Judicial Bench of this country, and Ward had represented the County Down in Parliament for fourteen years before he became a judge. He retained his seat on the Bench for twenty-two years until his death; but in the closing years of his life only went circuit when he could go the North-East, near his own home; and for the last two years he did not go circuit at all. In the announcement of his death, which took place at Castle Ward in February, 1759, when he was in his seventy-seventh year, it is stated that he filled his judicial position with the greatest probity and attention to business.² Henry Rose, who was a collateral

¹ "The Law Officers of Ireland," by Constantine J. Smyth; "Letters of Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., pp. 18, 92, 156-160; vol. ii., p. 94; Circuit Returns and Prerogative Wills in Public Record Office of Ireland; Newcastle Correspondence, British Museum MS. 32,687, f. 69; *Dublin Weekly Journal*, August 26, 1727; *Dublin Evening Post*, July 22-25, and July 29-August 1, 1732; *Dublin Gazette*, August 30, 1741.

² "Historical Anecdotes of the Families of the Boleyns, Carys, Mordaunts, Hamiltons, and Jocelyns," by Emily Georgina Susanna Reilly (published 1839), p. 71; Circuit Returns; *Pue's Occurrences*, February 24-27, 1759.

ancestor of the Roses of Ahabeg and Foxhall, and was related by marriage to the Crosbies of Ardfert, was also a man of good family, and was educated at Oxford University. Like Ward, he made his way to the Bench as a member of the House of Commons, in which he occupied a seat for thirty-one years as a representative of the borough of Ardfert. As a judge he managed generally to go the Munster circuit; and while at Cork in the summer of 1738, with Chief Justice Reynolds, he was one of the principal guests at a series of entertainments given in honour of Henry Boyle, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who visited that city at the same time. His death took place suddenly—he was found dead in his bed—in 1743; and his excellent virtues, which, we are told, were evidenced in his great abilities, application, and care as a judge, caused him to be much lamented. He was buried in St. Mary's Church, Dublin, where his wife had been interred a few years before.¹

The chiefship of the Common Pleas was in 1739 held by the Right Hon. James Reynolds, an Englishman who had been sent over to this country in 1727 to fill that place on the death of Chief Justice Whitshed, Lord Wyndham's successor, and who had, like all the chief judges, been sworn a member of the Privy Council. The salary was not more than that of the chiefship of the King's Bench; but, as I have said, the duties were extremely light, and for this reason it was a more attractive position. Reynolds, who had acted as secretary to Sir Robert Walpole, and whose name had been mentioned some years before in connexion with a vacancy on the Irish Bench, belonged to a Cambridgeshire family of distinction, of which he proved to be the last representative, and while he was in Ireland an uncle and namesake of his occupied a seat on the English Judicial Bench as Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Primate Boulter, although suggesting, with that political finesse for which he was remarkable, that the announcement of the appointment should be delayed until the Irish Parliament, which was then sitting, rose, hailed the advent of Reynolds with delight, believing from the character which he had received of him that he would be a great strength to the prosecution of the policy that no Irish need apply. To some extent these expectations were doomed to disappointment, as Reynolds became the sworn friend of Lord Wyndham, and supported the Chancellor in his more liberal views; but notwithstanding, when Lord Wyndham's retirement took place, the Primate hurried up from the country, where he was holding his triennial visitation, and wrote off to England strongly advising the appointment of Reynolds, to whom his friend, Lord Wyndham, had just confided the information that he had tendered his resignation of the Great Seal. It was actually announced in the Dublin press that Reynolds was to be Lord Wyndham's successor; but Robert

¹ Burke's "Landed Gentry," under "Rose of Ahabeg and Foxhall"; Foster's "Alumni Oxonienses"; Circuit Returns; *Dublin Evening Post*, August 8-12, 1738; *Pue's Occurrences*, May 6-10, 1740, and January 11-15, 1742-3.



THE RIGHT HON. JAMES REYNOLDS.

(From a Mezzotint by John Faber, dated 1748, after a picture by J. Parmentier.)

Jocelyn, the Attorney-General, who had a powerful friend in Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor of England, proved a successful rival. Reynolds was doubtless much chagrined, and in the following year obtained a transfer to the English Bench as a Baron of the Exchequer. That position, during his tenure of which he received the honour of knighthood, he held for some years until his death in 1747, as is recorded on a monument in the Church of Castle Camp in Cambridgeshire, near which he had a country seat, and where he was interred. A mezzotint of him, which is here reproduced, is preserved in the Irish National Gallery.

Reynolds usually chose one or other of the Northern Circuits, but occasionally went the Munster or Leinster. While on the North-East Circuit in the spring of 1729, Captain Lambert Peppard was tried before him at Trim for the murder of Mr. Henry Hayes in a duel which took place near Drogheda, and which is described in a broad-sheet of his time entitled, "A Full and True Account of a Bloody Duel fought between Henry Haze & — Peper, Esqs., at Drogheda, on Saturday, the 22nd of this inst. Feb., 1728-9, in which Reencounter the former was shot thro' the Body." As the evidence, we are told in the report of the trial, tended to clear the action and character of Peppard, and to prove the passionate and unruly temper of Hayes, particularly in his strange and violent proceedings at the time of his death, Peppard was acquitted of the murder, and found guilty of manslaughter only. In the summer of the same year, Reynolds had the misfortune to go the Munster Circuit, where fever, which carried off Counsellor Dee at Cork after three days' illness, and Counsellor Maynard at Limerick, was then raging.¹ But perhaps the most remarkable scene in which he played a part in Ireland took place while he was on the Munster Circuit in the spring of 1732, when he formed the central figure in a great demonstration organized in honour of the judges of assize, by one of the FitzMaurices, who was then serving as High Sheriff of the County Kerry. This demonstration took the form of a most elaborate procession, which met the judges on their arrival at the border of that county, and in which appeared in succession, attired in the most gorgeous apparel, running footmen, grooms with led horses richly caparisoned, the High Sheriff magnificently mounted and preceded by a page bearing his wand, trumpeters, livery-men on black steeds, the Earl of Kerry's gentleman of the horse, steward, waiting gentlemen, and other domestics to the number of thirty-five, the gentlemen of the county, twenty led horses with field-cloths, and finally the judges. The day was most unpropitious, and all "this pomp and gallantry of equipage" had to march under a downpour of rain, which made the roads so heavy that

¹ The same year saw the death of one of the officers of Chief Justice Reynolds' Court, who, judging from the following paragraph, was a remarkable character. "On Thursday last died Mr. Richard Roch (commonly called Beau Roch), Tipstaff and Crier of the Common Pleas."—*Dublin Gazette*, December 2-6, 1729.

the judges were obliged to leave their coach, and to ride to Listowel, several miles off. There the High Sheriff had prepared a splendid entertainment of 120 dishes; but before the company had sat down many minutes, word was brought that the river Feale was rising, and they had to take horse hurriedly in order to cross the river and get to Tralee that night.¹

The puisne judges of the Common Pleas then were George Gore and Robert Lindsay. George Gore was a member of the Earl of Arran's family, and was the father of Lord Annaly, who was Chief Justice of Ireland during the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Townshend. On the accession of Queen Anne, Gore had been returned to Parliament for Longford; and on the accession of George I. he was appointed Attorney-General. Six years later, in 1720, he accepted the position of a puisne judge in the Common Pleas. At first his hopes of further promotion ran high. He was universally and deservedly beloved, Bishop Nicolson says, for his great worth and integrity, and had the support of Sir Ralph Gore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was his cousin, and of William Conolly, the speaker of the House of Commons. But in spite of all those advantages he was unsuccessful. He was well off; and Mrs. Delany speaks of one of his sons (whom she calls "a pretty butterfly man") as heir to a great estate. In 1745 he retired from the bench, as he had not been able to go circuit for five years, but he survived until the year 1753.² His brother judge, Robert Lindsay, who was a graduate of Dublin University, and a polite and elegant scholar, is well known to readers of Swift's Life as one of the Dean's intimate friends, and was a collateral ancestor of the Lindesays of Loughry, in the County Tyrone. Some poetry by Lindsay appears in the Dean's works; and verses in reply were written by Swift. Before his elevation to the bench in 1733, Lindsay represented his native county in Parliament for three years. He died at a comparatively early age after a few days' illness at his house in Suffolk-street in 1743, and is said to have been much lamented on account of his many excellent virtues.³

¹ "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xlviii., p. 46; Foss's "Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England," p. 553; "Letters of Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., p. 167; "Letters of Bishop Nicolson," p. 608; Sundon Correspondence, British Museum MS. 20,102, f. 136; Newcastle Correspondence, British Museum MS. 32,692 ff. 210, 413; Duhigg's "History of the King's Inns," pp. 285, 300; Circuit Returns; Irish Pamphlets preserved in Trinity College Library, vol. v., ff. 31, 35, 36, 44; *Dublin Evening Post*, March 20-24, 1733; August 11-14, 1739; April 19-29, 1740; *Dublin Weekly Journal*, Sept. 6, 1729; *Pue's Occurrences*, May 6-10, and May 24-27, 1740.

² Burke's "Peerage" under "Arran"; Smyth's "Law Officers of Ireland"; Letters to and from Bishop Nicolson, pp. 560, 580; Bishop Nicolson's Letters to Archbishop Wake, British Museum MS. 6,116, ff. 221, 263; Newcastle Correspondence, British Museum MS. 32,888, f. 289, 32,889 f. 421; Mrs. Delany's "Life and Correspondence," vol. i., p. 286, *Dublin Journal*, January 13-16, 1753.

³ Burke's "Landed Gentry" under "Lindesay of Loughry"; "Swift's Works," edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. xiv., pp. 237, 243, vol. xix., p. 294, vol. xviii., p. 278; *Dublin Evening Post*, February 13-17, February 24-27, and June 26-30, 1733; *Pue's Occurrences*, January 15-18, 1742-3.

We come next to the Court of Exchequer, the last, although not the least in importance, of the Common Law Courts, which, owing to its control of the business of the revenue, was usually presided over by judges—puisne as well as chief—drawn from the English bar. At the time of which I write, the chief seat was, however, occupied by an Irishman in the person of Thomas Marlay. His principal claim to remembrance now is the fact that he was the maternal grandfather of Henry Grattan, but in his day he was one of the best-known of the judges, and was recognised as a gentleman and scholar, with a sense of humour, who upheld the reputation of the Irish Bench for dignity and learning as well as native wit. The polished Lord Chesterfield, although he refers on one occasion to the rigour of Marlay's Court, took great delight in Marlay's society, and, while viceroy of Ireland, visited "the idler of Celbridge Abbey," as he calls Marlay, in the home of Vanessa, which had become Marlay's country seat. Marlay was descended from a merchant of Newcastle-on-Tyne, known as "the rich knight," who lost his property in fighting for the royal cause in the Civil War, and was son of an officer who settled in Ireland during the Restoration period. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became a Scholar, and his University conferred on him, while practising at the bar, by special grace the degree of Doctor of Laws. Like other Irishmen, Marlay sought promotion to the Judicial Bench through Parliament, of which he became a member on the accession of George I., as representative of the borough of Newtown Limavady. Six years later, in 1720, he was appointed Solicitor-General, and some years later was promoted to the Attorney-Generalship, then sitting in Parliament for the borough of Lanesborough, for which he was returned after a contested election. In some verses on the members of the Irish bar, written in the twenties of the eighteenth century, Marlay, who was placed first, is thus referred to—

" Thomas Marlay the great,
 Who, in primitive state,
 Was ne'er for a drudge designed, Sir;
 Your French gibberish he
 Takes great nonsense to be,
 And is one of your sages refined, Sir."

When a vacancy occurred in 1730 in the chief seat in the Exchequer, Primate Boulter had apparently nothing to urge against Marlay's promotion, except his political views, which widely differed from the Primate's, as is shown in his having stated on one occasion that it would be a lasting reflection on an Irishman to apply for a British Act of Parliament to regulate property in Ireland; and, owing to his commanding merit, Marlay was appointed Chief Baron.

The position of Chief Baron, Marlay exchanged on the death of Rogerson for that of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. While in the

latter court, on two occasions his judicial impartiality was impugned. The first occasion was in connexion with a prosecution for perjury instituted against one of the principal witnesses in the well-known suit between the claimant to the peerages of Anglesea and Altham, and the then holder of those titles. The prosecution for perjury came on in the King's Bench; and after a trial which, in accordance with the custom of that time, was carried on without adjournment, and lasted from six o'clock one morning until nearly six o'clock the next morning, it resulted in the acquittal of the defendant, thus reversing the verdict which had been given a year or two before in the original legal proceedings. The second occasion on which Marlay's conduct was the subject of comment was in connexion with a charge delivered to the Grand Jury of Dublin, in which he inveighed against Charles Lucas. As regards his conduct on the first occasion, it may be observed that the case was one of the most remarkable on record for conflicting evidence; and with regard to his attitude towards Lucas, he is said by Grattan's son to have only discharged his duty. Marlay retired from the Bench in 1751; and five years later, in 1756, his death took place suddenly at Drogheda, where he was on a visit to another distinguished judge of that time, Henry Singleton. Although the following lines, which appeared in the Dublin press of that day, leave something to be desired as poetry, I venture to quote them in proof of the veneration in which Marlay was held—

“What! Marlay gone! O death! how do I grudge
 Thy prize; the scholar, gentleman, and judge,
 Of manners easy, and of taste refin'd,
 The sweetest picture of the sweetest mind,
 Soul of true humour, yet in sense a sage,
 The Pollio and Mæcenas of the age;
 Gentle he liv'd, and as he liv'd he dies,
 Say'd, ‘God be with you,’ and so clos'd his eyes.”¹

The Barons of the Exchequer were Sir John St. Leger and John Wainwright. Sir John St. Leger, who had been appointed to a seat in the Irish Exchequer on the accession of George I., belonged to an Irish family, and was brother to the first Viscount Doneraile; but he had been educated in England at Westminster School, and at Christ Church, Oxford, and was a member of the English bar. He had been only

¹ “Memoirs of Henry Grattan,” by his son, vol. i., p. 34; *The Irish Builder* for 1887, p. 126; O’Flanagan’s “Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 47; “A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Court of King’s Bench in Ireland, relating to the trial of Mary Heath for perjury” (London, 1745), and “The Charge of the Right Honourable Thomas Marlay, Esq., Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty’s Court of King’s Bench in the Kingdom of Ireland to the Grand Juries of the County of the City of Dublin and County of Dublin on the sixth of November, 1749,” preserved in the Haliday Pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy; Newcastle Correspondence, British Museum MS. 32,692, f. 438; Letters from Coghill to Southwell, British Museum MS. 21,122, f. 59; *Dublin Journal*, July 3-6 and 6-10, 1756.

seven years called to the bar when elevated to the Irish Bench; but as he had been knighted, six years before his call, at Kensington Palace by William III., he must have seen a good deal of life before he joined the legal profession. Swift, in his journal to Stella, mentions having dined in London in company with one Sir John St. Leger, an Irish knight, who followed the law there, but at a great distance, and adds that the knight was so pert that he was forced to take him down more than once. Sir John's promotion to the Irish Bench was doubtless largely due to political influence, as he was elected member for the family borough of Doneraile in the last Irish Parliament of Queen Anne; but he attributed it himself to the friendship of Lord Chancellor Cowper, and of the notorious Earl of Macclesfield, then Chief Justice of England, and afterwards Lord Cowper's successor on the woolsack, with whom St. Leger carried on a correspondence for some years after he came to Ireland. At first he was an active supporter of the English interest, and was one of the judges who were imprisoned by the Irish House of Lords for upholding the supremacy of the British Parliament; but under the *régime* of Primate Boulter, he was looked upon as unsound politically, and his hopes of promotion, which at one time were great, were dashed to the ground. He bought much property in Ireland, including Grangemellon in the County Kildare, which was his country seat. He was twice married: his first wife, who brought him a large fortune, was a granddaughter of the illustrious Sir James Ware; but he was long separated from her; and before she had been buried many weeks he entertained thoughts of marrying a young lady of twenty years of age, and three months after his first wife's death, consoled himself by marrying a Miss Pennefather.¹ By his second wife he had many children, including a son who was for a time the hero of the fashion in London, where "his dashing vivacity and absurdity, with some flashes of parts," attracted the attention of Horace Walpole.² Sir John retired from the Bench in 1741, and two years later, in 1743, died at his town house in Capel-street, whence his body was taken for interment to Grangemellon.³ The other Baron of the

¹ The following quaint paragraph with regard to Sir John St. Leger's second wife appears in the *Dublin Evening Post* of Dec. 16-19, 1732:—"As Lady St. Leger was driving up Cork-hill in her chariot, a hackney coachman drove against it, by which means her ladyship was overset; she was immediately let blood; the coachman made his escape, but 'tis believed will soon be taken." Another paragraph, no less curious, which appeared in the same journal for Jan. 21-24, 1738, indicates that St. Leger's household affairs were not always well ordered—"Last Thursday died Mary Beagham, Cook to Sir John St. Leger, with a bottle of brandy in her hand and another half empty standing by her. She was opened and six stone of fat taken from her."

² Probably this hero was Sir John St. Leger's eldest son. The latter was a member of the Hell-fire Club, and some of the meetings of that society are said to have been held at Grangemellon. See "Sketch of Grangemellon," by A. A. Weidon, in the *Journal of the Kildare Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 100.

³ Burke's "Peerage" under "Doneraile"; Foster's "Alumni Oxonienses," "Letters to and from Bishop Nicolson," pp. 559, 605; Thomas Amory's "Life of John



THE RIGHT HON. JOHN WAINWRIGHT.

(From a Mezzotint by John Brooks, dated 1742, after a picture by James Latham.)

Exchequer, John Wainwright, was an Englishman, who, like Lord Wyndham and Chief Justice Reynolds, had no connexion with this country before his appointment in 1732 to its Judicial Bench. In connexion with his residence at Mount Merrion, I have already told the Society¹ of the classical attainments of this scholarly Judge, of the circle of distinguished persons whose friendship he enjoyed, chief amongst whom were the great Duke of Newcastle, who had been his schoolfellow, Viscountess Sundon, the confidential friend of Queen Caroline, whom he styles his guardian angel, and Bishop Berkeley, who wrote the inscription on a monument in Chester Cathedral, erected by Wainwright to the memory of his father and grandfather, and finally of his own untimely death in 1741, from brain fever, contracted while on the Munster Circuit. A mezzotint of him, which is here reproduced, is preserved in the Irish National Gallery.

Buncle," vol. iii., p. 36; "Loveday's Tour," in Roxburghe Series, p. 29; "Correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford," edited by Lord John Russell, vol. ii., p. 101; "Letters of Hugh Boulter, D.D.," vol. i., p. 67; Stowe MSS., British Museum, Add. MS. 750, ff. 104, 135, 244; *Pue's Occurrences*, May 10-14, and May 14-17, 1743; Burke's "Landed Gentry" (ed. 1847), p. 1520.

¹ See the *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 332.

THE COURTS, JUDGES, AND LEGAL OFFICE-HOLDERS OF IRELAND IN 1739.

BY RICHARD J. KELLY, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

[Read APRIL 28, 1903.]

IN the year 1739—one hundred and sixty-four years ago now—the Irish Judiciary and the subordinate legal office-holders in Dublin were, considering the population of the country and its comparative wealth, rather numerous, and the “establishment” well appointed. The fact is historically interesting as a matter of comparative legal history; but while the office-holders were many, the cost of their maintenance, judged by the Parliamentary Estimates, was not proportionately heavy on the country. My object is not to justify the present by a contrast with the past, but to refer to the period only so far as the names of the officials and the offices they held are concerned. From an antiquarian point of view, the record of these names and offices is not without some passing interest.

In 1739 George II. was King, Sir Robert Walpole Prime Minister. The Duke of Devonshire was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Baron Wyndham of Finglas was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the English Chancellor being Lord Hardwicke. Primate Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, was the great Irish politico-ecclesiastic of that day, and the Dean of St. Patrick's was the celebrated Jonathan Swift; while the Dean of Cloyne was the Rev. Isaac Goldsmith, a relative of Oliver, then a struggling writer in London. These were curious times; and high judicial and ecclesiastical functionaries were not above living upon the public in more ways than the recognised one now of drawing a salary very often in inverse proportion to service.

Dr. John Hoadley was Archbishop of Dublin; and six years previously to the year under review, we find that careful divine addressing to the English Lord Chancellor a letter which Lord Campbell, in his “Life of Lord Hardwicke,” considers so remarkable that he reproduces it; and as it sheds a strange light upon things in those times, I now reprint the curious “episcopal expostulation.” It runs thus:—

“MY LORD,—Ever since I have had the honour of being acquainted with Lord Chancellors I have lived in England and Ireland upon Chancery papers, pens and wax. I was not willing to lose an old advantageous custom. If your lordship have any to spare me by my servant, you will oblige your very humble servant,

“JOHN DUBLIN, *April 11, 1733.*”

This is a curious instance of how even high Church dignitaries did not disdain to live upon what would now be certainly regarded, and rightly so, as "public plunder"; but Church livings were then openly sold in the market for political services. It is further interesting to note that it was about this period that the Latin tongue in written pleadings, in both civil and criminal suits, was abandoned for the English. But that salutary and sensible reform was not passed in Parliament without some alarm being expressed that thereby "a wide door would be opened to fraud, that prosecutions for crimes would be rendered more difficult and expensive, and that the recovery of small debts would become impossible." All this and more was to result from the substitution of English for the quaint Latinity of the lawyers of that day. The English Act abolishing Latin in pleadings was the 4 Geo. II., c. 26, though by the 6 Geo. II., c. 14, such technical expressions as *nisi prius, quare impedit*, were still allowed to be used. This useful change was only effected in 1733—a little before the year I deal with—and probably in 1739, soon after, the same wholesome reform passed over to Ireland; for that it was certainly not used in anticipation here, we may safely assume.

THE CHANCERY COURT.

As stated, Baron Wyndham was Irish Lord Chancellor. The Master of the Rolls was the Right Hon. Thomas Carter, with offices in King's Inns. There were four Masters in Chancery, namely, Dr. William Vesey, Dr. Thomas Trotter, Dr. William Hore, and Dr. Edward Knatchbull, with an office in the no longer classic region of Darby-square. There were six clerks, namely, Thomas Towers, of Ross-lane; Charles Powell, of Darby-square; Isaac Dobson, of Bride-street; Edward Richardson, of Chancery-lane; John Burton, of same; and Michael Jones, of Skinner's-row. The Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper was Sir Compton Domville, Bart.; Deputy Clerk, Edward Madden, of Bride-street. The "Registers," Richard Hill and Richard Tisdall, with William Cooper, of Darby-square, as deputy. The "Cursitor" was the Right Hon. William Connolly, with, as deputy, Daniel Heatly, of Great Temple Bar. The Register and Clerk of Faculties was Charles Baldwin, with William Williams, of Kevin-street, as deputy. The Secretary to the Lord Chancellor was Edward Knatchbull, of Stephen's-green, with Thomas Cooper, of Peter-street, as deputy. The Pursebearer was Norton Knatchbull, and the Chief Examiners, William Cooper, Henry Ussher, with Richard Jones and William Ouseley, of Darby-square, as deputies. The Usher was Charles Broughton, and the Pursuivant was James Brown. The Deputy Clerk of the Rolls was Thomas Smith. The Treasurer to the Hon. Society of the King's Inns was the Right Hon. Thomas Carter, with, as his Stewards, Mathias Reilly, and Francis Elrington.

THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

The Court of King's Bench was situated at Schoolhouse-lane. The Lord Chief Justice was the Right Hon. John Rogerson, who lived at Mary-street. The second Justice was Michael Ward, of Great Britain-street. The third Justice was Henry Rose, of Dominick-street.

The combined offices of Clerk of the Crown, Prothonotary, Keeper of the Writs, "Philizer," Clerk of the Entries, and Clerk of the Errors were centred in the Right Hon. Thomas Carter and Thomas Carter (his son), of Henrietta-street. The Deputy Clerk of the Crown was St. John Bowden, of Jervis-street, and the Clerk to the Lord Chief Justice was Alexander Carroll, of Great Ormond "Key," as it is printed in the old books.

THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

The Court of Common Pleas had its office in Winetavern-street. The Lord Chief Justice was the Right Hon. James Reynolds, of York-street; and the second Justice was George Gore, of Oxmanstown Green; third Justice, Robert Lindsay, of Suffolk-street; "Prothonotary," John Maxwell, of Little Green, and Keeper of Writs and "Chirographer," Thomas Acton and William Acton (his son); deputy, William Sandys, of Bride-street. The "Philizer" (as it is spelled, and probably an official having something to do with filing documents) was James Doyne, with William Marshall (gent.) as his deputy. The "Exigenter" was Dr. Edward Knatchbull, with Richard Wilson (gent.) as deputy. The Clerk of the Warrants was James Fenner (gent.); the Clerk of the Entries, William Fenner, and Clerk of the "Essoins" and Clerk of the Juries, William Fenner (gent.). The Clerk of the Outlawries was Samuel White (gent.), of Peter-street. The three Examiners were William Fenner, William Marshall, and William Sandys. The Clerk to the Lord Chief Justice was Richard Wilson, of Darby-square; and Mr. Justice Gore's clerk was Lewis Meares, of Capel-street, and Mr. Justice Lindsay's, William McCausland, of Jervis-street. The Deputy Seal-Keeper was William Fenner, junior, of Jervis-street, and the Tipstaff, Richard Wilson, junior, and "Cryer" John Smith.

THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

The Court of Exchequer had its offices in Exchequer Office, Kennedy's-lane. The Lord High Treasurer was the Right Hon. Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork; the Vice-Treasurers, Right Hon. Pattee Lord Viscount Torrington and Right Hon. Richard Edgecumbe; Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, Treasury Office, Dublin Castle; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. Marmaduke Coghill, of Capel-street. The Lord Chief Baron was the Right Hon. Thomas Marlay, of Henry-street; second Baron, Sir John St. Leger, Knt., of Capel-street; third

Baron, John Wainwright, of William-street; Prime Serjeant, Henry Singleton, of Jervis-street; Attorney-General, Robert Jocelyn, of Peter-street; Solicitor-General, John Bowes, of Werburgh-street. The second Serjeant was Richard Bettsworth, of Ship-street, and the third Serjeant, Robert Marshall, of Hoey's Court. The Auditor-General was Lord Nassau Powlett, with Lewis Jones, of Lower Castle-yard, as deputy. The Escheator of Leinster was Lewis Meares, of Capel-street. The Surveyor-General of Lands, Supervisor and Valuer of His Majesty's Honours, was the Hon. William Molesworth. The Chief Remembrancer was Henry Lord Viscount Palmerston, with office in Exchequer Office, Kennedy's-lane; his deputy, Robert Roberts; "Philizer," Richard Vincent; secondaries, Edward Warren, Francis Anderson, and Abraham Hill, with Robert White as Deputy Philizer. The second Remembrancer was Richard Morgan, and Richard Morgan, his son; deputy, Joseph Harrison, of Great Fishamble-street. The Clerk of the Pleas of the Exchequer was David Nixon, with James Flack as deputy. The "Clerk of the Pipe" was the Hon. John Butler, with Thomas Cade as deputy. The Chief Chamberlain was Robert Fox, with James Wall and Charles Wm. Wall, his son, as second Chamberlains. The Controller of the Pipe was Lewis Meares; and Lewis Meares, his son, with Thomas Hanly as deputy. The Usher of the Exchequer was Benjamin Gale. The "Transcripitor and Foreign Apposer" was William Lingen, with John Caldbeck as deputy. The "Summonister" and Clerk of the Estreats was William Roberts, LL.D., of Kennedy's-lane, with Thomas Green as deputy.

The "Marshal of the Four Courts" was Eleazar Peirson and Colman Peirson, his son, with offices at the Marshalsea, Coal-key, and Fishamble-street. The Clerk of the Polls was George Bubb Doddington, with John Bayly as deputy. The Clerk of the First Fruits was Richard Tickell, and Roger Sheill his deputy. The Cryer of the Exchequer was Mark White, with Henry Maudsley as deputy. The Pursuivant of the Exchequer was Chudley Dering, with Thomas Hanly as deputy. The Auditor of Foreign Accompts and Imprests was Henry Dering and Robert King. The Clerk to the Lord Chief Baron was Mark White, of Bride-street; Clerk to Baron St. Leger, John Dennis, of Stephen's-green; and Clerk to Baron Wainwright, Thomas Pocklington, of Stephen's-green. What were called the "Examinators" were Mark White, Thomas Pocklington, John Dennis; and the Deputy Keeper of the Seals was James Flack, junior (gent.). All these officers, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are given in the old books as officers of the Exchequer; and one is struck by the unfamiliar titles of the offices and their multiplicity, and the plurality of the holders. Although the volume of business was not even as large as it is to-day, the offices certainly were more numerous.

THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER CHAMBER.

THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER CHAMBER, which was a Court of Appeal, had, as its judges, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer, and Vice-Treasurers, the Right Hon. Lord Chief Justice Rogerson, and the Lord Chief Justice Reynolds. The Clerk of Errors was Luke Donagh.

OTHER OFFICES.

The Lord Almoner was the Primate; the Principal Secretary of State was the Right Hon. Edward Southwell; the "Publick" Register of Deeds and Conveyances, the Hon. Arthur Hill, with, as deputy, William Parry.

The Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant were the Right Hon. Edward Walpole and Nicholas Bonfoy. One wonders if the Hon. Edward was anything to the Premier, Sir Robert Walpole.

The Secretaries to the Lords Justices were Thomas Tickell and William Lingen.

The Clerk of the Council was the Right Hon. George Sackville (the Council office being in the Upper Castle-yard), with, as the Deputy Clerk of Council, Robert Harris, of Abbey-street.

THE PREROGATIVE COURT.

There was a Prerogative Court, with its office in Stafford-street, the Right Hon. Marmaduke Coghill, J.U.D., of Capel-street, as Judge, and his Register was Ambrose Philips.

THE CONSISTORY COURT.

The Judge of the Consistory Court was Thomas Trotter, J.U.D., Vicar-General of the Diocese of Dublin, of Capel-street. The Surrogate to Dr. Trotter was the Rev. James King, A.M., of Kevin-street; the Register, Edward Sale, J.U.D., of Bride-street.

ADMIRALTY COURT.

The Court of Admiralty had as the Judge, John Hawkshaw, J.U.D., and Thomas Medlicott, of Peter-street, as its Register; and as its Marshal, James Palmer.

OTHER OFFICES.

The Recorder of Dublin was Eaton Stannard, of Stephen's Green.

It may be curious to add that Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were then appointed for the county of the city of Dublin, and they were:—the Lord Mayor, the Lord High Chancellor, the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Rosse, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, Lord Viscount Allen, Lord Viscount Lanesborough, Lord Santry, Dr. Marmaduke Coghill,

Lord Chief Justice Rogerson, Right Hon. Thomas Carter, Lord Chief Justice Reynolds, Lord Chief Baron Marlay, Sir John St. Leger, George Gore, Michael Ward, John Wainwright, Robert Lindsay, Henry Rose, Henry Singleton, Robert Jocelyn, John Bowes, Richard Bettesworth, Eaton Stannard, Boleyn Whitney, Warden Flood, Thomas Le Hunte, Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, Alderman John Porter, Alderman Percival Hunt, Alderman Nathaniel Pearson, Alderman Thomas How, Alderman Nathaniel Kane, Alderman Richard Dawson, Sir James Somerville, and Alderman William Walker. There were also Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer for the County of Dublin, largely consisting of the above, with Lords Howth, Ranelagh, Southwell, Valentia, and others in addition.

The Solicitor in Criminal Causes was St. John Bowden.

The "Ulster King of Arms" was John Hawkins, of Capel-street; while the Athlone Pursuivant was Philip Ridgate; and Chief Serjeant at Arms, Richard Povey; and Second Serjeant, Thomas Carter.

The Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower was William Tighe; the Constable of Dublin Castle, Thomas Hatton, with, as deputy, Nathaniel Clements.

The Clerk of the House of Lords was Enoch Sterne, and Henry Baker Sterne, associated with him.

The Clerk to the House of Commons was Isaac Ambrose, and Burdet Worthington as his deputy. The Chaplain to the House of Commons was the Rev. Joseph Story, D.D., the old Williamite chaplain and historian. The Post-Master-General was Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Bart.; and I may add that the Post Office was then in Sycamore Alley. The King's Printer was George Grierson; and Samuel Fairbrother was King's Stationer; and William Maple the Keeper of the Parliament House.

We find there was a Supervisor of Hearth Money, in Dublin, in the person of one William Keane; and as an "Examinator" of "Hearth Accounts," William Cocksedge. The Solicitor for "Quit Rents," Thomas Pocklington; and the Solicitor to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and Excise was James Howison; while their Counsel was St. George Caulfield. The "Comptroller and Accomptant-General" of Patents was Agmondisham Vesey, with, Agmondisham Vesey, junior, described as his son. In the list of members of the Irish Parliament in 1739, I find these two names appear as the representatives for the Borough of Tuam. There was a public and legal recognition of gaming in a Stamper of Cards and Dice, holding office in the Custom House; and he was one William Maple. There were an Assay Master and a Receiver of Duties on Plate, and a "Master of Weights for all foreign gold current in the Kingdom," all combined in the person of William Archdall, who had his office in the Goldsmiths' Hall in Werburgh-street, and his house in Skinner's-row. The "Register of Seizures" was William Elderton. The Commissioners of Revenue Appeals in the

Exchequer Chambers were Thomas Trotter, Robert French, and Boleyn Whitney, with Robert Roberts, as their Secretary.

The General Officers on the establishment comprised the General and Commander-in-Chief, Richard Lord Viscount Shannon, Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce, Aide-de-Camp to the Lords Justices; Lieutenant-Colonels Peter Kerr, Edward Richbell, and Michael O'Brien Dilkes.

The Court of Delegates had as its Register, James Medlicott.

The Seneschal of St. Sepulchre's was Boleyn Whitney, with Joseph Bury as Register, and Coroner, Deputy Register and Appraiser, William Williams.

The Seneschal of Donore and Thomas-court was Warden Flood; and the Seneschal of the Liberties and Manor of Grange Gorman was Gerard Burke; while the Seneschal of the Liberties of St. Patrick's was Thomas le Hunte. The Register to the Dean at Christ Church was Richard Morgan; and of St. Patrick's, William Shiell.

These names and offices, taken from old books of the period, are interesting in some aspects; and they show the multiplicity of the offices that then existed, and which are more numerous than even in these days when the volume of business, bad as it is, is probably greater. Nepotism seemed fully prevalent, judging by the recurrence of father and son, and the "deputies" were certainly very common; but as probably most, if not all, the holders of the official posts were paid by the fees they exacted from litigants, and not by salaries, the general public purse was not the worse of this apparent redundancy of office. It is interesting also to notice in this connexion the residences of the judges and functionaries. At that time a resident nobility and a native aristocracy probably kept the judges from being and becoming greater social personages than they are in London to-day; but, at any rate, they lived in different quarters of the city from those they now occupy. The north side was then the fashionable quarter; and fashion and society there mostly congregated. Now that part of the city is given over to lesser personages; and convention has driven persons who are slaves to its whims to live in the relatively darker, duller, and less healthy houses upon the south side. The various curious old offices, such as "philizer," "exigenter," clerk of the outlawries, "auditor of foreign accompts," and many others, are now all abolished; but they then had their uses, and the holders of them contributed as much as those with offices of less pretentious and less sounding names to-day perhaps as efficiently to the despatch of public business, such as it was.

The Union was socially the blight of Dublin; and from it down the fine old family residences decayed. In 1795, and probably in 1739, there lived, out of the 204 peers who belonged to the Irish House of Lords, 140 who had residences in Dublin. To-day there are not five. In 1795, and before it, there resided in Sackville-street, Lords Drogheda, Bellamont, Altamont, Netterville, Gosford, Percy, Belmore, Leitrim, and

Sunderlin; in Rutland-square, Lords Ormond, Darnley, Charlemount, Bective, Grandison, Longford, Farnham, Enniskillen, Erne, Wicklow, Caledon, and the Bishop of Kildare; in Gardiner's-row resided Lords Carrick, Arran, and Ross; in Henrietta-street, Lords Shannon, Kingston, Mountjoy, O'Neill, and the Bishop of Meath; in Marlborough-street, Marquis of Waterford, Lord Glerawly; in Dominick-street, the Earl of Howth and Sir Hercules Langrishe; while Summerhill was also a fashionable residential quarter. All that is now changed; and the change can hardly be described as an improvement socially or otherwise.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

His Majesty's Privy Council in 1739 must certainly be described as a very representative and respectable body of noblemen. It consisted of the Lord Lieutenant, William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire; the Lords Justices, Dr. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh; Thomas Wyndham, Baron Wyndham of Finglas, Lord High Chancellor; and Henry Boyle, Speaker of the Commons. Dr. John Hoadley, Archbishop of Dublin; Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork; Dr. Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel; Dr. Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam; Robert Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare; Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; Chaworth Brabazon, Earl of Meath; James Barry, Earl of Barrymore; Richard Lambart, Earl of Cavan; Algernon Coote, Earl of Mountrath; George Forbes, Earl of Granard; Henry Petty, Earl of Shelburne; John Villiers, Earl of Grandison; Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry; John Percival, Earl of Egmont; Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Malton; Richard Fitzwilliam, Viscount Fitzwilliam; Richard Boyle, Viscount Shannon; Richard Molesworth, Viscount Molesworth; Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount Boyne; Trevor Hill, Viscount Hillsborough; Joshua Allen, Viscount Allen; Brabazon Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon; Charles Fane, Viscount Fane; Pattee Byng, Viscount Torrington; the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, Clogher, William St. Laurence, Lord Howth; James King, Baron Kingston; William Berkeley, Lord Berkeley; James O'Hara, Lord Tyrawley; Arthur Cole, Lord Ranelagh; George Evans, Lord Carbery; Thomas Southwell, Lord Southwell; William Flower, Lord Castledurrow; Henry Boyle, Speaker; Edward Southwell, Principal Secretary of State; Marmaduke Coghill, Chancellor of the Exchequer; John Rogerson, Lord Chief Justice; Thomas Carter, Master of the Rolls; James Reynolds, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Thomas Marlay, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir John Stanley, Sir Henry King, Sir Edward Crofton, Sir Thomas Prendergast, James Tynte, Martin Bladen, Edward Webster, Thomas Clutterbuck, Richard Edgecumbe, Marquis of Montandre, William Conolly, Walter Cary, Francis Burton, William Graham, Henry Bingham, Luke Gardiner, Edward Walpole, and Thomas Pearce. These constitute a very representative body in every sense.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

The Lord Mayor of the city was John Macarell, and the Recorder, Eaton Stannard. There were two sheriffs, Thomas Baker, and George Ribton, and thirteen "sheriff peers," whatever their duties or responsibilities. The City Treasurer was the late Lord Mayor; and the City Receiver-General, Alderman Nathaniel Pearson. The City Coroners were Alderman William Walker, and Alderman David Tew, the Mayor of the staple, the late Lord Mayor; and the constables, the late sheriffs sworn into office, St. Paul's night, 25th January.

LEGAL HOLIDAYS.

A matter not unworthy of passing notice is the holidays then recognised by James Swift, of Eustace-street, David La Touche, Nathaniel Kane, and David La Touche, junior, of Castle-street, John Fade, Isa. and John Willcocks, of Thomas-street, and William Lennox, of Lower Ormond-quay, the Bankers of the city. These holidays were 1st, 6th, and 20th January, Ash Wednesday, 25th March, Easter Monday and Tuesday, 1st May, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, 24th June, 1st July, 1st August, 29th September, 23rd and 30th October, 5th November, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th December; and the hours of attendance at the banks were from 10 till 1, and from 4 till 7 in the afternoon. It will be seen from these figures that there was a good deal more time for rest than even to-day is recognised.

A habit that then prevailed, and will be found noticed in some old almanacks, is the hours for divine service, to enable servants (as it is considerably said) to attend prayers, sermon, and sacrament, which began at 6 in the morning.

These statistics and details of offices and office-holders will be best understood and appreciated when one bears in mind the population of the city and country at the time. In 1728 the population of Dublin was 146,025; but it fell to 128,570 in 1753.

THE OLD TERMS.

While giving the names and holders of legal offices, we may add the law terms as then regulated. Hilary Term began on Saturday, the 20th January; sat on Tuesday, January 23rd; ended February 12th. The Returns were the eighth day from Hilary, Saturday, January 20th; the fifteenth day from Hilary, Saturday, January 27th; the day after the Purification, Saturday, February 3rd; and the eighth day from the Purification, Friday, February 9th. Easter Term began on May 7th, sat on Wednesday, 9th, and ended on June 4th. The Returns were the fifteenth day after Easter Monday, May 7th; three weeks after Easter Monday, May 14th; one month after Easter Monday, May 21st; five weeks after Easter Monday, May 28th; the day after the Ascension, Friday, June 1st;

Trinity Term began on Monday, 18th, sat on Friday, June 22nd, and ended July 11th. I need hardly give return days. Michaelmas Term began November 3rd, sat on November 6th, and ended on Wednesday, 28th.

We also find that in or about this year the Lords Justices appointed to govern the country in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant—a rather frequent and prolonged occurrence in those days—were Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh, Thomas Wyndham, and Sir Ralph Gore. While we find frequently the name of the Primate, that of the Archbishop of Dublin does not recur. The Provost of Trinity College in this year was the Rev. Richard Baldwin; the President of the College of Surgeons was James Grattan, who lived in Henry-street; and we find as censors of the College, Kingsbury, Hewetson, Aston, and Foreside.

ABSTRACTS FROM THE ANCIENT RECORDS OF THE CORPORATION OF CASHEL.

BY THOMAS LAFFAN, M.R.C.S.E., &c.

[Submitted May 26, 1902.]

THE City of Cashel has a pre-historic foundation. Even seven centuries ago, the town, which succeeded one destroyed, was denominated "the new town." The history of these ancient civic communities is but little known, though well worthy of study. Irish walled towns seem to have been little republics in themselves, with an almost complete system of self-government. Cashel Corporation was created in 1216 by Donat O'Lonergan, Archbishop, who gave some of the choicest lands about the town to the burgesses. They were about 1500 acres in extent, and of these 50 acres remain in the hands of the present Corporation. The subjoined are furnished in *précis* from the Corporation minutes :—

GUILDS.

Charters were given to various guilds from time to time. March 14th, 1673, one was granted to the Blacksmiths.

OFFICIAL ROBES.

1st May, 1673. A creditable gown fit for the magistrate of such a city, and same as that of Lord Mayor of Dublin, ordered for the mayor. Silver-laced capes ordered for the sergeants at mace.

IRISH INHABITANTS.

Nov. 12th, 1673. The Lord Lieutenant ordered a return of the Popish inhabitants within the City. At the next meeting, Mr. Henry Cooke, Town Clerk, was allowed 24 shillings for his pains in returning the names of the Irish inhabitants to the Lord Lieutenant, as required by him.

22nd July, 1686. The Irish inhabitants ask permission to exercise their trades, but the matter was adjourned, as the Council was not a full one.

STRANGERS.

2nd Aug., 1683. No stranger allowed into the city, unless approved of by the Corporation, paying twenty shillings and other fees, and taking the oaths.

10 July, 1680. All foreigners standing in the Market Place to pay rates.

OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

27 July, 1688. Newspaper still to be maintained.

KING WILLIAM'S CHARTER ABROGATING KING JAMES'.

5th Aug., 1690, entered on the minutes.

THE BELLMAN.

16th July, 1691. Ordered to be dismissed, for his incapacity, as a Papist, to hold office.

BEGGARS.

16th July, 1691. Strange beggars not admitted, lest they become a parish charge, and sturdy ones to be whipped out of town. Local ones of three years' residence allowed to beg.

CATTLE.

7th Sept., 1691. All parties bringing their cattle at night into the public streets for safety ordered to pay three pence for each beast, and a penny per month per beast for the purpose of cleaning the streets.

MARKETS.

7 Sept., 1691. All commodities ordered to be sold at the little cross in the city at 8 o'clock in the morning, by sound of bell, the prices to be fixed by four members of the Corporation. Any person buying outside the public market to forfeit the goods bought, for the first offence, and the seller the price paid; and for the second offence double the price, and to receive severe punishment; a freeman to be disfranchised. Beef was fixed at 2*d.* per lb. for the primest parts; mutton, ditto; pork, 2½*d.*; sweet milk, 1*d.* per quart.

May 17th, 1712. Colliers to pay a penny per barrel for their coals.

June 28th, 1712. Timber, coals, slates, laths, fish, fresh butter, and firing admitted free.

LABOURERS' HIRE.

Oct. 12th, 1694. Labourers to be paid 6*d.* per day for work done.

Nov. 17th, 1693. A slater gets 3 shillings for taking down the Town Court bell from the Rock Steeple.

POSTMASTER.

April 1st, 1695. Leake, Postmaster, is thanked for services rendered.

SANITATION.

Oct. 16th, 1699. No person to be allowed to wash clothes in the public cisterns.

May 14, 1673. Mayor allowed five pounds for cleaning manure off the streets.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

June 4th, 1700. Ten pounds to be expended by the mayor for the building of a pew for the Corporation in St. Patrick's Cathedral; the chapter giving the ground for ever. The Mayor to pay the money and to be excused his usual Michaelmas treat.

Aug. 11th, 1703. Quakers prevented from building a meeting-house.

Oct. 24th, 1716. The Marshalsea erected, a prisoner having escaped from the common jail.

SCHOOLS.

June 29th, 1725. Lease for schoolhouse ordered. A grove let at peppercorn rent to allow the boys, freemen and gentlemen to walk therein.

29th Sept., 1745. Lease of Charter School ordered.

THE POOR.

June 29th, 1725. Ten pounds ordered to be paid to Dr. Burgess to encourage him to settle in the city. This was subsequently continued that he might attend the poor.

MAYORALTY.

29th Sept., 1732, and Oct., 1733. A great contest for the Mayoralty, several candidates having been proposed.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

The Mayor and Corporation nominated two M.P.s. After the Union, Sir Robert Peel was elected on the 15th of April, 1807, and Lord Primrose on 17th of November, 1806.

FREEMEN.

29th Sept., 1758. John Bagwell, Clonmel, elected. On other occasions are found the names of the Earl of Bective, Mathews of Thomastown, Sir William Barker, Sir Thomas Dancer, the Maudes of Dundrum, Hon. Robert Jocelyn, &c.

TENANT RIGHT.

29 June, 1767. The Mayor gets a lease for 99 years of a large number of buildings erected by encroachers, for a fine of £5 and a guinea a year for 99 years, to preserve them for the Corporation.

TOWN HALL.

28th May, 1771. The Town Hall, which was ordered in 1747 at a cost of £676 14s. 9d., reported to be completed. The money was ordered to be raised out of the revenues of the Corporation.

NIGHT WATCH.

20th Dec., 1780. A Protestant English watch ordered. — Roman Catholics to watch their turns by a Protestant. (On another occasion, 2nd Aug., 1683, a watch was ordered of which the majority only should be English Protestants. The commander to be personally responsible if poultry should be destroyed.)

THE GREAT CHARTER OF CASHEL.

Translation of Charter of Roland, Archbishop of Cashel, dated 19th October, 1557, containing inspeximus and confirmation of Charter of Maurianus, Archbishop of Cashel, dated 12th July, 14 Hen. III. (1230).

Roland by Divine Mercy and by the favour of the Apostolic See Archbishop of Cashell. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting; we have inspected the letters Patent of the Lord Maurianus of happy memory, formerly Archbishop of Cashell, our predecessor, in these words: Maurianus by Divine Mercy and by the favour of the Apostolic See, to all to whom the present letters shall come greeting; know ye all that we of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion have given, granted, and by this our present Charter have confirmed, with the consent of our Dean and our whole Chapter at a Chapter held in the Chapter House and specially summoned and assembled for this purpose, in a solemn discussion and with mature deliberation concerning the welfare of our Archiepiscopal City or Town of Cashell, to the Provost and twelve Burgesses of the said City of Cashell, or of whatever lesser number they be who now are and who for the time shall be, for ever, our City of Cashell aforesaid, which the most Excellent Prince Henry by the Grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou and Lord of Ireland, by his letters Patent dated the fifteenth day of November in the thirteenth year of his reign had given and granted to us and our successors for ever, in free pure and perpetual alms, free from every charge exaction and secular service, excepting and reserving to us the Bakehouse and Market of the said Town of Cashel; likewise we have also given, granted and by this our present Charter have confirmed to the said Provost and Burgesses who now are and who for the time shall be, for ever, free pasture for all and every of the animals of them and of their tenants whomsoever and of all persons inhabiting and sojourning in the said Town and the Burgage thereof in all our lands except meadows, standing corn—lands and manors, and power and authority to hold therein an Hundred and a Court Baron, and to hear and decide pleas and plaints pertaining to said hundred and Court in said town and the Burgage thereof, by the Provost of the said Town for the time being, for ever, from time to time as often as it shall please the said Provost; to have and to hold all and singular the aforesaid Town, pasture, hundred and Court with all their rights and appurtenances

(except the Bakehouse and Market afore excepted) to the aforesaid Provost and burgesses and their heirs and successors, of us and our successors for ever; rendering annually to us and our successors out of the said Town and pastures with their appurtenances the chief rent of nine marks, and out of the hundred and Court of the said Town one mark of the current money of Ireland, by equal portions at the feasts of St. Michael and Easter, for every service. Now we the said Maurianus the Archbishop and our Successors, with the consent aforesaid, will warrant acquit and by these presents in all places defend the said Town, pasture, hundred and Court with all their rights and appurtenances (except as before excepted) to the aforesaid Provost and Burgesses their heirs and successors for ever against all persons. In testimony whereof we have caused our seal together with the seal of our Chapter to be affixed to these presents. Dated at Cashell the twelfth day of July in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry aforesaid. Now we the said Roland Archbishop deeming the Charter, Donation and Grant of the aforesaid Maurianus our former predecessor to be confirmed and acceptable, have approved ratified and confirmed as by the tenor of these presents we approve ratify and confirm them for us and our successors, as far as in us lies, according to the force form and effect of the same, with the consent of the Dean and the whole Chapter of our Church of Cashell, with whom, pre-supposing the honesty and utility of the said Town of Cashell, we have had and made a solemn discussion and mature deliberation in this behalf in our Chapter House, and being specially summoned and assembled in Chapter for this purpose, we now of our certain knowledge and mere motion, with the consent of our Dean and Chapter aforesaid, have anew given and granted, and according to the tenor of these presents, we give and grant all those the Town, pastures, hundred Court and the rest of the premises and every parcel thereof, to Maurice Carny the present Provost and the Burgesses who now are and who for the time shall be, for ever, their heirs and successors in the same manner in which the said Maurianus our predecessor granted the same; in testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent by appending thereto our seal and the seal of our Chapter. Dated at Cashell the nineteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven. Roland Archbishop of Cashel, Philip Archdeacon of Cashel, William Dean of Cashel, Hugo Precentor of Cashel, Thomas Chancellor of Cashel, Richard Treasurer of Cashel, John Sall Prebendary of Cashel.

AN OLD EXCISE TAX.

A very interesting trial took place before the Lords Justices in the seventh year of the reign of Edward the Second, at the suit of the Abbot of the Lower Rock of Cashel against thirty-eight public brewers of the city, for disseising him of two flagons of ale out of every brewing made

for sale in the city. It appears that Marian O'Brien, who had been Archbishop, granted these two flagons towards the support of an hospital for the poor and infirm which was founded by his seneschal, Sir David le Latimer, for lepers and poor persons. A leper on one occasion having been affronted by Latimer's daughter when begging from the dame her mother, he predicted for the girl his own fate, whereupon she was then or soon after struck with leprosy. Her father after that liberally endowed the hospital, to which the gift of Maurianus was also attached. Subsequently David MacCarwill, Bishop from 1253 to 1289, dispossessed the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of the Lower Rock, and put Cistercians in their places. It is alleged that having dreamt that the Benedictines cut off his head, his mother persuaded him to eject them. This he did, as before stated. To these he gave liberal endowments out of the lands of the Church. He also united the hospital, founded and endowed both by Maurianus and his seneschal, to the Abbey. This arrangement would appear to have worked smoothly for a time, but the citizens refused to pay their quota of beer, and were brought into court in the seventh year of Edward the Second. One of the leading proofs offered in support of the claim was a Charter from Edward the First. In their verdict the jurors state that this beer-tax formed no part of the services required from the burgesses by the Charter of Maurianus, the original grantor of their lands. The jury further found that the burgesses were compelled by the later Bishop to pay these tolls to the monks of the new foundation.

CHARTER OF RICHARD THE THIRD.

This was granted in the second year of that king's reign, and was merely confirmatory of previous privileges. Complaint was made by the Provost and burgesses that they could with great difficulty bold their own against the Irish enemy, who were in full rebellion and open war in all the country round. The Charter confirms to the Provost and his body the right to hold inquests on Englishmen through their own coroners, to pardon felons, to deal severely with artisans and labourers, to control the markets, examine weights, &c. With these the King's officer should only interfere once a year, and that merely for the purpose of inspection. A great variety of feudal exactions are enumerated from which the citizens are to continue to be exempt. The customs of the town of Clonmel, which belonged to Cashel, are regranted, together with free warren in said town and in the franchises and burgagery thereof, and also pillory, tumbrel and theam within its franchises and burgagery. The Charter apparently only confers one new privilege, viz. the right of exemption to the Provost and his successors from attending Assizes, juries, attainders, and inquisitions. In fine, complete control is confirmed over all criminal and civil proceedings, with the exception of the four pleas of the Crown, viz.—treason, rape, treasure-trove, and arson. The

Charter throws a remarkable light on the position occupied by the town as a little self-governing English garrison in the midst of a hostile country.

AN INQUISITION.

In the 33rd year of Henry the Eighth an inquiry was held before the King's Commissioner at the instance of the Portreeve and Commons of Cashel, complaining that the neighbouring gentry and tenants trespassed on the Commons estate and cut furze thereon, and they demanded that they should be stopped. The Portreeve claimed that they held it in fee, and that it extended from the Magdalen Asylum to a little stream which is now at the foot of Rockwell College. The stream was then called Kiteriyyg, and the lateral boundaries, like the two first named, are the very same to this day. The names of several of the neighbouring gentry, such as the Comans, Fitzwalters and Butlers, are mentioned among the offenders. A fine of ten pounds was imposed for every repetition of the offence. The well-known names of Barnewall, Howth, Gerald Aylin (evidently Aylmer), and Walter Kerwyffe are appended to the decree.

CHARTER OF PHILIP AND MARY.

This was granted in the second and third years of their reigns; and merely ratified and confirmed a previous Charter of Edward the Fourth, which in point of fact was merely confirmatory of the still more ancient one of Maurianus. This Charter, which we subjoin in full, was confirmed by one of Henry the Seventh, in the sixteenth year of his reign; and this was in turn again confirmed by another in the 31st year of Henry the Eighth. A remarkable feature in the Charter of Henry the Seventh is the mandate and authority which it gives to the Archbishop to fulminate (this is the exact word) all manner of sentences, excommunications, and interdictions against any man or men who may interfere with his rights.

The following is the text of the Charter of King Edward the Fourth:—Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland—To all to whom the present letters shall come. Greeting: The venerable Father in Christ, John, Archbishop of Cashel, hath supplicated us; That whereas, he and his predecessors, Archbishops of the place aforesaid, claimed to have within all the manors and lordships of the Archbishopric aforesaid, the liberties underwritten, that is to say, Soc and Sac, Toll and Theam, Infangthef and Outfangthef, pleas of homicide, murder, slaying of Englishmen, and of all manner of robberies, larcenies, duels of Englishmen, and of all others within their Lordships and Manors, and the abjuration of fugitives and felons flying to Holy Church, and also the liberty to take in their Courts, fines and redemptions for felonies done within their lands, in like manner to

grant charters of pardons to felons aforesaid for felonies committed within their Lordships and Manors at their will, and also to waive and outlaw felons in their Courts, to have day, year, and waste of their lands, tenements, and rents, and to make from time to time their own Coroners, and to view and bury Englishmen, and all drowned and slain by misfortune, by their own Coroner, without the King's Coroner, and also justification, correction, and punishment of all manners of artificers and labourers within their Lordships and Manors; and to take fines and redemption from those who shall be convicted or found guilty in their Courts against any of the articles contained in the statutes and ordinances heretofore made by us or our progenitors, for artificers and labourers, and also all manner of pleas of the Crown (except four pleas, that is to say, Treason, Rape, Treasure Trove, and Arson), and also they have claimed to have their Courts concerning all manner of franchises, liberties, and privileges aforesaid, to be held by their Seneschal or Seneschals from time to time, at their will, to be made and appointed; and they have also claimed to have the full return and execution of all our Royal Writs, and precept for summonses, distress, and attachments to be made by our progenitors or us, concerning all places within the lordships, manors, and crosses of the said Archbishopric, and also view of Frank pledge and Assise of Wine, Bread and Beer, of their standard and Ells, Weights, Bushels, Gallons, yard and other measures and weights, and that the King's Clerk of the Market and Keeper of the measures should not interfere in the aforesaid Office within the Lordships, manors and the crosses of the Archbishopric aforesaid, except once in the year, to see and examine the standards of the aforesaid Archbishopric; and also they claimed to take fines and corrections from their tenants of all kinds, and further to perform all that pertains to the office of clerk of the market and keeper of the measures within their lordships, manors, and crosses aforesaid, and also that they had pleas of Withernam, and of all manner of pleas to Court Baron appertaining, in all their lordships and manors; and that they and all their men and tenants may be free of all toll, passage, murage, poundage, lestage, scot, guild, common assistance, and common amerciaments, and also free warren in all their lordships, manors, mountains, and lands; and also wrecks of the sea in all their manors, lordships, and land, coasts of the sea, and also pillory, tumbrell and theme in the places and manors aforesaid. We willing to provide concerning the premises, of our special grace, have given and granted, and by this our present Charter have confirmed, ratified, and approved for us and our heirs, to the said Archbishop, all the aforesaid franchises, liberties, privileges, customs, and usages, and every of them to have and to hold to him and his successors in all and singular the places aforesaid in manner and form above expressed freely, and quietly, without interruption or impediment of us our heirs, and Lieutenant, Justices, Escheators, Sheriffs, Seneschals,

Bailiffs, Ministers or Officers of us our heirs, whomsoever, notwithstanding that the said Archbishop and his predecessors heretofore have not maintained or used them, or any of them. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness, the Reverend Father in Christ, our beloved William, Bishop of Meath, Deputy of our most dear brother, George, Duke of Clarence, our Lieutenant of our land of Ireland, at Dublin, the 24th day of June, in the 16th year of our reign.

CHARTER OF ELIZABETH (1584).

Queen Elizabeth issued a letter in the 25th year of her reign confirming the rights, &c., conferred by previous Charters on the Portreeve and Commonalty of Cashel. It specifies that it is enacted in consideration of their good behaviour and of their readiness to further the Queen's service, and to encourage them the more to continue therein.

This Charter was merely confirmatory. It would appear, however, that the pleas of the Crown might be tried by the Provost, provided he had the assistance of some person sufficiently learned in the law. The power to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of £30 a year English money. An item worthy of note is that the Head of the Municipality is again denominated Provost, instead of Portreeve—a term which was actually used in the Queen's letter before.

CHARTER OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

This was the governing Charter, and was granted in 1639. It is claimed that by whatever title Cashel was previously recognised, it should for ever from that day forward be entitled to be denominated a city. This shows that the title city had been heretofore employed. The Charter sets out that it was granted in consideration of a fine and of the city being well affected. The Body Corporate embraced a mayor (a title now used for the first time), seventeen aldermen, two bailiffs, citizens, and commons. All these were one body corporate. They were to administer the existing city estates, which they were not to pass from them, nor to assign away the rents thereof. They might acquire lands also up to £50 a year. The Mayor was elected annually by the retiring Mayor and Aldermen. Some show of voice was left to the Bailiffs, Citizens, and Commons. One bailiff was elected by the Mayor and Aldermen, and the other by the rest of the Corporation. Vacancies among the Aldermen were filled up (the weak point of the whole thing) by the Mayor and the other Aldermen. The Recorder was elected by the entire Body Corporate. The mace-bearer, sword-bearer, clerks, and servants were all elected by the entire Body Corporate, but were removable by the Mayor and Aldermen. Queroix was the first Mayor and Sall the first Recorder. These were sworn to do justice to the poor as well as to the rich. A full civil as well as a criminal jurisdiction was vested

in these officers and their Corporation. Weekly and half-yearly courts were held. Courts Leet and Courts Baron, as well as Piepowder Courts on fair days. Catholics were not expressly excluded, but their exclusion was effected by the discretion left to the members of the Body Corporate. There were to be two great fairs annually. It is worthy of remark that these existed from the earliest times. Two weekly markets were likewise established, and at these tolls might be exacted. Guilds were likewise formed, and their rules had to be finally confirmed by the going Judge of Assize. The Mayor and Recorder were *ex-officio* magistrates for the County Tipperary, and both these and all citizens were exempt from serving on juries. The entire Corporate Body, *i.e.* the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Citizens, and Commons might frame new laws and regulations, all together in public meeting assembled, subject to the Assize Judge's approval. The names of three candidates were sent on for the office of Mayor annually to Dublin Castle. In time the Corporation degenerated into a close borough.

INQUISITION ON THE PROPERTY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CASHEL.

One of the Courts of Inquiry was held in the year 1629, the fifth year of King Charles the First, into the possessions of Malcolm Hamilton, the late Archbishop. It was directed to Robert Waters and Garvine Barclay, Precentor of Cashel, and to Redmond M'Grath and Gerald Fitzgerald, Archdeacon of Emly. The Inquisition proved that the ten marks reserved by the Charter of Maurianus (1229) out of the town court and pasture were still paid to his successors, being at the time (owing to the change in the currency) equal to an annual charge of £5. It was also proved that the Archbishop received rent out of the Great Bakehouse and out of two marts, which latter would correspond to the shambles reserved in the Charter of 1229. These items proved of inestimable value in the great and successful struggle of the citizens for the recovery of their property in 1843. The names of the jurors in the Inquisition of 1629 are as follows, viz. :—

Walter Hackett, of Cashel, Esq.	
Philip Purcell, of Kilnesheare, Gent.	
John Butler, of Loughinfidory, Gent.	
Thomas Stapleton, of Leinstown, Gent.	
Walter Woodlock, Moortown Park, Gent.	
Redmond Comyn, of Kilbragh, Gent.	
Patrick Fleming, of St. Dominick's Monastery.	
Thomas Sherlock, Cashel, Burgess.	
Thomas Creagh, of same, Burgess.	
Edmond Sall, of	} Cashel.
Robert Fleming, of	
Robert Boyton, of	
James Boyton, of	

TRIAL IN CLONMEL.

In 1348 a great trial took place in Clonmel before Walter Birmingham, Justiciary of Ireland. The Provost, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Cashel were put on their trial by the Crown for having refused to go as an escort to Clonmel with certain prisoners who were sent thither from the King's Jail in Cashel. They refused to escort them, on the grounds that their estates were free from all secular service to the Sovereign. This was owing to the fact that the estates were originally a grant from the Church. This record was used by the Reformed Municipal Body of Cashel in 1843 to prove the identity of the city estates with those originally granted by the Church. They produced the Charter of Maurianus, which proving that they owed no secular service for their estates, judgment was given in favour of the said Provost, bailiffs, and commonalty.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ST. CATHERINE'S,
OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK.

BY JOHN WARDELL, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Read OCTOBER 6, 1903.]

THE nunnery of "Manisternagalliaghduff," or, as it is now called, Old Abbey, is situated in the parish of Robertstown, and in the modern



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—THE WEST DOOR OF CHURCH.
(From a Photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.)

barony of Shanid. This barony forms part of the ancient district known as Connelloe, in the western division of County Limerick. The ruins of

the convent, hidden away in a lonely hollow, lie in a small valley. This, running down to the Shannon on the north, is bounded on the south and west by low green hills, and on the east by fairly open, rolling country.

The highest point in the western range of hills is Knockpatrick, which is crowned by the old church of that name. The village of Shanagolden, with its thirteenth-century church, the nave of which is still in use, lies about two miles to the west of the nunnery. To the south-west, and perched on the summit of a detached and moated hill, is the famous castle of Shanid, which dominates the entire valley, and commands the approaches leading to the Kerry border.

From the fields surrounding Old Abbey House may be obtained a glimpse of Foynes Island, girdled by the silver Shannon, while beyond the river stretch the uplands of County Clare, with the level-backed hill of Mount Callan standing out against the skyline.

The various rectories, or vicarages, connected with the nunnery, all lie within the compass of the valley. The most distant is that of Grange, the Nova Grangia or Gransha of the records, which lies some nine miles to the south-east of the Abbey, and close to the town of New-castle.

Dunmoylan, to the north of Grange, is but three miles away from the nunnery, while Robertstown, "the church of the castle of Robert Goer," lies just as far to the north as Dunmoylan to the south. Beyond Robertstown, the rocky island, or semi-island, of Aughinish juts far out into the Shannon. At Dunmoylan, Grange, and Robertstown, may be seen the remains of small churches, while one wall of Goer's Castle is still standing. The church of Kilmoylan, or Kilmolane, situated on one of the two home ploughlands, does not appear to have been connected with the convent.

Of the history of this Abbey but little is known. This is the more strange, seeing that it was the only nunnery in this part of the country, and that, judging by its remains, it must have been of considerable size. Lying, as it did, in a country so rich in incident as Connelloe, it is curious that it played so small a part in history.

Even as to its situation considerable doubt has existed. The county historians, Ferrar (1786), FitzGerald, and Lenihan, have followed Archdall, who, following Harris, confused it with a place of similar name at Lough Gur.¹ Ferrar makes no mention whatsoever of the ruins at Old Abbey. FitzGerald, after a brief description, remarks that they have escaped the notice of Ware and Archdall, while Lenihan merely refers to their existence.

The first to get on the right track was Dr. Reeves, who, as is

¹ "History, Topography," &c., of Limerick (by Rev. P. FitzGerald and J. J. McGregor, 1826), vol. i., pp. 363, 315, and vol. ii., p. 577. See also *Journal*, vol. xxi., p. 322.

stated in the "Memorials of Adare," identified Monasternagalliagh, near Shanagolden, with the house of that name mentioned in the Elizabethan Fiant. Dr. Reeves rested his identification upon the near neighbourhood of the rectories of Grange and Robertstown, which in itself would be scarcely sufficient evidence. Mr. Westropp and I came to the same conclusion quite independently, and I submit that the documents recited in this article complete the identification of Old Abbey with the St. Katherine's of the records.

Considerable confusion would seem to exist between Manisternagalliagh in Connello and several small monasteries of similar name, all situated in the County Limerick. First comes Ballingoul, Ballingould, or Ballingoula, alias Ballynambraher, near Sixmilebridge, called in Fiant No. 405 (February, 35 Hen. VIII.) the "House of Friars Minor, by Lough Gur, alias Ballynebraher." This house is also styled the "Monastery of Whitefriars at Ballynegall"; and it is probable that the grant (39 Eliz.) to Trinity College, Dublin, of the "Franciscan house at Ballynegall," refers to the same place.¹ Then there is Ballynagalliach, or "Monasternagalliach juxta Aney," or Nunstown, near Lough Gur. This has been frequently confused with St. Katherine's, and has usurped its place in all Histories of the county. It seems to have been a place of no importance, and in 1840 only a fragment of the west gable was standing. It is said to have been founded in 1283 for Augustinian nuns. Then Manister nangall in Kilfin Parish, south of Kilmallock, a Dominican cell, called also Abbey Ballynagaul, and lastly, Monestar ne Callowduff in Kilmurry Parish, near the City of Limerick; none of these places, however, being in the district of Connelloe.

HISTORY.

Of the foundation of St. Katherine's of O'Conyl no record exists, but it would seem that it is alluded to in the Inquisition made as to the lands of Thomas Fitz Maurice, who died on Wednesday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity (June 4th), in the year 1298.²

In the section which deals with the Manor of Senede (Shanid) occurs the following entry:—"Wherefrom are subtracted 8s. paid yearly to the Bishop of Limerick for land which his (Thomas') grandfather³ granted to the nuns of O'Konyl, and 26s. 8d. paid to the same Bishop to acquit land of demesne which Sir Thomas held of him there."

¹ "Domus ffrum de Ballyn Brahur or Ballynumrare in Clanwilliam," "House of Braher Duffe or Black Friars, Ballynegall, in Cossetlereo-flarren ne monaster, gardens, and at the village of Ballynegall 2 acres."—Christopher Peyton's Survey (1586), pp. 255–256.

"Monestare ne callowduffe, Lymerick, in the Parish of Temple Moyrry (Kilmurry), near the city, with certain gardens, orchards, and fields" (*Ibid.*, p. 257).

² C. S. P. I., vol. iv., p. 259. See also Pipe Rolls, 27 Ed. I., No. 27.

³ John FitzThomas of Connelloe (O'Konyl), County Limerick, son and heir of Thomas FitzMaurice, and grandfather to the Thomas above mentioned, was slain at Callan, 1261. From an Inquisition (8th August, 1282) we find that he held "a cantred in Cunyel called Shennede, in said County of Limerick."—C. S. P. I., 1252–1284.

The next reference to the nuns of O'Konyl is found in the papal taxation rolls, where the taxation of the goods of "the house of St. Katherine in O'Konyl" is assessed at 40s. and 4*l*., while the tithe was four shillings and one penny halfpenny.

This list probably dates from 1291, and the various churches which are mentioned in later documents as connected with the nunnery are assessed as follows:—

DEANERY.	CHURCH.	VALUATION.	TITHE.
Ardagh.	New Grange.	9 marks.	12s.
Rathgel.	Dunmoly.	2 m ^k 8s. 10½ <i>d</i> .	3s. 6¾ <i>d</i> .
	Vicarage of same.	1 m ^k 4s. 5½ <i>d</i> .	(Blank.)
	Chapel of Robert Guer.	2 marks.	2s. 8 <i>d</i> .
	Vicarage of same.	1 mark.	(Blank.)

The next list is generally supposed to date between 1302 and 1307, and it is apparent that the district had suffered from one of the plundering wars so well known in Irish history.

The church of New Grange is returned as "destroyed by war," while those of Lanwhull, Kilfarwes, and Kilmorill, in the deanery of Rathkeale, are in like condition. The churches of Donmoly,¹ Kilmolan, Schengle (Shanagolden), and Disertmardun, all in the more immediate neighbourhood of the convent, would seem to have escaped; but as to that foundation itself it is stated that "the revenue of the monastery of the Prioress of Oconyl does not suffice for maintenance of the Prioress and Convent."

The following is an abstract of a curious, and far from clear, lawsuit which may be connected with this lamentable state of affairs:—

35 Edward I. (1306). The Prioress of Oconyl, plaintiff, and Maurice FitzPhilip, defendant, on a plea of trespass. The defendant had apparently obtained the loan of a horse for use in Leinster in order to aid John FitzThomas in his war. The said Maurice had promised to return the horse "immediately and in good condition." Instead of fulfilling his promise, he retained the beast for six months, and, in addition to this, provisioned himself and his kerne by force² at the expense of the Prioress. By these proceedings her tenants were much aggrieved, and threatened to leave the lands. The Prioress obtained a verdict, and, what would appear to have been the apparently inadequate damages of seventeen shillings and fourpence.³

1	CHURCH.	VALUATION.	TITHE.
	Donmoly.	3 marks.	4s.
	Kilmolan.	5 marks.	½ mark.
	Schengle.	5 marks.	½ mark.
	Disertmardun.	10s.	12 <i>d</i> .
	Church of the Castle of Robert Goer.	20s.	2s.

² "Idem. Maur cu kernia sua solitus est capere vi cibum et potum de p̄dea p'orissa."

³ "Cal. Mem. Rolls, Exchequer, Ireland," p. 93, 35 Edw. I., 1306. Ferguson's "Calendar," vol. i., pp. 83, 84. Mr. T. J. Westropp has called my attention to this extract, and to the entries in the Plea Rolls, Peyton, and the Hardiman maps.

When the curtain again lifts, the head of the convent is once more in trouble. We learn from a Plea Roll of the year 1316 that the Prioress of St. Katherine's had failed to present one Norman FitzRichard to the vicarage of the church of Robert Goer. On being summoned to answer for her conduct, she did not put in an appearance; and so it was ordered that she should be attached for contempt of court.¹

In the so-called "Little Black Book of Limerick" is an undated visitation, probably of the early fifteenth century, which mentions the convent.



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—WINDOWS OF REFECTORY, AS REBUILT.

(From a Photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.)

The entry is as follows:—"Bona domus Katerinae in O'Conyll. Custos exceed se in redditu annualit' taxantur ad xis. iiij*d*.²

For a considerable period after this date the history of the convent is lost in darkness, and, notwithstanding the restoration of the buildings in

¹ Plea Roll (Ireland), 11 Edw. II., No. 119, m. 18.

² Quoted in "Memorials of Adare," p. 95, with a note stereotyping the usual confusion of St. Katherine's with Monasternagalliagh in Small County.

the fifteenth century, we find no mention of it until the time of Philip and Mary.¹ An Inquisition taken in the first year of their reign mentions that the Mistress of the Monastery of Negillagh² holds the rectory of New Grange, and the rectory and vicarage of Dunmolyne. On the 26th September, 1567, Sir Warham St. Leger obtained a lease for twenty-one years of the Abbeys of Adare and Nenagh, together with the site of the monastery of nuns of St. Katherine, called Monaster de Kayllaghe, County Limerick, with appurtenances, rent £22 17s. 8d. (No. 1143.) Sir William Drurye, "President of Mounster," was the next grantee. His lease, for the same period and for the same rent, bears date 10th December, 1577 (No. 3174).

An Inquisition³ of the 8th March in the same year states that the rectories of New Grange and Dunmoylan belonged to the nunnery, and were valued at 20s. each;⁴ while a grant of the 18th August conveys them to George Moore, in consideration of his services in the wars of Scotland and Ireland.

By letter of the 9th February, 1582, Queen Elizabeth directs that James Gold shall receive a lease for forty years of the Abbeys of Adare, Nenagh, &c., and "the nunnerye of *Ballanegillagh*,"⁵ latelye in the occupacon of the traytor Sir John Desmond," but which had been granted in lease by Lord Grey to John Zouch for twenty-one years, and by him conveyed to James Gold, Attorney-General for Munster.

The grant (No. 4124) dated 15th March in the same year mentions the Abbeys of Adare and Nenagh, and the "*monastery of St. Katherine*,"

¹ Unless the following refers to St. Katherine's:—Hen. VIII., 27th April, 1541—Lease to Edmund Sexton, of Limerick, Gent., of the site of the house of St. Peter in Limerick, various lands in Limerick, and "*Balleneg*[allaghe], alias *Templenegallaghe*, AND *Ballynegallaghe* by Loghgyre," 21 years, rent 20s. Same to same, 9th February, 1542. It is quite possible (see Queen's Letter, February 9th, 25th Eliz.) that the first of these places is St. Katherine's, but it may also be Ballingoula. An Inquisition into the goods of Edmund Sexton (1st Ph. and Mary) makes no mention of the *Ballynegallaghes*, but St. Peter's is given.

² MS. Calendar, Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin.

³ Archdall, quoting this Inquisition, adds—"with the rents of Drishane, Cullen, Nohavel, Kilmeen, and Drumtariff, in the Barony of Duhallow in the County of Cork." These rectories *are not* mentioned in the Inquisition cited in the text (8th March, xx. Eliz.), nor can I find any authority for this statement. The following grant may, perhaps, throw some light upon the matter. Patrick Sherlock, gent., held the Abbey of *St. Katherine's by Waterford*, and to him were leased [2nd April, i. and ii. Ph. and Mary] the rectories of "*Kilvini, alias Kilbini, and Cullen, in Dowallie, in O'Kiffe's and M'Downoghe's conuntry.*" A deed of John de Bineford, Canon of Keynsham Abbey, and Hubert, Bishop of Limerick, Easter, 1237, mentions a grant of Iniskefty (Askeaton Church) made to the priory of St. Katherine, Waterford ("*Black Book of Limerick*," p. 75).

⁴ In accordance with a Queen's Letter of 9th November, 1574. In the grant No. 3414, are mentioned "the rectories of New Grange and Dunmoylyn, and the presentation of the vicarages, possessions of the house of nuns of Monasternegilaghe, all found concealed."

⁵ It is quite possible that the Crown referred to the building near Lough Gur, but the abbey mentioned in the ensuing patent is certainly St. Katherine's. Ferrar, p. 426, states that "James Gould died, 6th Sept. 1600, seized of a priory at Lough Gur, and of a carucate of land in free and common soccage."

alias Kallaghe." We find that Golde,¹ in 1584, forfeited his lease of Adare for non-payment of rent. It is probable that Monasternagalliagh was included in the forfeiture, for, on the 20th July, 27th of Elizabeth, Sir Henry Wallop obtained a lease for twenty years of Adare, Nenaghe, and "the religious house of St. Katherine's, called the monastery of Kailaghe, alias Negeilaghe."

Sir Henry was apparently not content with his lease, for, at various times throughout the year 1586, we find him petitioning Burghley for a fee-farm grant of these lands.

In his first letter, written on the 26th April, he mentions that he has purchased Mr. Rigges' interest in the waste lands of the Abbeys of Nenagh, Adare, and Negeilaugh.²

His request does not seem to have been favourably received, for, on the 24th December, 1587, a lease was made to Robert Collane, of Dublin, gent., of the monastery of St. Katherine alias Kaylaghe, "as now held by Sir Henry Wallop, for the space of fifty years after the expiration of the existing lease."³

Nothing, however, seems to have come of this proposal, for, in November, 1595, Wallop obtained his desired grant (No. 5964), which recites that it was made in consideration of his great expenses in building on the premises (of Adare?) for the defence of these parts.

Francis Jobson's map of Munster, dated 1589,⁴ shows "M. Negella," with conventional views of the convent and the church-crowned hill of Knockpatrick. This map alone would decide the question of the situation of the monastery.

The next mention of the Abbey is to be found in a King's letter, of the 26th January, 1603, which remits all rents due to the Crown from Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Norries, President of Munster, whose lands had been wasted in the late rebellion. The rents were remitted from the 39th Elizabeth to the 1st of James I.

An Inquisition, taken at Adare,⁵ August 17th, 1613, finds that Sir John Jephson, in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir Thomas Norreys, was seized in demesne of various abbeys, including that of "Monasterny-gillagh alias Monasternykillagh, now in the occupation of Richard Gill,"⁶

¹ C. S. P. I., March 21st, 1584.

² The "Desmond Roll," of 26th Elizabeth, mentions Bally Robert as being impropriate in right of Monaster de Negelagh, and the Peyton Survey notices "Dyzart" as being in the "*parish* of Monasternegellach." It is interesting to observe that in 1766 Old Abbey is styled a parish (Parish Registers, Rathkeale, County Limerick).

³ In Molyneux MSS., Library, T.C.D., we find that Sir Thomas Norris, as assignee of Sir Henry Wallop, held the lands belonging to the Franciscan House of Adare. Is it not possible that he may have acquired St. Katherine's in like manner. This entry in Molyneux is given under date, 27th Elizabeth. May it not have been 37th?

⁴ Original in the Hardiman Collection, T.C.D., No. 1209, map 36.

⁵ P. R. O. I., Chancery Inquisitions, No. 5.

⁶ This is presumably the same Richard Gill who, in 1608, purchased the lands of Kilcosgriff, part of the manor of Mount Trenchard, from Francis Trenchard. Gill's

gent." With the abbey there went the two ploughlands of Manestirnegillagh and Killmelane, the tithes and glebelands of the parsonages or rectories of Robertstown and "Down Moylin," also the tithes of the rectory and vicarage of Granshawe, and of the Islande of Aghne-sse.

Further, we learn that at the time of the dissolution of the said monastery there had been paid a rent of "twentie shillings" from "Aghnis" until the said island "came ascheat unto Crowne."

The lands of Gortne Meris, Girranyfallagh, Gortnyclogh, and Gorty Catteline, were not held by Sir John Jephson, but belonged to the abbey. The boundaries of these lands are given as follows:—

The lands called Gortnymeris had, to the north, the lands of Ballymurrish; Garrynyfallagh, "to the north of Memanyan [Moyvanon or Moyvana, 1903], and the quarrey of s . . . [stones?] neere thereunto belonging to Me Mayryan," from which quarry "ther leadeth an old bancke downe into a bogge . . . into a little coppse of wood." "Gortynyebogh, lying on the south side of Nygillagh, doth belong to Shanragh, part of said abbey lands." Gorty Catlyne, south of said abbey, belongs to Knockdownfade, part of lands of said abbey, "and is bounded from Gorty Catlyne by Gortylaghane, and soe through the Bogg that leads to the Ryver runnyng between Shannett and Knockdownfade."

A king's letter, bearing date 5th March, 16th James I., confirms Sir John and Dame Elizabeth in possession of Monaster Negillagh and various other lands heretofore granted to Sir Thomas Norris.

In 1630¹ came another letter to the same purport; but the knight died before the patent was made out; so his son, another Sir John, got livery from the Crown, and entered into his father's possessions the same year.

The next change of owners is noted in the diary of the "great Earl of Cork," where, under date April 3rd, 1633, he mentions that—

"Richard Glyn, the Lady Edith Griffith, and Edward Moreton, convey (? conveyed) to Sir Charles Coote² and his heirs Monasternegillagh, with two plowlands and the tithes of one of them, and the rectories or

daughter, Mary, married Captain John Coplen, who held Kilcosgriff in 1656. His son, John Coplen, married Susannah Langford, and on his death, in 1719, left his property to his wife's nephews. The present representative is Richard Coplen-Langford of Kilcosgriff. The Inquisition also mentions a Walter Gyll.

¹ Copied by my grandfather's lawyers after 1830, it is probably the same as that of July 10th, 1630, given in C.S.P.I., 1625-32, p. 556, where the lands, including Monasternegelagh, belonging to Sir John (mistake for Sir Thomas) Norris, father to Sir John Jephson's *late wife*, are mentioned. For the younger Sir John's marriage, see "License of Alienation," 9th Charles I., to Sir John and Dame Mary his wife, alias Rush, alias Ducke. By an indenture, 30th June, 1626, she would seem to have been of Clonys, in the County Monaghan. (Coote MSS., Ballyfin House, Queen's County.) She must have been the widow of Sir Francis Ruish, of Castle Jordan, and of Ruish Hall, Queen's County. (See the "Complete Peerage," by G. E. C.)

² Sir Charles Coote, son of this Sir Charles, married "Mary, daughter of Lady Jepson." See C. S. P. I., 1625-1632, pp. 556-568. In "Complete Peerage" she is styled Mary, second daughter, and eventual heir of Sir Francis Ruish, of Castle Jordan.

parsonages of Robertstown, Donmoylan, Granshawe, and the Island of Aghnes, in the County of Limerick, which Sir Charles this day offers to sell me the inheritance, which is in lease to one John Green at £82. His mts. [*sic*] rent is about £1 6s. 8d.; it was conveyed by Sir John Jephson and his lady for £800 ster., and Sir Charles' price thereof to me is one thousand pounds, which I paid him."

The abbey is again mentioned in the diary for May and July as "Manistergillagh, near Askeaton," and is noted as "given to my son Roger and his heirs male." The boundaries of part of the lands are given as follows in the Civil Survey of 1655:—

"The said Lord of Brohill holds Abiem'gillagh, one plowland mearing on the east with Moteanne, on the south with Turmore [Tiermore, 1903], on the west with Shanegouldin, and on the north with the said Abie. 160 acres, arable 60, pasture 30, meadow 20, shrubs 10, red bog 40; value £30. In the Parish of Kilmollane."

Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the place is frequently mentioned.

The descendants of John Green would appear to have remained as tenants of the Boyle family, for, on 13th November, 1662, Godfrey Greene obtained a lease for thirty years of Monasternagillaghduffe,¹ Robertstown, &c., from the Earl of Cork.

In his will, which dates 1683, Godfrey mentions his son, "John Greene, of Abbey, Co. Limerick."

On November 12th, 1703, Peirce, eldest son of John Greene, of Old Abbey, was murdered at that place. His tombstone in Shanagolden Church records the incident, and bears two shields, one carrying the Green arms, three stags trippant, and the other a skull and cross-bones.² The Lord Lieutenant of the day offered a reward for the apprehension of his murderers.

In 1732, George Greene, of Old Abbey, was High Sheriff for the County, and in his will, which dates March 3rd, 1759, he leaves his interest in the place to his son John.

About the year 1770 John Greene left Old Abbey, and moved to Letteville, in the County Tipperary. His only child, Letitia, married Robert Dillon, first Lord Clonbrock, whom she had met at Old Abbey under the most curious circumstances.³

¹ The first mention of the appendix "duffe." This word probably preserved the tradition that the abbey belonged to the Black nuns.

² With the epitaph, "Heare lies interred the | Body of Mr. Peirce Green | who was killed by the | Tories November the | 12 in the 24 year | of his Age, 1703."

³ *Greene family*.—There were Greens at Askeaton in the early days of James I., and in the eighteenth century several families of the name flourished in the Counties of Limerick and Clare. The Greens of Ballymacreese, in the former county, came from the north of Ireland. Their arms as sculptured over the hall-door are the same as those of the Abbey family. The latter claimed descent from the Greens of Greens Norton. Their more immediate ancestors were probably the Greens of Shanid. In 1632, John Green held Old Abbey, and Godfrey Greene, of Kilmanahan Castle (one of the '49 officers), who also held that place, was probably his son. His son John, born

The next occupiers were the Hodges, of Foynes Island and Shanagolden, who were closely connected by marriage with the Greens. George Hodges, who died in 1788, was succeeded by his cousin, George Morgan, of Foynes Island, ancestor of the present holder.¹

There are many stories connected with the nunnery and its various owners. Most of them are of the ghostly order, but one or two possess a more general interest.

Tradition says that in one of the numerous wars waged between the Geraldines and Butlers an Earl of Desmond was surprised and besieged in Shanid. The stronghold was impregnable, but the Earl's harper admitted the besiegers by a postern gate. The traitor had bargained that he should be raised higher than his master, the Earl. The leader of the Butlers, who seems to have possessed a sense of humour, fulfilled the promise by hanging him from the battlements.

During the confusion the Desmond, carrying his Countess on his saddlebow, made good his escape. A certain kerne of the Butlers drew a bow at a venture, and the arrow passing over the Earl's shoulder pierced his lady. Desmond carried her, apparently dead, through the south gate of the Abbey, and she was hastily buried under the altar in the chapel. He then made his way to Askeaton. The legend goes on to state that the unfortunate lady had been buried alive, and that her spirit haunts the scene of her horrible death.

At the beginning of the late century the country people were wont to declare that, *prior* to the Reformation, the Abbey had been dissolved by the Pope on account of the bad conduct of the then Prioress. It would appear that she, "a lady of the Fitzgeralds," had taken to witchcraft and "fortune-telling." The surrounding gentry were wont to consult her before going out to battle, and she had wrought much evil in the district.

1655, died 1745. The tomb of his wife Catherine, daughter of Captain Horsey, is in the chancel of Shanagolden Church. His will mentions three sons, Godfrey, ancestor of the Greenville family, George of Old Abbey, and Richard. Peirce, his eldest son, had been murdered in 1703, while John, of Greenmount, County Limerick, ancestor to the family of that name, was probably another son. He is claimed as such in the Greenmount pedigree. For a note on Thomas Green, of Meelick, County Clare, and an illustration of his seal, see *Journal*, vol. xxi. (1890), p. 73.

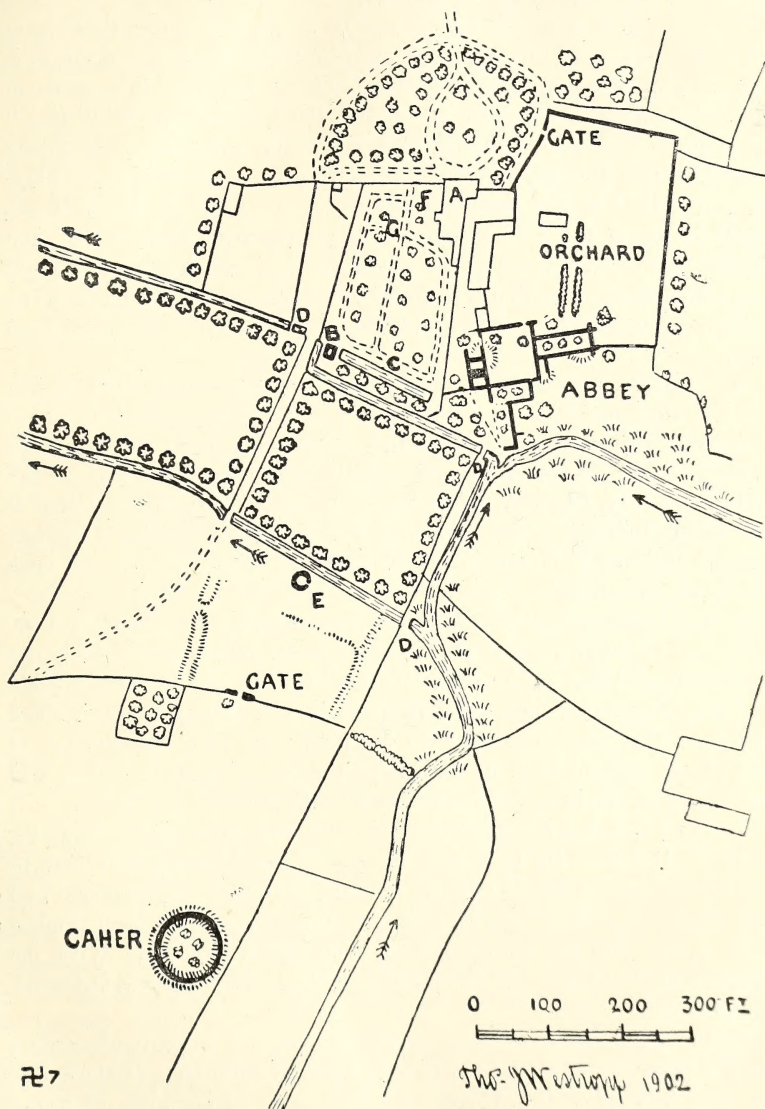
George Greene, High Sheriff of County Limerick, 1732, died 1759, and by his wife Margaret, daughter of David Crosbie, of Ardfer, left a son, John Greene, who married the daughter of Daniel Toler, of Beechwood, County Tipperary. This was the last Greene to reside at the Abbey.

¹ A deed of 1775 between James and John Morgan (of Donmoylan), and John Greene of Letteville (late of Old Abbey), to which John Hodges, of Old Abbey, is a witness, shows the succession of families.

The Hodges, who held much land in Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary, were probably Cromwellians. Their oldest tomb at Shanagolden dates 1706. The descendants of *Godfrey Green* Monsel Hodges, of Old Abbey, are at present in Australia. The other branches would appear to be extinct in the male line.

Mary, daughter of George Hodges, of Shanagolden, who died 1755, married John Morgan, of Donmoylan, who claimed descent from Sir Edward Morgan, Bart., of Llantarnam, Wales.

After the departure of the other nuns she remained in the deserted convent, taking up her abode in the sacristy, which is still called the



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—THE PRECINCT.

- A. Old Abbey House.
- B. Summer House.
- C. Fish Pond.
- D. Old Foot Bridges.

- E. Pigeon House.
- F. Site of Cist.
- G. Early Burials.

Black Hag's Cell. She attained a great age, "so old that her face was quite black," and she was frequently seen in the fields gathering herbs.

One morning she was found dead in front of the little door which leads from the church into the sacristy.

It is possible that this legend has its origin in the fact that one of the nuns may have lingered on in the building after the dissolution. The more circumstantial details probably arose from the Irish name of the place, which the peasantry translate "the Abbey of the Black Hag."

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, and when some young men—Greenes, Hodges, and Morgans—according to the story, were playing at handball in the south-east corner of the cloisters, the ball got lodged in one of the gables. One of the party more adventurous than the rest clambered up, and in the course of his search discovered a small box, which on examination was found to contain the church plate of the Abbey. According to my informant, the plate was sent to the then Lord Cork.

A tradition, preserved in the Morgan family, declares that at one time the place had been in the possession of Sir Walter Raleigh. I am inclined to think, however, that this story arose from the fact that so many of the Raleigh grants eventually came into the hands of the Boyles. It may, however, be noted as a curious circumstance that a man called Raleigh, whose daughter was in my grandfather's service, came all the way from Limerick "to kiss," as he said, "the sod once held by my ancestor."

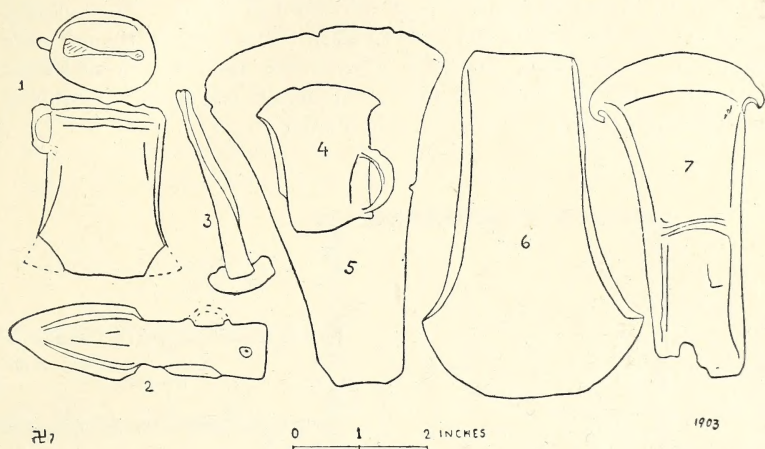
It may be mentioned that some sixty years ago, when the stone floor of the most southern room of the house was being relaid, several skeletons were found, and that in the early "fifties" my uncles uncovered a stone cist containing a clay dish and a skeleton in a crouching posture. The position of this cist is marked F on the plan. In 1901 the remains of some fifteen persons were discovered in the plot marked G. They had been buried in clayey and stony soil at a depth of about two feet.

The first skeleton found was buried north and south, and in line with the cist. It lay on its back, and the size of the bones, which were in their natural order, would seem to indicate that they had belonged to a large man. The skull was in good preservation, but had been cracked by the spade, and came to pieces on being much handled. With the exception of slight decay in the molars, the teeth were perfect, but much ground down.

To the south of this skeleton came many bones in no particular order; many of them would seem to have been those of children. It is possible that this portion of the Abbey lands had once been a place of pagan burial.

About a quarter of a mile to the west of the house, and in a small swamp or rush-bog bordering the banks of a stream, were found many bones and several bronze weapons. Of these latter, a spear-head, two axe-heads, three celts (two socketed and one flanged), and a brooch or cloak-pin, are still preserved at Old Abbey House. The remaining implements came into the possession of the Rev. Robert Gabbett, of Foynes.

So far I have dealt with the history of the nunnery, and with the antiquities found near its remains. To complete as far as possible my paper, I now insert a description of the ruins by Mr. T. J. Westropp, who made it, with the plans and illustrations, for me.



OBJECTS FOUND NEAR OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK.

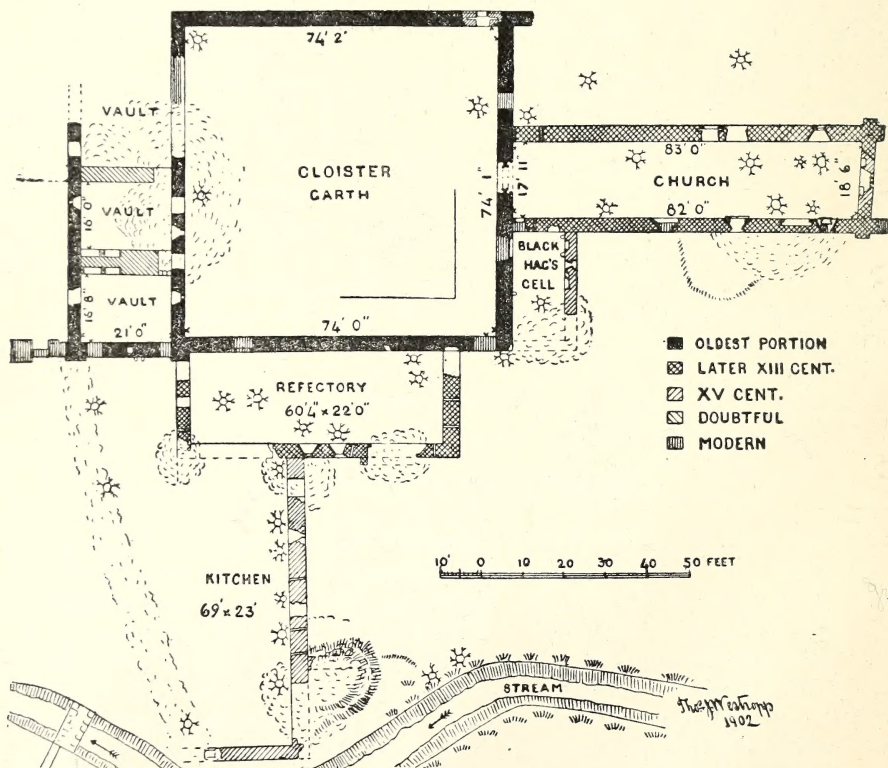
1, 4. Socketed Celts. 2. Spear-head. 3. Nail. 5, 6. Axes. 7. Flanged Celt.

THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.¹

THE ruins of the convent and the precinct of St. Catherine's Convent in Ogonyll, or "Manisternagalliagh," are of very considerable interest, and afford many problems by no means easy of solution. The remains consist of a large cloister court surrounded by other buildings: a long narrow church projects from the centre of the eastern face; it is flanked by two small apartments opening into the cloister, that to the south of the church being evidently a sacristy. The refectory (with a long, low, projecting building, extending southward to the stream, and probably a kitchen) lies along the south wall of the court. To the west is a massive structure with buttresses, and at least three vaulted rooms underneath. It is older than the adjacent walls of the cloister, which embody its buttresses. The church and cloister walls are of one piece, and, though the refectory gables are only bonded at the top, the windows are of the same age as the church, early thirteenth century. Some

¹ By Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

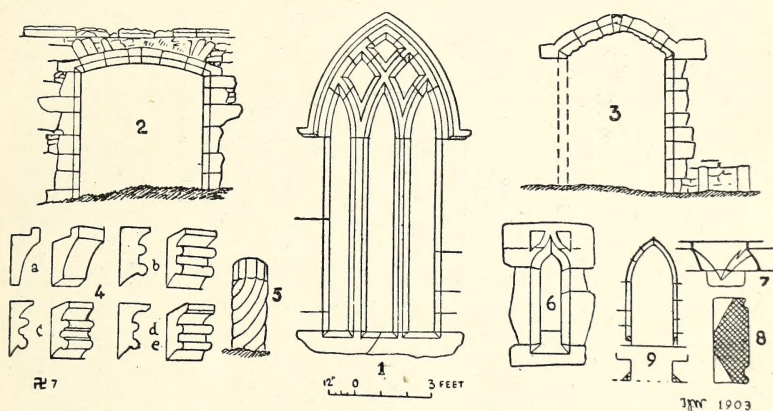
rebuilding and considerable alteration and mutilation of portions of the church took place late in the fifteenth century. To this period belong its north doorway and east window. The sacristy, commonly called "the Black Hag's Cell," is also an after-thought, and not bonded into the church; the south window is of late and bad design. The sacristy closes an older doorway in the western wall. The kitchen, though rude and plain, is also late, abutting against the refectory in awkward contiguity with an early window. A small structure, possibly a garderobe, projects near its south-eastern angle.



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—THE PLAN.

The orchard and garden of Old Abbey House probably correspond to ancient enclosures. The old fish-pond remains in the latter. Another walled field, nearly surrounded by two little streams, seems of conventual origin; and, to the south of it, old earthworks and an ancient gateway with the curious circular pigeon-house mark the limit of the ancient precinct.

The CHURCH, like some of the other parts of the building, is "off the square." It is 82 feet long to the south, 83 feet to the north, and is 18 feet 6 inches wide to the east, and 17 feet 11 inches to the west. Buttresses project from each face of the angles at the east end; they seem of the fifteenth century, and embody older cut stones. The present east window is inserted in the arch of a larger and older window, and has the remains of two ambries under the sill. It has a slight external hood-moulding, and had two simple chamfered shafts, plainly interlacing overhead, without heading pieces or cusps (1). The shafts and tracery have disappeared; but the framework is intact, and shows slot-holes for metal frames, both in the sides and sills. The stonework



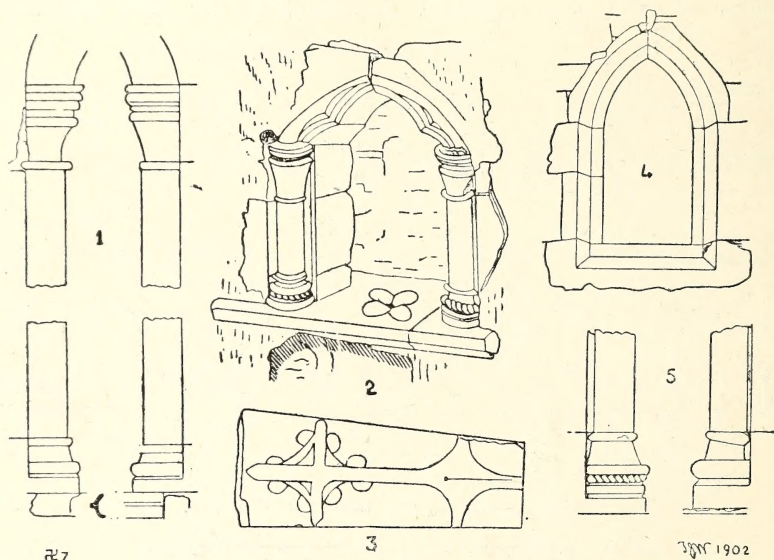
OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—DETAILS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Later East Window of Church. | 6. Window from Dormitory. |
| 2, 3. Doorways in Cloister. | 7. Corbel in Sacristy. |
| 4. Corbels in same. | 8. Slab of Water-table. |
| 5. Spiral Pillar in same. | 9. Door formerly set in West Door of Church. |

shows late dressing with toothed and pick chisels; the splay (and that of the second window in the south wall) were turned over planks. The holes for a long bar remain inside the window-shafts to either side of the splay.

The south wall, going from the east, retains the following features:— A window with a round splay, the light (which is partly built up) has a pointed head, and is recessed and chamfered, being of the same type as the window opposite to it in the north wall, and, in fact, save for its shortness, identical with the remaining window-light of the refectory and that removed from it, and now in the garden-house. This type is very common in the monasteries and churches built by the Normans or under English masons from 1180 to about 1230, and is found with

round heads, but in other respects identical design, through the eleventh and early twelfth century. Below its sill are a small piscina with a quatrefoil basin, neatly moulded side shafts with capitals and bases, and an unusually flat trefoil arch, suggesting by its crooked and cramped appearance that the original head was replaced in later times (2). This was probably done when the upper part of the church walls was rebuilt, the recesses deprived of their arches, and in one case of their capitals, and the side windows lowered to their present stumpy proportions, perhaps in the late fifteenth century. Next we find a tall round-headed recess, probably once containing a picture. It has moulded capitals, bases,



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—DETAILS OF CHURCH.

1. Shafts of Recess, South Wall.
2. Piscina, South Wall.
3. Tombstone.

4. Window, North Wall.
5. Shafts of Window, South Wall.

and sill, and round corner-shafts(1). The arch is manifestly a later feature. Still more manifest signs of tampering occur in a window farther westward (5), where the capitals have been removed, and an awkward round-headed arch rests directly on the shafts; the outer light is now destroyed. Another window with an ambrey in the sill is entirely defaced. Portions of the sill, jambs, and two fragments of the shaft are built into the outer face, and these pieces of shaft exactly correspond to the lost shaft of a double-light window with ogee heads cut out of a single block 8 inches thick, and chamfered on both sides. This block now lies in the garden,

and is figured on page 61, fig. 9. We may regard it as the actual outer head of this window. At the extreme west end is the plain late-looking pointed door of the sacristy, before which, says tradition, the last "Abbess" of the convent was found lying dead. The wall is rebuilt in the upper part for (apparently) its entire length, and has a

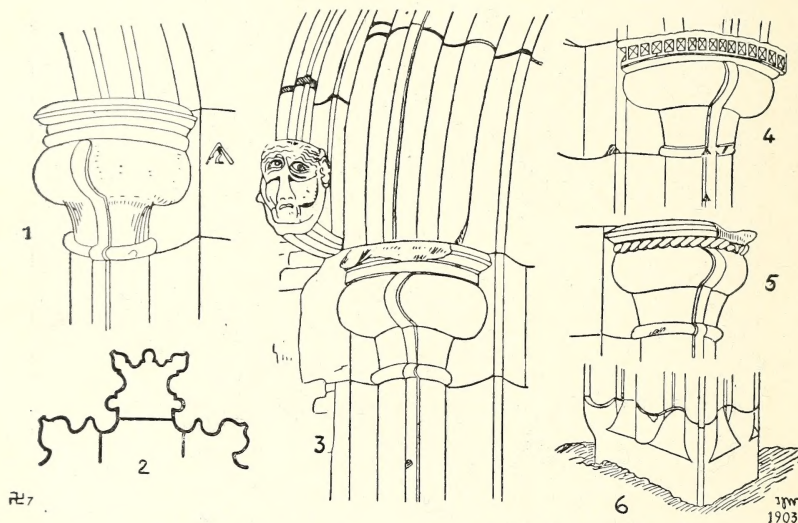


OLD ABBEY CHURCH, COUNTY LIMERICK—THE NORTH DOOR.

slightly sloped cornice coarsely dressed, without corbels or moulding. A massive block of the old gable barge still remains. The north wall does not bond into the cloister wall.

The features of the north wall going from the east are—A low window, or "squint," built up internally in early times. It is plainly

chamfered, but only its eastern jamb and the splay remain. Next it is a stunted window, recessed and chamfered, with pointed head,¹ like those in the opposite wall and the refectory; it has been a later insertion in smaller masonry. An arch of a large window remains, and it was probably closed when the north doorway was inserted. The doorway is pointed, and dates after the middle of the fifteenth century (about 1460–80).² It has well-executed shallow mouldings, convex, concave, and square, without capitals or bases, and has a raised stone threshold. The rest of the wall is blank; there are unusual numbers of unstopped putlog holes in the walls of this church and the refectory and kitchen. A



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—WEST DOOR OF CHURCH.

1, 2, 3. North Jamb.

4, 5, 6. South Jamb.

curious little tombstone leans against this wall, a solid block, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and about 30 inches high, adorned by a delicately incised Latin cross with round bosses and concave curves at the intersection of the arms.³

The west gable is capped with a bell-chamber, I believe of one arch, but too thickly ivied to be clearly seen. Below this is a window built up; it was also too closely ivied (even at the time of my visit in 1875) to reveal its design. The beautiful pointed western doorway is of the same period as the side shafts of the piscina and recesses, of the purest Gothic, and appears to be of the earlier thirteenth century, recalling features of the period (say 1230–50) in other Munster churches. It is best described by the drawings and sections given herewith;⁴ its

¹ Page 56, fig. 4.

² Page 57.

³ Page 56, fig. 3.

⁴ Pages 41, 58.

height is 10 feet 4 inches, or 7 feet to the spring of the arch, and five feet wide on the clear, has beadings down the capitals and ribs, and filleted capitals with nail head and rope enrichments. The well-proportioned arch and hood had two corbels; the right has vanished; the left represents a hideously wrinkled and squinting human head.¹ One of the side blocks bears what appears to be an ancient mason mark, perhaps the letter A. All these details are very delicately chiselled. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, a smaller and later pointed arch was inserted. It measures 2 feet 7 inches wide, and 5 feet 7 inches high at the arch, with a plain chamfer and stopping pieces at the bases. It was removed by a Mr. Roche (who leased the place about 1840), and is built into the summer-house near the fish-pond. In the window above this porch (tradition says, rather doubting the exact spot)² was found the box of church plate, which curious discovery has been above described.

The SACRISTY or "Black Hag's Cell" is manifestly an after-thought of the late fifteenth century. It runs along the outer eastern face of the cloister wall to the south of the church, and was 29 feet 2 inches long, and 15 feet 6 inches wide, over all, its walls being only 2 feet thick. An ambry, a defaced window, and another ambry remain to the south. The gable has fallen, and in the debris we found the head of its window, a narrow round-headed ope, with a deep chamfer very awkwardly running up into an ogee head.³ A broad and very flat-arched door led out of the cloister; it is chamfered, and was probably an outer gate, closed when the sacristy was built, and the pointed door opened into the church. Along the cloister wall is a cornice supported on neat angular corbels, and hollowed for a water-table, while traces of a weather-ledge rise for the insertion of the roof at the church wall.⁴

The CLOISTER is a large court, the sides measuring respectively—north, 74 feet 2 inches; south, 74 feet; east, 74 feet 1 inch; and west, 74 feet 3 inches; it has been used as a garden. In the east wall are only three doors: one, arched with small slabs and quite plain, the jambs destroyed,⁵ and the ope built up, led to a building north of the church, and now quite levelled; the second is the church door, and the third that to the sacristy: these have been already described. Above these is a cornice running across the church gable. It is supported on corbels of various types; the first two have concave curves below, and "catches" for

¹ Fig. 3, p. 58. It is reported to bring luck to anyone who kisses it on first visiting the ruin.

² In 1875 I was shown the window high in the eastern gable of the refectory as the place of the find. As this is above the top of the cloister wall, it is not impossible that a ball from the cloister court might have lodged there. Mr. Wardell and I failed to get any unwavering tradition in 1903. Places in the north and east walls of the cloister were shown as well as the closed window over the west door of the church. The ball-court was certainly in the south-east angle of the garth.

³ Page 61, fig. 1.

⁴ Page 55, fig. 7.

⁵ Near its base the upper socket-stone of an older door has been built upside down.

beams above; the next four have mouldings of the period of the church door; then two like the first. The other corbels in the east and south sides are rude, and usually convex in outline. At the corners the corbels are arranged in threes, one in each face of the wall, and one projecting diagonally from the angle a few feet below the others.¹

The south wall had two gates: one 8 feet high at its western end led into the refectory; but the greater part of the jamb fell recently, and the flat inner arch is still intact, but nearly ready to follow the jamb.² The other to the east opened outside the same apartment. It is hidden inside under smooth plaster. The jambs of a narrow ope appear close to the west jamb of the more western gate.

The north wall has a late door with a distorted pointed arch and coarsely dressed quoins, and a hole for a long bar to each side. Rough bond-stones show that it had a porch outside.

The west wall has for the most part fallen, and been partly rebuilt a little off the old foundations, which are, however, traceable. The rest is nearly buried in the heap of rubbish resulting from the collapse of the second vault in 1898. Only the southern end is still entire.

It is not clear whether the cloister had an arcade, but I think it very unlikely. The garth has been long since cultivated and set with gooseberry bushes bearing excellent fruit. A number of "tombstones" (more probably gutter-slabs) were then removed. The foundations of a long wall, 9 feet from the south side and 11 from the east side, remain. I found in the garth a double capital and octagonal and spiral shafts at the summer-house and elsewhere, which are certainly very suggestive of cloister pillars, similar ones occurring at Adare, Quin, the Dominican Abbey of Limerick, Ennis, and other places not far away. They are of fifteenth-century work, earlier, it appears, than other work of that century found in the ruins.³ It is so hard, however, to believe that an arcade, perhaps, 50 feet square, with 18 to 20 arches at each side, could have existed and vanished, leaving only a single capital and two or three shafts, that I am disposed to consider that the blocks belonged to other features. The ambulatory is also in most Irish monasteries more usually about 7 feet broad than 9 to 11 feet. It is more likely that the foundations were of stable buildings, said to have once been built in the garth, and that the space was surrounded, at any rate to the east and south, with a pent-house roof only resting on posts, as at Clare Abbey and elsewhere.

The DOMICILE, with its range of vaulted rooms, is a massive but rudely built and decayed house along the western side of the cloister. It has projecting buttresses, 4 feet 5 inches thick, at each southern angle; the eastern buttress was partially defaced when the cloister wall was built against and into it; the building is, therefore, evidently the oldest

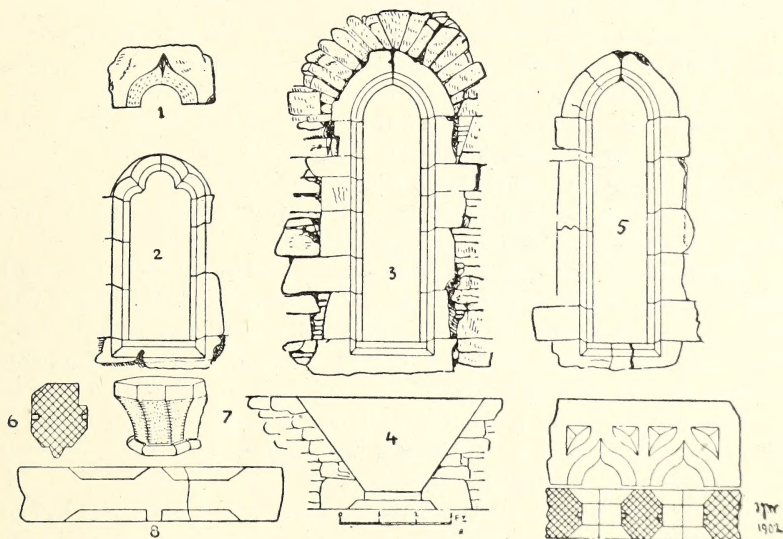
¹ Page 55, fig. 4.

² Page 55, fig. 3.

³ Page 55, fig. 5; and page 61, fig. 7.

existing part of the convent, for even the church is of the age of the cloister walls, while the refectory seems later.

The northern end and vaulted room have been demolished (perhaps for material for Old Abbey House and yards) long beyond the reach both of memory and tradition. The north "cellar" fell, says tradition, "about a hundred years ago," in the time of Col. Morgan's grandfather. The second "cellar" collapsed in 1898; I remember it as reputedly unsafe in 1875. Mr. Wardell fortunately planned it before its destruction; it measured 16 feet by 22 feet. The remaining or south "cellar," measuring 21 feet 8 inches by 16 feet 8 inches, is standing; but the vault



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—DETAILS.

1. Sacristy Window.

2, 3, 4, 5. Refectory Window.

6. Section of a Window Shaft.

7. Capital.

8, 9. Late Windows of Church.

is cracked in every direction, and opening more and more each year; it is beyond hope of repair, and the collapse of its neighbour renders its destruction more imminent. It is noticeable that the vaulting does not bond into the end wall, and so may be an after-thought. In the wall between these cellars are two large deep ambries on each side; two doors open through the south wall into the space west of the refectory, and another door in the southern and most northern cellars to the west. The upper room had to the south a fireplace and a doorway 14 feet or 15 feet above the ground, perhaps, to some vanished building next the refectory. In the upper south wall were a row of neat window-slits chamfered all round, and apparently unglazed, with flat-headed splays.

The stones of one light have been removed and re-set near the garden house; the head is ogee, the light only 5 inches wide.¹ The "cellar" opes are all rude and plain.

The REFECTORY is a fine room about 61 feet by 22 feet 6 inches, but, as usual, not truly rectangular. The features of its end walls are defaced; but doorways are said to have been removed from the two larger breaks. In the south wall we find a recessed window-sill to the east, then a recess in a projection, suggesting the "reader's recess" in the refectory of the neighbouring monastery of Askeaton. Then the splay and gap of a pointed window, of which the outer stone-work is set in the summer-house, and, lastly, the fine companion window still intact.² They have segmental arches slightly pointed over the splays. The wall is levelled from the edge of the junction with the kitchen. The sides did not bond into the lower part of the south cloister wall, but only in the upper portion; this suggests at least an extensive restoration in early times. As already noted, a flat-arched doorway led into the cloister from the refectory, and another remains outside its east wall. There was evidently a garret above it, as a fairly large window remains in the upper part of the east gable, and one plain corbel still projects from the north wall. These walls are pierced by several putlog holes.

The KITCHEN has been greatly defaced; the greater part of the east wall and the south-east angle next the stream still remain; it was over 69 feet long, and about 27 feet wide. The west wall and all save 18 feet of the south end are levelled. It has a defaced door and two unglazed plain window slits in the east wall, at which bond-stones and a large heap of rubbish mark a small projecting building, perhaps a garderope, as a little stream runs past its angle and the southern face of the kitchen; no traces of other out-buildings remain.

OTHER REMAINS.—A most picturesque old fish-pond, shadowed by fine yews and lime-trees, extends along the foot of the modern garden from near the "cellars." It possibly dates from monastic times. At its western end stands the oft-mentioned garden-house, in whose older arches a tenant of the place, with the pseudo-Gothic taste of his generation, satirised by Scott ("Save me from this Gothic generation!"), had inserted a doorway removed from within the western door of the church, and a tall (but now curtailed) window from the refectory. A third window in the north face was brought from some uncertain location, possibly the "reader's recess" in the refectory;³ but we write with all reserve. It has a trefoil head, but in all other respects is similar to the refectory windows, with recessed and chamfered sides and sill; and yet another ogee-headed light from the domicile is built into the wall near the east.

The top blocks of a well-proportioned pointed door form the gateway to the orchard, north of the convent; the piers are modern. The orchard

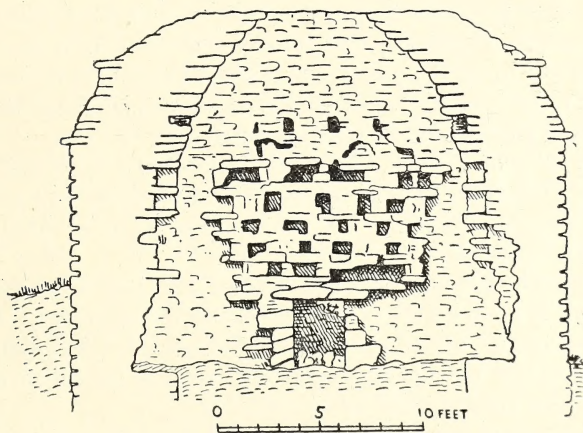
¹ Page 55, fig. 6.

² Page 61, figs. 3 and 5.

³ Page 61, fig. 2.

walls near the church contain some moulded stones from its fabric. The head block of a window with double ogee lights 6 inches wide, probably from the church, as already noted; blocks of door piers and gutter-slabs lie in the garden. A large cupped door-socket, the sill of a two-light window with 8 inch opes, the double capital above mentioned, shafts, blocks, and more gutter-slabs lie in the garth. The gutter-slabs probably capped the church walls before they were lowered, and are popularly supposed to have been "tombstones."

ENCLOSURES.—Two small old foot-bridges lead by a shaded lane-way from the kitchen to two fields, having a cross-branch of the stream to the east of the first, to which a way also leads past the west side of the garden by other bridges. The more southern field alone gives marks of old enclosure, though the other is bounded by three branches of the streams, and is shown as conventual by its position between the Abbey



OLD ABBEY, COUNTY LIMERICK—PIGEON-HOUSE SECTION.

and its better-marked neighbour. The southern field has traces of earthen mounds. An ancient south gate remains built up in the modern wall. It has a roughly built gateway 10 feet wide on the opening, with a very rude pointed arch and strong piers projecting inwards. To it, says tradition, an Earl of Desmond brought his dying wife, wounded in their escape from Shanid Castle, which rises proudly to the south-west on the moated summit of the ridge. This field also commands a pleasing view of the hills between Shanid and Knockpatrick, behind Shanagolden.

The COLUMBARIUM.¹—In the same field, north of the gateway, and near the stream, stands the convent pigeon-house. It is an interesting

¹ Mr. George J. Hewson says of this columbarium (*Journal*, vol xxx., 1900, p. 168): The "Columbarium of Monaster na Cealagh, near Sanagolden, in which a wicked abess is popularly said to have been confined for life," p. 168. I heard no such legend in 1875, or in recent years.

little building, like the base of a round tower. It is circular, and 13 feet 6 inches in internal diameter, shelf to shelf, or 17 feet from wall to wall; the walls 2 feet 8 inches thick, and 10 feet high to the spring of the domed roof, which is formed, by corbelling, with a large circular ope and two external cornices. There is a low square door to the west, 3 feet 7 inches high, and 2 feet 10 inches wide. The outer face destroyed. Inside were eight rows of stone recesses for the doves; they are 13 inches deep, and about twenty-eight to each ring. The greater number are now destroyed, probably by cattle, which can enter the structure through a large break to the east. It is 18 feet high in all.

It is very like the pigeon-house at Adare, but much less perfect. The latter has been figured in the "Journal of the Limerick Field Club"¹ in 1897; with a photograph and careful section, its resemblance to that of Old Abbey is very noteworthy, though it is a little smaller.

FORTS.—Not far to the south-east of the gate, in the adjoining field, is a ruined caher, of irregular oval outline, with stone walls about 5 feet high, and 8 feet to 10 feet thick. It is about 110 feet in diameter, and greatly overgrown. No traces of the gateway and inner structures remain. It is girt by a slight fosse internally.

Further to the south is a good specimen of the earth fort named Lisnabrock, "Badgers' Fort," which has a deep fosse, and outer and inner ring mounds. The inner was once faced with stone. It is thickly covered with hawthorns.

The slight foundations of a levelled caher, with looped enclosures and radiating walls, lie in a field to the west of Old Abbey House. There is said to have been a "ring" or group of pillars about 5 feet high in the field to the east of the orchard. The cist and skeleton found near the house have been already noted by Mr. Wardell.

I have described the structure with what to many may seem unnecessary detail; but the very decayed condition of the "Abbey," and the fact that several portions have fallen, even since I first visited it, call for a careful record. Limerick has suffered to an unusual degree from the destruction of its religious houses without adequate, and too often without any, description and illustration. But for the anonymous Elizabethan and Cromwellian map-makers and Thomas Dyneley we should not even have a shadow to show us the form of the conventual buildings of Limerick city, of St. John's Church, St. Michael's, Singland with its Round Tower, Grene Church, and the noble Cistercian House of Wetheney. This description is only an endeavour to place on record all that can be found remaining of "the house of St. Katherine in Oconyll."

¹ Vol. i., Part 2, p. 37, by Mr. G. J. Hewson. It is 11 feet shelf to shelf, 13 feet wall to wall, 10 feet to spring of corbelled dome, and 16 feet high in all.

SOME HISTORICAL NOTICES OF CORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

WITH NOTES BY COLONEL T. A. LUNHAM, C.B., M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Submitted MARCH 31, 1903.]

THE following notices are a copy of a MS. Annals of Cork, written by some member of the Morris family, of Castle Salem, which came into the hands of Mr. Abraham Abel, together with many other papers of theirs in 1838. This MS. which I have copied, and which is now for the first time printed, is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy:—

“1644. James Lumsden elected mayor, but not sworn. The Irish inhabitants expelled out of Cork.¹

July 26, 1644. No mayor elected for ten years.

1683. John Wright, mayor. The steeple belonging to Peter's Church built.²

1685. Chris. Crofts, mayor. Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant, came to Cork, and was highly entertained by the said mayor.³

1688. Pat. Roche, mayor. King James⁴ arrived at Kinsale on the

¹ This or a like expulsion is said to have taken place in 1656—according to some, in 1666. Richard Coppinger was mayor in 1644.

² Smith says that “the steeple is detached a considerable way to the west of the church, and served as a tower to defend the city wall.” Writing in 1850, Windele adds—“The belfry of the old church stood detached at the west side of the graveyard, close to the city wall. It was taken down in 1683.” (Windele's *Hist. Notices of Cork*, p. 59.)

³ Henry, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was presented with his freedom of the city of Cork, in a gold box, by the Corporation. (Smith, *History*, vol. ii., p. 195.)

⁴ James landed at Kinsale, March 12th, 1689, and proceeded to Cork. On the Sunday following his arrival in the city, he attended mass at a new chapel, recently erected near the Franciscan Friary, or North Abbey. Crofton Croker says, in his note on the *Macariae Eecidium*, “James landed at Kinsale on the 12th March, and on the following day proceeded to Cork. He remained until the 20th.” (“Narratives illustrative of the contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690.” Edited for the Camden Society by Thomas Crofton Croker, p. 117—note.)

The King was supported through the street by two Franciscan Friars, and attended by many others in their habits. (Smith, *ut sup.*) Bishop Downes says:—“St. Francis Abbey, in the north suburbs of Cork, belonged to the Franciscans. Half a ploughland near the Abbey, and several other parcels of land in the country, belong to this Abbey, May, 1700. The site of it contains a few gardens on the side of the hill near the Abbey.” “In King James' time, a new chapel was built by the Friars on part of the Abbey, but not where the former chapel stood—some Friars lived there. In the time of the siege the rest of the suburbs was burnt. A good strong steeple remains standing.” (Bp. Downes' MS. *Journal*.) The suburbs were burned by Mr. McEllicott, Governor of the City, despite his promise to spare them, on receipt of a large sum of money. The steeple has disappeared.

12th of March, 1689, and came to Cork, and was lodged at St. Dominick's without South Gate, and went through the town three several times to mass without North Gate. Cork taken by the English, 29th of Sept., 1690. Dom. Sarsfield turned out, and Wm. Ballard, the former mayor, restored.

1714. John Allen, mayor. Great fireworks made in Cork on account of King George's arrival to the Crown of Great Britain.

1717. Wm. Lambley, mayor. Oct., 1717. Henry Luttrell was shot going home in his chair in Dublin.

Feb. 8th, 1717. Christ Church began to be pulled down.¹

1719. April 5, 1718. The foundation laid of Christ Church. Abraham French, mayor.

1719. Christ Church finished, but not steeple. 1719. The Alms' House adjoining the Greencoat Hospital built. 1719. John Morley, mayor.

1720. John Terry, mayor.² James Cotter was hanged the 7th of May on a single post at the Gallows Green, by a staple and ring (the gallows being broken down the night before), for committing a rape on Elizabeth Squib, a Quaker, in a wood near Fermoy. Said Cotter, the day before he suffered, having procured a blunderbuss and case of pistols to be conveyed to him in the gaol, got his bolts off, and endeavoured to make his escape, but was stopped in the street by the sentinel, and Taylor and his assistants at the stairfoot.

1723. Dan. Pierce, mayor. A great drought of dry weather, so that no water ran at the south end of the town of Cork, insomuch that at last the inhabitants were forced to plough up the ground with horses where the river used to run at Gillabbey, to let the water down, but all would not do till the rain came, Aug., 1723.

1724. Ed. Brocklesby, mayor. All the old trees in St. Fin Barry's churchyard, with the great tree in which the bell formerly hung, cull'd (*sic*) (cut?) down, and young trees planted. 1724. A long easterly wind, which continued 7 weeks constantly from 22nd Feb., 1724, to year (*sic*) 13 April, 1725, the like not having been known in these parts of the world by any man living in this age.

¹ Christ Church. Said to have been founded by the Knights Templars. There was a Preceptory in Cork, for we find William le Chaplain, Master, *circ.* 1292. The building suffered severely during the siege (Sept. 28, 1690), from the fire of the besiegers (one shell fell through the roof), but quite as much from the defenders, who pulled up the pavement and used the materials to repair the neighbouring breach in the city wall. "From these injuries," says Windele, "it never recovered, and in 1717 it was taken down." The new church was erected by Coltsman. (*Records*, vol. i., p. 109.) The register, from July, 1643, to February, 1668, was printed by Dr. Caulfield in 1877. If we except some fragments of old walls in the crypt, no part of the ancient structure now remains.

² The apparent discrepancy between the dates assigned to the elections of mayors in the local Histories and the text may be accounted for by the different methods respectively adopted in calculating the commencement of the year. This may probably also explain the seeming anomaly in the record of occurrences under 1724, *infra*.

1726. Ambrose Cramer, mayor. May 28th and 29th. Very great thunder and lightning each night from 8 to 11 o'clock. May 30 and 31st. Ambrose Cramer, then mayor, with the freemen and trades of the city, rode the fringes, or liberties thereof, in great order, with their cockades in their hats; the South liberties on Whitsun Monday, and the North on Tuesday. Sunday, June 19. Great thunder and lightning about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. It broke in the east end of St. Nicholas' Church without South Gate, burnt two large holes in the velvet cloth that covered the communion table, and shivered two of the panels in pieces.

1727. Robt. Atkins, mayor. May 29th. 89 thatched houses burnt, with the capell (chapel?) in the street leading to Douglas.

1732. Jas. Huleat, mayor. The Quaker meeting-house with the bridge by it, joining Hammond's Marsh, built 1732. On Whit Monday and Whit Tuesday in the year 1732, the cloathiers walked through the town in companies, their wigs of all shapes, made of combed wool, their hatts edged with the same; one representing Bp. Blaze.

June 29th, 1732. The Butchers and Coopers walked through the town; the Grenadiers with caps and adzes; the rest with wooden falchions; representing of Alexander the Great, with Diogenes in a Tub.

June 27th, 1732. St. Paul's Church on the marsh consecrated, but built two years before.¹

1733. Samuel Croker, mayor. William Newingham and Adam Newman, Sheriffs. On Thursday, the 13th Dec., the Dragon was blown off from the top of the Exchange by a high wind.²

1734. Thomas Pembroke, mayor. An extraordinary clap of thunder and lighting which damaged the houses near Peter's Church in Corke, throwing down a chimney, ripping up a floor over a cellar, broke several windows—frames and all, and shattered the roofs of several houses in different places; it happened the 21st of Sept., 1734, about 3 p.m.

1739. Adam Newman, mayor. A great frost which began on Christmas Eve, so that all the town waked (walked?) upon the river, and meat dressed, and liquors sold on the river; also abundance of snow fell; the frost held for two months, 1739.

1742. Richard Bradshaw, mayor. St. Anne's Church,³ out of South Gate, restored and consecrated on Monday, 18th day of Oct., 1742.

¹ In Tuckey's *Cork Remembrances*, the date assigned to this church is 1723. Smith says that divine service was celebrated for the first time in St. Paul's in 1726 by Rev. E. Sampson, and Windele states that the church was built in 1723, probably following Tuckey. A sum of £100 towards finishing the edifice was granted by the Corporation, to be paid May 1, 1728. *Council Book*, edit. by Caulfield, p. 466.

² Dr. Caulfield writes that when the Exchange was taken down, the dragon referred to was sent to the Cork Institution, where it remained in the hall for some years, but was stolen in 1858, and was recovered with the loss of its tail. A woman stole it, but it was again recovered minus, this time, its head. The mutilated trunk was sold as lumber in 1865. It was made of copper, and thickly gilt, which seems to have excited the cupidity of the several thieves (note by Mr. Copinger in new edition of Smith's *Cork*, p. 431).

³ St. Anne's (Shandon), the church probably referred to, was, and still remains,

1743. Randall Westropp, mayor. Feb. 21st. An account came by express to Corke from Dublin that there were seven Popish priests taken up in Dublin and put in prison; and that all the French ships lying in that harbour were stripped of their seals (sails?) and their crews put on board the English men-of-war, and that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were searching all Popish houses for arms.

1755. John Reily, mayor. Nov. 1st. A slight shock of an earthquake was felt in Corke, but happily did no mischief here. It was dreadful in Spaine and Barbary, and particularly soe in Portugall, where it overthrew every house and building; the sea overflowing a great part of the rich and famous city of Lisbon. Above a hundred thousand people perished in the ruins, Feb. 6th;¹ "a genuine fact."—(End of the "Annals.")

THE WALLS OF CORK.

"TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BOLTON, LORD LIEUT.-GENERAL AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

"The Humble Petition of the Mayor and Sheriffs and Commonalty of His Majesty's loyal city of Cork, sheweth:—

"That the said city of Cork is a very ancient city, and a place of considerable trade, and pays a very great revenue to His Majesty. That in the late King James' time, your petitioners suffered very much for their adherence to the Protestant interest; were putt into prison, and their suburbs, which make a considerable part of the city, were set on fire, and burned to the ground by the then Popish Governor—Makillicuddy; notwithstanding that he had beforehand agreed and promised to save the said suburbs upon the payment of a considerable sum of money to him by your petitioners. That your petitioners were relieved from their prisons and their miseries by King William, of glorious memory, under the command of your Majesty's renowned and valiant general, his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, who besieged the said city and took it in the year 1690. That soon afterwards your petitioners supplied several Regiments of King William's Army with several considerable sums of money for their subsistence, for which your petitioners never received any satisfaction, which has been a great loss to your petitioners, who have but a very small and precarious revenue

on the north side of the city. In addition to the Cathedral, there were originally eleven parish churches in and about Cork, as appears from a paragraph in King Edward IV.'s Charter, 1462. For these the citizens paid 24 marks annually to the Crown; "but upon consideration that the said churches were destroyed by Irish rebels, and intestine wars, which continued fifteen years, occasioning great decay and poverty to the city," the tax was remitted. The churches on the south side of the river were—at that time—*extra muros*:—St. John's, St. Nicholas, St. Bridget's, St. Mary Nard (or Spike-nard); St. Stephen's, and St. Laurence's Chapel, near South Gate; but St. Anne's and St. Paul's were not then built. See Smith, vol. i., p. 371. St. Anne's was begun in 1720, and the spire built 1749. Tuckey, *ad ann.* The church of St. Mary de Nard occupied the site of Elizabeth Fort, and St. Bridget's that of Cat Fort.

¹ The earthquake at Lisbon was on November 1st.

for the support of their Corporation. That the several Governments of this Kingdom, since the said siege, upon representation that the walls of the said city were of no strength or defence against an army, were pleased to give liberty to open the same for gates in several places. That the tide ebbs and flows round the said city, and the said walls, as they now stand, are of no defence, but a charge to your petitioners, and that the ground next within the said walls, as well as the ground on which the said walls stand, belongs to your petitioners; may it please your Grace, in consideration of the premises, to grant your petitioners the said walls, and your petitioners will ever pray.

" DANIEL CRONE.	EDWD. HOARE.	ABR. FFRENCH,
JOL. FFRANKLYN.	EDWD. BROWNE.	Mayor.
E. KNAPP.	WM. LAMBLEY.	WM. HAWKINS.
„ RICHARD (?).	WM. MASTERS.	CHAS. COTTRELL.
DANIEL PERDRIAV.		JNO. WHITING.
	SAM. WILSON.	ROWL. DELAHOIDE.
		PHILIP FRENCH."

Note.—The above-named Edward Hoare was M.P. at the time for Cork, in the Irish Parliament. He was ancestor of the Hoares of Factory-hill, whose city residence was the house in Hoare's-lane, afterwards Pike's Bank, with the date on the brick. Pike did not settle in Cork before 1664—(see *Lives of Pike and Oxley*). Joseph Pike's father—Richard, came to Ireland a corporal in a troop of Cromwell's horse, in which he remained until 1655. He was of Newbury, in Berkshire. Joseph was born at Kilrea, County Cork, and died in 1729, *etat.* 70. (See Wright's *History of the Quakers in Ireland*, ed. Rutt, p. 296.¹)

Abraham French was mayor in 1717, which is probably the date of the petition. Wm. Hawkins and Charles Cotterel were sheriffs. Daniel Perdreau was mayor in 1712, Edward Browne in 1714, Philip French in 1715, and William Lamley in 1716. Ed. Knapp, 1703. R. Delahoyde, 1708. E. Hoare, 1710.

The walls appear to have been so effectually demolished that but little now remains of them. Some vestiges, however, are still visible; the most considerable portion is said to be that in Connel's Court, off Hanover St., which is some fifty yards in length, about four feet thick, and six or eight feet high. Another fragment is to be found on the Grand Parade, and others elsewhere. Part of these may be of Danish origin.

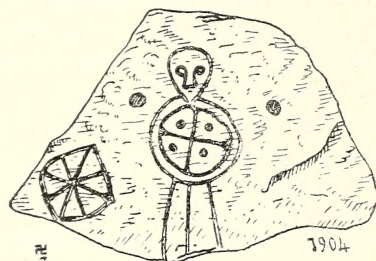
¹ NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.—The following notice of Joseph Pike occurs in the Register of the Freeman of the City of Cork, 1656–1782, copied from the original by Dr. Caulfield (MS. *penes me*):—

"Mar. 27, 1685.—Joseph Pike presented to the Council by Edw^d Webber, Esq., then Mayor, as his Freeman, and thereupon ordered that he be admitted and allowed as a freeman of the city."

Miscellanea.

Carved Stone in Knappaghmanagh, County Mayo.—The “Killeen” graveyard in Knappaghmanagh, near Westport, is within a cashel or round enclosure, of which part remains and most can be traced. The stone is a roughly triangular slab of local greenish-grey rock, on which have been incised two concentric circles and a cross within the inner circle. The ends of the cross expand slightly. A very small round hollow is within each quarter of the cross. Above the outer circle is the outline of a human full face, the chin just touching the circle. At each side at the level of junction of head and circle is a much larger round hollow. From below the circle three lines extend to the lower edge of the stone. In the lower left-hand corner are two crosses in a rectangle, like a union-jack. These are all shallow incised lines very neatly cut,

and so obscured by moss and lichen that they would have been overlooked if the man who showed me the way had not pointed them out.



CARVED STONE, KNAPPAGHMANAGH.

I took three photographs—(1) of the stone as it lay; (2) with the carvings faintly denoted; (3) after raising the stone to show the part hidden by grass, and after rubbing chalk into the lines

and hollows to make them show clearly.

The stone is 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. The outer circle is 9 inches wide; the inner is 7 inches wide. The head is 5 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Outside the cashel are foundations of a small round enclosure or building called the “Fert.”

A little way to the north, in a field beside the boreen, is a cave, now covered up. Close to it was a long stone which is said to have been taken about fifty years ago to make a lintel for a new church at Knappagh. I was told that it was very long, and that any man in the neighbourhood who did a job in whitewashing gave it a coat.

This graveyard, and an altar and the long stone and cave, are marked in the Ordnance Survey 6-inch Sheet No. 88. The altar is built against the inside of the cashel, and is said to have been used in the time of the Penal Laws.

In this neighbourhood are two other long stones. One is near the old graveyard in Lankill, and is marked with crosses and other designs. The third is called Clagpatrick, or Clochadda, and is in Lanmore, between the other two.—H. T. KNOX.

With regard to the stone that Mr. Hubert Knox photographed—the central cross with the indented holes is common in Ireland, but the double one is rarer, and in this case I think ancient. I came to the conclusion yesterday, after a careful examination, that both crosses were old, but that the head and legs in the central one were added on, at a comparatively later date. The head is cut in finer lines, has sharper edges, and is not at all weathered by age like the double cross. The Rev. Mr. Forbes, the rector of Louisburgh, told me that the local masons there had a habit of adding on some device of their own to any old inscribed stone, and gave me an instance of it. I think in this case something similar has occurred. Probably the stone was on the old altar close by, which is a rough erection of loose stones. It may have been removed to make a headstone for a grave. No other stone is more than a foot square in size.—W. E. KELLY.

Clontygora Cromlech, County Armagh.—About half way on the little mountain road connecting Narrow Water Ferry and the village of Jonesborough, in the County Armagh, lies one of the least-known of the ancient cromlechs of the North of Ireland. It is quite easy of access, on the south side of the road, in the townland of Clinchygolagh, Cloonshygora, Cloontigora, or Clontygora, as it is divergently pronounced, the last being the name on the Ordnance map, No. 29, where it is shown as a “carn and cromlech.”

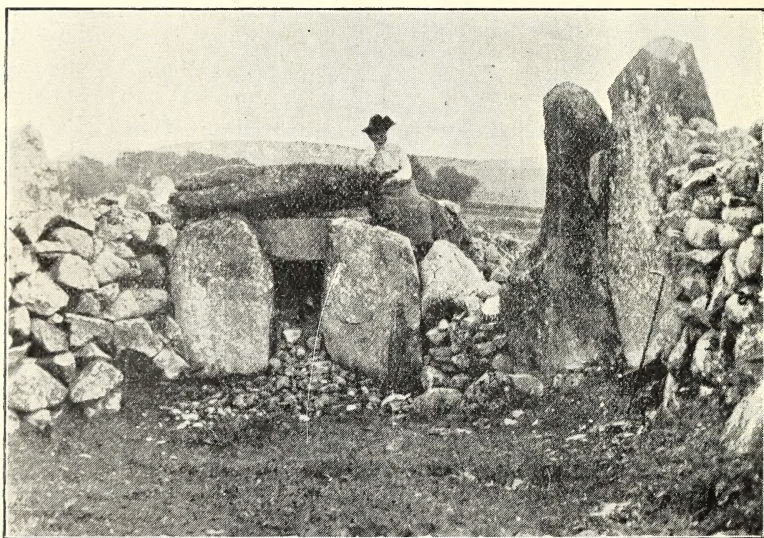
To all appearance it has never been disturbed by the hand of man. It has been preserved, apparently not intentionally, by the advantage taken of its existence as being a good angle-point for the convergence of three large stone-fences. It is thus almost completely hidden from public observation.

As near as I could judge, the front faces north-east. This was originally in the form of a semicircle, as three outstanding stones would determine, the two stones forming the front of the chamber being in the centre. Two fine stones stand in the fence to the right hand close together, one of which has one or two circular holes drilled in it. A third outstanding stone, as part of the semicircle, is in another of the fences, and is very large.

The two front stones forming the chamber are carefully set, yet the

covering stone does not rest directly upon these, but upon another long stone placed across and rather behind and touching them, forming something like a great lintel. The covering stone is nearly twelve feet long, and about seven wide in the front. Each side is each formed of an immense long stone laid on its edge, and plainly visible in both sides of the rampart stone fence. The whole is left intact by the nature of its surroundings. The interior of the chamber is filled with small field stones, and no means are left to examine it; but I understand that tradition tells of "*curious things*" being got in the inside at one time.

It is a great pity that this fine monument is so disfigured with accumulations of stones, so completely destroying its goodly appearance and



CROMLECH AT CLONTYGORA, COUNTY ARMAGH.

proportions. If isolated from the connecting fences, it would probably be found to be fine megalithic structures. It might be a matter of consideration for the Society to endeavour, through some person locally interested in antiquarian research, to have this matter remedied by diverting one of the stone walls a little aside, and clearing out the chamber.

It is said that in the field behind were a lot of "*other large stones.*" These have been removed through the advancement of agriculture and for other reasons.—THOMAS HALL.

Clontygora is noted, but not described, by Mr. W. C. Borlase in "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. i., p. 304. The plan of Annagh Cloghmullin, if correct (p. 303), shows a similar semicircular façade. Each may be a relic of such circles as are found at the end of straight-sided enclosures in more than one of the Slievemore monuments on Achill Island, and at Ballyglass in Mayo, and Highwood in Sligo.—THOMAS J. WESTROPP.

The Warden's House, Youghal (see *Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 345).—Mr. G. Orpen is correct as to the mistake which has so long obtained in identifying the present Myrtle Grove with the Warden's House. As a matter of fact, the Wardens of Youghal lived in community with the other Fellows at the Old College House, from 1465 till 1560. In 1522 John Bennett, the Warden, "lived in the College of Youghal," which had been largely endowed by his father and grandfather, and he was presented to the episcopacy of Cork and Cloyne. In 1535 Thomas Allen was Warden of Youghal, and Richard Skiddy was his successor, 1566–1578. After this date the actual Warden's House, or Old College, got ruinous. Certain it is that in 1578 the Warden was non-resident. On March 4th, 1580–1, Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of Waterford, was given the Wardenship; but the College had been left in ruins over a year previously by Gerald, Earl of Desmond. Youghal was again plundered for four days, in January, 1583, by Patrick Condon. In 1586 Alexander Gough, chanter of Youghal, lived in the Old College. He is frequently called "Sir" Alexander Gough—a common appellation in those days of a priest-graduate. On May 15th, 1598, John Carden, Bishop of Down and Connor, was presented to the Wardenship of Youghal, vacant by the deprivation of Nathaniel Baxter. Carden had to live in Cork during the winter and spring of 1598–1599. He was succeeded as Warden by Meredith Hammer on October 10th, 1599, who of course never resided in Youghal. It is now certain that Sir Richard Boyle acquired the New College House of Youghal, so as to hand it over to his nephew Richard, who was presented to the Wardenship by the Crown on February 24th, 1602–3. Anyhow, there is ample documentary evidence of the existence of the College House from 1610 onwards. The Earl of Cork's eldest son, Roger, was born in the College (Warden's) House on August 1st, 1606.

I am strongly of opinion that Raleigh never built the house which is called after him. In fact, Raleigh never lived six months in Youghal; and he performed his duties as Mayor in 1588 and 1589 by deputy. I rather incline to the belief that Sir Thomas Norreys built the New College in 1592–3, and in 1596 he was anxious to sell it. As Mr. Goddard Orpen says, Raleigh's name only appears on October 27th, 1602; but Sir Richard Boyle did not acquire the College House by the deed of December 7th, 1602.

Richard Fitz Michael Boyle, Warden of Youghal, illegally gave over to his uncle, Sir Richard Boyle, the New College House in 1604—Sir Walter Raleigh being then a prisoner; and on March 29th, 1606, Sir Richard purchased the Bennet Chapel in St. Mary's Church, Youghal.

From the Calendar of State Papers of Charles I. (1633–1647), it appears that in 1614 Richard Boyle, who was Warden of Youghal, got from Alexander Gough, "the senior Fellow," the seal, charter, and records of the College, "under pretence of filling up the vacant fellowships, in order that when all the Fellows died he might pass the whole property of the College away to the Earl of Cork." Richard Boyle, "without the knowledge or consent of the Fellows, conveyed by deed under the Seal the whole property of the College to Sir Laurence Parsons, *to the use of his kinsman, the Earl of Cork*, reserving only 20 marks a year out of £700 a year. *He then gave the Seal and all the records of the College to the Earl of Cork*, who still detains them." This was in 1616. Bishop Boyle (consecrated in 1620) was promoted to Tuam in 1638. His brother Michael was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1619 to 1635.

From the same Calendar of State Papers, under date of January 24th, 1640, we learn that the Earl, having paid a composition of £15,000, was given by the king "*a grant of his dwelling-house, the New College House in Youghal.*" He was also given "the surrounding gardens, *excepting the Old College House there*, which is to be always reserved for the Vicar." The "Old College House" must have been then standing.—WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

"**An old Dublin Remembrancer.**"—A parishioner (Mrs. Disney) has kindly allowed me to see a very curious old book, published in Dublin in 1775, by William Watson, entitled, "An Historical and Chronological Remembrance of All Remarkable Occurrences from the Creation to this Present Year of our Lord, 1775." By John Burns, of Monaghan, who was born deaf and dumb.

The following extracts from this book seem to me to be interesting and valuable:—

The number of Roman Catholic clergy in each county in Ireland, returned to the Clerk of the Council, pursuant to an Act of Parliament for registering such clergy:—

In the Counties of—Antrim, 18. Armagh, 19. Catherlough (*i.e.* Carlow), 14. Cavan, 30. Clare, 45. Cork, 48. City of Cork, 4. Donegal, 21. Down, 30. Town of Drogheda, 2. Dublin County, 36. Dublin City, 34. Fermanagh, 13. Galway County, 87. Galway City, 8. Kerry, 36. Kildare, 30. Kilkenny County, 26. Kilkenny City, 4. King's County, 20. Leitrim, 23. Limerick, 47. Limerick City, 12. Londonderry, 14. Longford, 16. Louth, 14. Mayo, 51. Meath, 55. Monaghan, 17. Queen's County, 25. Roscommon, 49. Sligo, 39.

Tipperary, 45. Tyrone, 27. Waterford County, 21. Waterford City, 6. West Meath, 36. Wexford, 34. Wicklow, 13. Town of Youghal, 1. Total, 1080.

This census was made A.D. 1704.

"In 1720 a charity sermon was preached at all the churches in Dublin for the poor weavers, by order of the Government, and the money gathered was as followeth, viz. :—

"St. Andrew's, £60. St. Audoen's, £45. St. Bridget's, £43. St. John's, £12. St. Catherine's, £19. St. Mary's, 115 16s. St. Michael's, £10. St. Patrick's Cathedral, £40. St. Paul's, £21 7s. 11d. St. Peter's, £104. St. Luke's, £21. St. Luke's, £21. Christ Church Cathedral, £40. St. Werburgh's, £53 10s. 3d. St. Nicholas Without, £10. St. Nicholas Without, £17. St. James's, £10. St. George's, £6. Privy Council, £100. Chanc. lady, £100. Lady Connolly, £50. Bish. Dublin, £100. The Dissenters, £160. Play-House, £73. Total, £1227 14s. 2d." (*sic*).

It is remarkable that, according to this list, the collections in both the Dublin Cathedrals were exactly the same, viz. £40. Here is another very curious item from this old record :—

"Mary Allen was burnt at St. Stephen's-green, for drowning one of St. James's Parish children," July, 1722.

Again, "Mr. Ford, one of the Fellows of Trinity College, was shot by one of the Scholars, February 7th, 1734."

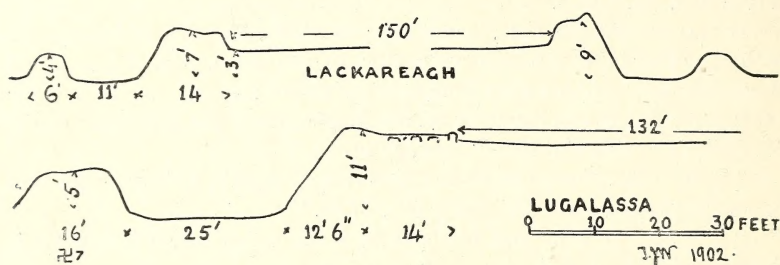
"The first powder and ball put into the magazine, Phoenix Park, September 2nd, 1738."

Towards the end of 1767, "a breakfast was given to the friends of the Marquis of Kildare, at the Rotunda, in the New Gardens in Dublin, of which the following is the bill of fare" :—"100 rounds of beef; 100 neats' tongues; 100 sheep's tongues; 100 baked pies; 100 sirloins of beef; 100 geese roasted; 100 turkeys roasted; 100 ducks roasted; 100 pullets roasted; 100 wild fowls; 1,000 French loaves; 2,000 large prints of butter; 100 weight of Gloucester cheese; tea, coffee, and chocolate, in abundance; 2,000 saffron cakes; 4,000 plain cakes; 50 hams; 2,500 bottles of wine; and a most splendid pyramid of sweet-meats in the middle of the dessert in the centre of the room, likewise a great number of stands of jelly, and a curious fountain playing, handsomely ornamented with ivy," etc.—COURTENAY MOORE (*Canon*), M.A., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster*.

Forts near Bodyke, County Clare.—There are a number of antiquities remaining in Ireland, like the raths and lisses, which are neglected because of the vast number of specimens which remain. It is well to collect from time to time a few notes on the more typical examples. This I endeavour to do in the case of a few forts in the neighbourhood of Bodyke. A large number of earth forts surround this place, which lies

near the edge of Kilnoe parish, part of the ancient Hy Ronghaile. The most noteworthy of these lie in the townlands of Clonmoher and Caherhurley. The district figures but little in ancient history; and its later remains have been nearly levelled. Kilnoe Church cannot be traced in the overgrown graveyard. Coolreagh Castle is only represented by a lofty ragged fragment of wall, featureless, save for the downput of a garderobe. Of Caherhurley Castle, only the fragment of one angle remains on an abrupt rock, which has been half quarried away. A few cut stones only remain in Killanna graveyard. The name Bodyke is understood to mean Teige's hut, but does not appear in old records.

The fourteenth-century rental of Maccon, grandson of Lochlain, the son of Cuvea Macnamara, chief of Clancuilean (who died in 1306, Lochlain having been executed by his enemies at Loch Colmin, near Sixmilebridge, in 1313), mentions several of the lands in this neighbourhood: Cluanacoille, now Cloncoole or Callaghan's Mills, Cluana



RATHS IN CLONMOHER, COUNTY CLARE (SECTIONS).

Mothair, or Clonmoher, Cuiluiria, now Coolready or St. Catherine's, Caitir Urthaile of the Clan Haisneisis, now Caherhurley, and the three Culriabhachs, or the Coolreaghs.

The forts generally lie on the ridges. There are two in Coolreaghbeg: one levelled since 1839, the other a large, low ring-mound with a shallow fosse. Nearer Bodyke, on other ridges in Coolreaghmore, are three well-preserved raths, the one nearest to the village bearing (as it did at the time of the Down Survey) the name of Liscockboe;¹ two more lie on the long ridge of Clonmoher, which call for some description.

The more western is called Lugalassa, a fine high earth-fort which commands all the approaches to Bodyke from the west. From the large blocks which remain, and the great steepness of the sides, it was probably faced with large dry stone masonry, and was girt with a wall 14 feet to 20 feet thick; the level platform measures 139 feet east and west, and 132 feet north and south, the platform being 11 feet above

¹ It is also named in 1617 and 1632 with the *alias* name of Dromscale or Dromscale, being then, and in 1655, a separate townland. The ridge is still Dromscale Hill.

the bottom of the fosse, which is 25 feet wide. Outside this is a steep-sided ring, 5 feet to 9 feet high, and 16 feet thick, the fort being over all from 200 to 210 feet in diameter. It has a fine view in all directions, being on the highest point of the ridge, and the outer ring is thickly overgrown with thorns, the entrance being from the northern side.

Lackareagh or, as it is called, Clonmoher fort, lies eastward from Lugalassa. Its garth is only raised about 3 feet above the fosse, and is 150 feet in internal diameter. It is girt with a high steep-sided ring-mound, 14 feet thick, and 4 feet to 9 feet higher than the garth; outside this is a fosse 11 feet and 12 feet wide; through its western segment winds a bohereen; and round it is a ring, 6 feet thick, and 4 feet to 6 feet high. The fort is a veritable garden of blue-bells or fox-gloves, according to the time of the year.¹

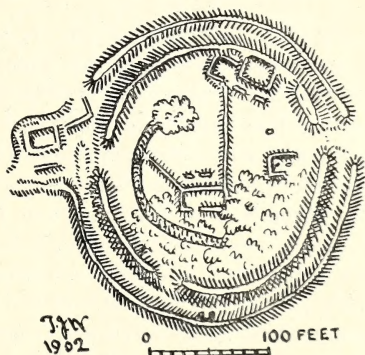
Caherhurley stands at some distance to the east of Bodyke on a long ridge falling steeply to a little river on the south, and commands a fine view of the dark high hills of Slieve Bernagh, the highest ridge in Clare. In the opposite direction it overlooks Lough O'Grady and Scariff, and beyond them and the mass of hills, forming the outposts of Slieve Aughty, to the north.

There are two entrances with raised mounds across the fosse. The fort was evidently once stone-faced; but a lime-kiln in the fosse accounts for the removal of all the stonework, including even the houses. It seems to have had a ring-wall now reduced to its foundations, outside of

which was an annular space with a bold earth-rampart 12 feet thick, and high. Outside this a deep fosse 12 feet to 18 feet wide, and an outer raised ring 8 feet to 10 feet thick. There are the foundations of at least three houses in the garth, which is about 180 feet in diameter, the fort being about 230 feet over all, and greatly overgrown with thorns, sloes, and furze, especially in the southern segment.

There are, so far as I am aware, forty-four forts in the parish of Kilnoe.

I have to thank Colonel O'Callaghan Westropp (*Member*) for much help in planning these forts described in this note.—T. J. WESTROPP, *Vice-President*.



PLAN OF CAHERHURLEY FORT,
COUNTY CLARE.

¹ It is noted, and a plan given, in *Proc. R.I.A.*, Ser. III., vol. vi., p. 443.

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—The work marked thus (*) is by a Member of the Society.]

- * *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*.—Treating of the Government, Military System, and Law; Religion, Learning, and Art; Trades, Industries, and Commerce; Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life of the Ancient Irish People. By P. W. Joyce, LL.D. (Trin. Coll., Dub.), M.R.I.A.; one of the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903.) Price, 21s., net.

SINCE Eugene O'Curry wrote his interesting but uncritical book on the Manners and Customs of the Irish, much has been done to elucidate the subject. Numbers of records then read with difficulty in single manuscripts have been published and critically studied, statements compared, and dates approximately fixed. Volumes of notes on the ancient structures, and lesser antiquities of Ireland, volumes of notes on the antiquities of Germany and France corresponding to those on our shores, are now accessible to scholars. Despite of all this, difficulty still lies in the path, and dogs the steps of all writers on Irish History and Archæology. Few, if any, of the nations of Western Europe are richer than Ireland in the relics and records of their native past, its topography, language, and remains; but few have been the labourers in these fields, and of these, few have approached or carried out the work in a scientific spirit.

Dr. Joyce, who first helped to set the study of Irish place-names on a rational basis, has since then carried on his work in different directions, but in the same excellent spirit as at first. He now adds to our indebtedness a History making even on its title-page a bold and large promise—how far fulfilled we endeavour to show in this notice.

So difficult is the task, and so many questions still arise, both on field archæology and on the date and nature of many of our documents, that it is no slight on Dr. Joyce to say that several statements in his book remain matters of dispute. Doubtful points are inseparable (in our present state of knowledge) from any complex work. In fairness to a book which we value (while holding several opposite views), we feel justified in passing from such criticisms, which, unless more fully discussed than present space would allow, might only prove misleading; so we give rather a notice of the vast field opened up in the volume before us

than a criticism. The want of such a book has long been felt, and, without further preface, we may note the excellence of the printing and copiousness of the illustration, and pass to its contents.

The author limits himself as much as possible to the "historic period," on the vague limit of which "we stand near the outer margin of the fog, and observe and delineate the people as they emerge from darkness and twilight."

Dr. Joyce finds traces of national growth "slow and methodical, duly subordinated from the highest grades of the people to the lowest." He accordingly opens his work on the extremely complex system of monarchy which prevailed. So definite were the marks of rank, that it is stated that even St. Patrick modelled his household on that of the nobility, even to the extent of keeping a "champion" or "strong man," who among the laity was mainly employed to avenge any insult offered to his patron, but whom the pacific saint employed to carry him over streams.

We cannot go at much length into the fascinating picture of royalty "as it ought to have been"; the ideal, though only an ideal, was a mark of nobility in those who created it. Had monarchy got the strength in Ireland which it acquired elsewhere, a very different history might have come down to us, instead of the blood-soaked records of meaningless little civil wars which deface our Annals for nearly a thousand years. Dear indeed must learning, art, and religion have been to the people who preserved even a shadow of these through the fearful ninth and tenth centuries; but it is sad to read of as many raids of Irishmen on their fellow-countrymen as of those made by the Norsemen.

Warfare naturally takes an important place in the work. The native records retain echoes of the strife which we hear from distant foreign sources, the poems of Claudian, and the Histories of the wars of Theodosius and Stilicho. St. Patrick himself was one of "many thousand men" captured and brought to slavery by Irish conquerors. Whether (in view of the Silchester Ogham) we are to regard the Ogamie inscriptions in Wales as proofs of Irish invasion and settlement need not be discussed here. It is not as conquerors and oppressors that the Irish are best known in history.

Dr. Joyce's happy knowledge shows itself incidentally in interesting lights on the names of his heroes and heroines. Very suggestive in its coincidence is his equation of the names of the first and latest recorded queens regnant in Britain—Boadicea = Buadac = Victoria. The "professional lady-soldier" is almost confined to the ancient Irish. Such was Cuchullin's teacher in arms, Scathach-Buanand. It was only as the "Faith" gained a firm position in Ireland that the women (697) and the clergy (803) were set free from military service. The picture of the "Hospital" or "Asylum" for worn-out warriors (if not wholly mythical) marks an advanced view of national responsibility as yet hardly realised. Very chivalrous, too, is the non-usage of armour; the Anglo-Normans, however,

soon cured the Irish of this romantic notion. Objection has been made to illustrating the legends as found in the Middle Ages by early bronze weapons; but can we be sure that the use of such things did not really continue to late times? for old weapons may have been found and used, or at least described. Ireland was ever a land of survivals; small "long dolmens," made in the middle of the late century, still exist in Kerry graveyards; and finds often reveal most heterogeneous collections of bronze and iron implements of widely different dates.

We may here note the critical, yet unhesitating, use made by Dr. Joyce of statements of the much-abused Giraldus Cambrensis—the Herodotus of his period—prejudiced, but essentially a victim of hearsay, like many a later traveller in our island. Masterly, too, is Dr. Joyce's condensation of the elaborate code of the Brehon laws.

At chapter ix. we are brought face to face with Irish Paganism. This subject always suggests to us the sad fact that there is no Irish "Edda." How priceless any undoubted Pagan poem of the Irish would be, and (apart from magic rites and ceremonies) how little can be gathered, and what impersonal phantoms we find in their pantheon, compared with the Teutonic, Grecian, and Roman gods. "Thou hast conquered, Nazarene," is especially the motto of Irish mythology. Their gods' "memorial is perished with them." Only Mannanan, the sea-god, the beneficent Dagda, and the fearful Badbh, have any form or personality. How far the alleged Pagan doctrines catch reflected light from the Christianity of their recorders it is difficult to say.

More satisfactory is the picture given of early Irish learning. Despite its limitations, it seems to contrast favourably with the husks of science served out to the human mind in the later Middle Ages. Ethicus of Istria called the Irish literati, "unskilled toilers, and uncultivated teachers"; but he seems to have seen them in the third or fourth century, when presumably there was no Irish "learning" comprehensible to an Italian, and the difficulties of a foreigner getting any proper interpreter in Ireland must have been great indeed. He, however, mentions their "volumes"; and if this is correct, it opens up a most important question as to the existence of any sort of pre-Christian records. It certainly bears out Mr. James Ferguson's conclusion, though he does not seem to have known the testimony of Ethicus, that the Irish had books of the time of Cormac mac Airt., *i.e.*, of the third century. The bardic curriculum was liberal. It consisted in the first year of fifty oghams or alphabets, grammar, and fifty tales. In the second year, more oghams, tales, and philosophy. In the third, more advanced study. Law and poems came into the course for the fourth and fifth years. In the fifth, secret language of the poets was added; in the sixth, Bardic poetry; in the next three years, the more complex prosody; and in the next three the student continued these and more advanced studies, till (after the twelfth year) he emerged an Ollave confessed, a master of

many tales and poems, and an accomplished poet. The clerical schools naturally taught divinity as the main subject, but they added history, illumination, arithmetic, astronomy, and "canonical wisdom." In poetry, as in war, the ladies asserted their claims. One of the early exponents of "higher education for woman," Uallech, chief poetess of Erin, died in 932. Greatly honoured was the "learned man" among the chiefs; not from fear, such as the satirist and bard excited, but from genuine admiration, he was rewarded and entertained by all.

Dr. Joyce deals at some length with Irish learning and art, with which vast subjects we cannot deal even so briefly as we have done with the previous sections. Let it suffice to say that the numerous illustrations of Irish Art, from the carvings of our tumuli to the masterpieces of Cong and Ardagh, give no slight amount of information in a condensed form, apart even from the elaborate letter-press. The first volume closes with the important subjects of medicine and surgery.

The second volume deals first with family life. The dowry and married woman's property were well secured—indeed the most complete equality prevailed between husband and wife. Women could go to law and distrain on their own account. It is amusing to note the pompous verbal assertion of man's superiority in the preludes to all this practical assertion of women's rights. With fosterage the compilers of the code were naturally much concerned.

There are full particulars (based both on literature and remains) about Irish houses, from the roof-tree and knocker to the external defences of earth-works and stone walls. The castles and crannogs are no more neglected than the royal raths of Tara; and the article enumerates, with brief descriptions and many illustrations, some of the more noted or typical examples of the forts.

Chapter xxi. deals with the very important subjects of food, drink, fuel, and light. The menu of the ancient Irish is appetising, and was well calculated to satisfy the appetite created. One English article—salt—was highly appreciated. Refinement went so far as to make butter "prints" with elaborate ornaments. The great importance attached to honey, and the elaborate legislation as to bees, are well known.

Another fact worthy of high civilisation was the existence of public hostels and the biataghs.

Dress and personal adornment were not neglected: even cosmetics were used, and the fairest ladies "crimsoned" their nails and faces, and blackened their eye-brows. The men were equally particular about their flowing hair and beards, and bathing was not neglected. Indeed, if the legends represent Irish life truly, the Irish chief, like the Greek and Saxon, regarded a bath as no slight luxury. Even "Turkish" (or, as Germans say, "Irish") vapour-baths were not unknown. If Ruskin is right in his dictum, "Whenever men are noble they love bright colour," the Irishmen were noble indeed. Some of the combinations sound very

badly, but can we say much against the taste of a nation that illuminated books, and ornamented metal and stone so beautifully? Cloaks, coats, capes, kilts, trousers, leggings, gloves, hats, and shoes clothed the men very comfortably, and the elaborateness of their ornaments is a commonplace.

Again, we must briefly run over the mere headings. We find much about pasturage and tillage; workers in wood, metal, and stone; masons and other craftsmen; mills; the manufacturing of clothing; measures and weights; locomotion and commerce.

Very interesting are the sections on the aenachs and assemblies often arising out of funeral games of the remotest past. The chase and games, social customs, pledging and borrowing, provision for the aged, and numerous other matters, bring us to the last scenes of all—the deaths and burials; the first varying, but varying as in all ages, the latter varying from the crypt of the cromlech and artificial cave, to the canopied tomb beside the altar. There is a long and helpful bibliography given at the end, and also a full index.

We have been unable even to fully enumerate the various matters treated of by Dr. Joyce in this most elaborate work. The space available for this notice is more than filled, even by this imperfect précis. We can only express our pleasure in hailing a new book of reference of so careful a character, despite the great difficulties of the subject treated.

The Irish Dominicans of the Seventeenth Century. By Father John O'Heyne, O.P. Reprinted, with an English Translation, and an Appendix, by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., M.R.I.A. (Dundalk: William Tempest, 1902.) Price 5s.

THE books relating to Irish Ecclesiastical History that are not unduly influenced by sectarian feelings, or deeply impregnated with a maudlin sentimentality, which is quite as much to be deprecated, are so uncommon that the publication of one devoid of these peculiarities is calculated to occasion no little surprise. The present book is a pleasing departure from old, over-zealous, combative ways, and a triumph for scholarship. The editing is at once able and accurate, whilst the appendix to the book, compiled by the editor, is evidently the refined product of a long and deep research into the scattered muniments affecting the history of the ancient foundations of the Order of St. Dominic, or Friars Preachers in Ireland.

Father Coleman, in a lucid introduction of some thirty pages, devoted mainly to the history of the Order in Ireland, traces its growth, its periods of prosperity and of persecution; its dissolution and expulsion.

Of the Dominican foundations in Ireland—thirty-eight in number before the dissolution—only one or two, situate amidst bogs and marshes, appear to have escaped the vigilance of government; and at the close of Elizabeth's reign, five or six aged friars, living apart in the houses of friends, were the sole representatives of that whilom rich, powerful, and well-represented Order. Their downcast fortunes soon began to assume a more favourable prospect, as, in the report of Father Ross Mageoghegan, the provincial, in the year 1622, there were seven convents and forty-seven friars in the country—numbers that kept rapidly increasing until the advent of Cromwell. The friars again enjoyed comparative peace on the restoration of Charles II., and returned in large numbers, to be scattered and banished once more by further penal enactments.

O'Heyne, doubtless owing to a very commendable modesty on his part, has left us only some scanty particulars concerning himself, which present a vivid picture of the life of a regular ecclesiastic in Ireland in the latter half of the seventeenth century. He studied at Salamanca, was a Bachelor of Sacred Theology, and taught philosophy in France, and at intervals in the College of Holy Cross at Louvain, where he was vicar for a year. "On his first return to Ireland, by command of Father William Burke, the provincial," he writes, "he taught a large school, until he was obliged by the violence of the persecution to hide, and be the companion for a year of the Bishop of Elphin. Thereupon, as he was specially sought after by the Protestants, he was compelled to fly from the kingdom. On finishing his term of regency at Louvain, he returned home a second time, and remained there for eight years evangelizing the people, and was Prior of Urlar. Finally, expelled with the rest of all the religious Orders, after the various mishaps of distressful exile, he is living in Louvain, at Holy Cross, in the sixtieth year of his age and the fortieth of his profession."

O'Heyne lived through an era during which great principles, both in Church and State, were at stake; and his book—largely a record of a stubborn resistance to an all-devouring authority—is tragic reading. He was frequently an eye-witness to the events recorded by him, and was acquainted with very many of his brethren, sketches of whose careers he has left us—circumstances that add considerably to the historical value of his work.

The book was originally published in Latin, at Louvain, in 1707; and even apart from the fact that only one complete copy of that, hitherto the only, edition is known to exist, namely, in the British Museum, its republication is certainly not premature or uncalled for.

The present edition is a comely one, and a good example of what a printer is still capable of accomplishing in an Irish provincial town.

Proceedings.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 26th of January, 1904, at 5 o'clock, p.m.:

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*,
in the Chair.

The following Officers, Fellows, and Members attended:—

Hon. General Secretary.—Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer.—Henry J. Stokes.

Vice-Presidents.—F. Elrington Ball, J.P., M.R.I.A.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; Thomas J. Westropp, M.R.I.A.

Fellows.—Henry F. Berry, I.S.O., M.R.I.A.; P. J. Donnelly; Major Fielding, J.P., M.R.I.A.; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A.; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.; R. Langrishe, J.P.; Count Plunkett; Countess Plunkett; Andrew Robinson, C.E.; Robert L. Woolcombe, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Members.—C. F. Allen; Mrs. Allen; Rev. William F. Alment, B.D.; Miss Brenda E. Archer; Robert Bestick; Charles T. Boothman; Mrs. Charles T. Boothman; Mrs. E. R. Bowes; John B. Cassin Bray; Miss Brown; Rev. K. C. Brunskill, M.A.; Rev. Richard A. Burnett, M.A.; Mrs. W. L. Byrne; George O. Carolin, J.P.; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A.; Matthew Dorey; Edwin Fayle; Rev. Canon Fisher, M.A.; Frederick Franklin; Major Lawrence Gorman; Joseph Gough; Mrs. Thomas Greene; P. J. Griffith; W. A. Henderson; Henry Hitchins; William F. Howie; Miss H. Hughes; Miss Anna M. Joly; Charles Lawler, J.P.; Rev. J. Blennerhassett Leslie, M.A.; Rev. Canon Lett, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Mrs. Long; Rev. Dr. Lucas; Rev. H. C. Lyster, B.D.; Francis M'Bride, J.P.; M. J. M'Enery, B.A.; F. J. M'Inerney; J. P. M'Knight; Rev. B. Moffett, M.A.; John G. Moore, J.P.; Joseph H. Moore, M.A.; Walter G. Neale; James H. F. Nixon; William L. O'Byrne; J. E. Palmer; Thomas Paterson; Miss Peter; Hugh Pollock; Miss Reynell; W. Johnson-Roberts; Rev. James Ryan, P.P.; John A. Scott, M.D.; Mrs. Shackleton; Mrs. Sheridan; E. W. Smyth, J.P., T.C.; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; Mrs. John Smyth; Henry Vereker; Rev. Francis J. Wall; Richard D. Walsh, J.P.; John Wardell, B.A.; Richard Blair White; Robert White; W. Grove White, LL.B.; Rev. Sterling de C. Williams, M.A.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellow and Members were elected:—

FELLOW.

Collins, George, Solicitor, 69, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin: proposed by Professor Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., *Past-President*.

MEMBERS.

- Bowes, Mrs. E. R., Tara View, Castletown, Gorey, Co. Wexford: proposed by Charles R. Browne, M.D., M.R.I.A.
- Carter, John Campbell, Manager, Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland, 40, Mary-street, Dublin: proposed by Dr. Owen P. Kerrigan.
- Gayle, Edwin, Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin: proposed by Mrs. E. Weber Smyth.
- Flannery, Rev. Daniel, P.P., Silvermines, Nenagh: proposed by Very Rev. J. M'Inerney, P.P., V.G.
- Gould, Mrs. Ellen Louisa, Newtown Park House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Halpin, Rev. James, P.P., St. Colman's, Seariff, Co. Clare: proposed by Very Rev. J. M'Inerney, P.P., V.G.
- Johnston, Miss Emily Sophie, 9, Regent-street, London, S.W.: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- M'Carthy, James, Newfound Well, Drogheda: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *President*.
- Mitchell, Mrs. Mary E., Chipstone, Nasik-road, G. I. P. R., India: proposed by William R. Lewin Lowe.
- Murphy, H. L., B.A., Glencairn, Sandymount, Co. Dublin: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, *Fellow*.
- Musgrave, Miss, Grange House, Whiting Bay, Youghal, and 63, Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.: proposed by R. J. Ussher, *Hon. Local Secretary, Co. Waterford*.
- Odell, Mrs. Cloncoskaine, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford: proposed by R. J. Ussher, D.L.
- Powell, Miss Una T. E., Bello Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Ryan, Rev. Edmond J., c.c., Killeen, Thurles: proposed by Rev. James J. Ryan, P.P.
- Twigg, Thomas S., 16, Royal Terrace, West, Kingstown: proposed by Henry Hitchins.
- Wilson, Charles J., Barrister-at-Law, 6, St. James's-terrace, Clonskeagh, Dublin: proposed by Montgomery F. Barnes.
- Yeates, Miss Ada, 39, Ormond-road, Rathmines: proposed by Mrs. Sarah Holmes.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR 1903.

The Report of Council for the year 1903 was read and adopted, as follows:—

The Council, while reporting the continued prosperity of the Society, have to place on record the demise, during the year, of many friends of the Society. The following is a list of six Fellows and fifteen Members whose deaths have been notified, with the dates at which they joined the Society:—

FELLOWS.

William Usher Clarke, Esq. (1897). The Rev. Maxwell H. Close, M.A., M.R.I.A., F.G.S. (1871). John Moran, Esq., M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A. (1895). Charles O'Donoghue, Esq., J.P. (1897). James O'Ryan, Esq. (1899). Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Doyne Vigors (*Vice-President*, 1895-1899).

MEMBERS.

The Very Rev. Richard Æ. Baillie, M.A., Dean of Raphoe (1890). Patrick M. Egan, Esq., J.P., Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny (1882). Charles W. Harrison, Esq. (1892). S. M. F. Hewat, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.) (1889). Thomas C. Kenny, Esq. (1899). Miss Kathleen Knox (1895). Mrs. Learmont-Anderson (1903). John Malcomson, Esq., Solicitor (1862). Morgan Mooney, Esq. (1894). The Rev. Thomas J. Rooney, c.c. (1896). The Rev. Canon Sayers (1894). William Joseph Smith, Esq., J.P. (1893). Thomas G. Wade, Esq., Solicitor (1899). T. W. Wilson, Esq. (1903). Captain S. W. Bonaparte Wyse, J.P. (1896).

The Rev. Maxwell H. Close, who died on the 12th of September, aged 81, was for over thirty years a Fellow of the Society. He was the eldest son of Mr. Henry Samuel Close, of Newtown Park, Blackrock, County Dublin, whose elder brother was seated at Drumbanagher, County Armagh, and was father of the late Maxwell Close, D.L. The latter represented that county in Parliament, and married his cousin, the eldest sister of his namesake, the subject of this notice. He took his B.A. Degree in the University of Dublin in 1846, and his M.A. in 1867. The Rev. Maxwell Close was a man of varied knowledge; and, during his long life, he devoted his leisure to the advancement of Science and Archæology in Ireland. His benevolent and retiring character secured him the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He was a member of the leading scientific and literary Societies in Dublin, and long served on the Councils of the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Dublin Society. He succeeded our President as Treasurer of the former in 1878, and held that post until March last. He was President of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland. An appreciative memoir of him appeared in the *Irish Naturalist* for December, with a portrait, and a list of his Scientific Publications. His labours in the cause of Irish Archæology were many, though his publications were few, including one Paper contributed to our *Journal*. He bequeathed £1000 towards the publication of an Irish Dictionary.

Colonel Philip D. Vigors, formerly in command of the 19th Regiment, with which he served in Canada and elsewhere, was a helpful and constant supporter of our Society. He was a very regular attendant at the meetings—especially those at Kilkenny—and he occasionally contributed to the *Journal*. He served for several years (from 1885) on the Council, and was a Vice-President, 1895–1899. He died at his residence, Holloden, Bagnalstown, on the 30th of December last, aged 78. It was mainly through his exertions that the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland was established in 1888; and only a few days before his death the concluding portion of the Fifth Volume of that Society's "Journal" was issued to the subscribers. Colonel Vigors enlisted a body of zealous supporters, through whose exertions a vast number of Irish monumental inscriptions have been recorded, and many of great antiquity and interest deciphered and illustrated. The work

will be a lasting monument of his zeal and industry. Few members were better known in our Society; and, in fulfilling the several duties of a country gentleman, he earned the respect of neighbours far and near. He lately served as High Sheriff of the County Carlow; and the last Paper he read at our meetings was one on his predecessors in that office. He had accumulated copious materials for a History of the Vigors family, a summary only being published in the *Visitation of Ireland*.

During the year, seven Fellows and sixty-seven Members were elected (one *Member* was transferred to the rank of *Fellow*);¹ and, deducting the names of those removed by death or resignation, and those struck off the Roll, the numbers are as follows:—Hon. Fellows, 8; Fellows, 178; Members, 1069. Total, 1255.

FINANCES.

At the commencement of the present year, a balance of £158 10s. was carried over from the year 1902; and of this a sum of £100 has been invested in 2½ per cent. Consols in the names of the Trustees of the Society, making a total sum of £1100 so invested, the interest on which, received during the present year, amounts to £26 15s. 9d.

Parts 2 and 3 of the General Index of the *Journal* for the forty-one years, from 1849 to 1889, which were published in 1902 as an extra volume, have been paid for out of the income for the year 1903. The balance in bank at the end of the year amounts to £63 10s. The accounts of the Society when audited will be published in the second issue of the *Journal* for 1904. Two auditors will be elected at this meeting. The retiring auditors are John Cooke, Esq., M.A., and S. A. O. FitzPatrick, Esq., and are eligible for re-election.

EXTRA VOLUME.

Progress continues to be made in the preparation for press of the Extra Volume of the Gormanston Register, which has been kept back by the important issue of the Index to the first forty years of the *Journal* of the Society. The Register is a fifteenth-century manuscript, containing entries of a large number of documents extending back to the twelfth century, and illustrating the history of several of our leading Norman-Irish families in earlier times. Some of the charters affect these families even before their coming to Ireland, and relate to the Fitz Geraldts at St. Davids, and the Prestons in their Lancashire home. It is intended that the volume shall consist of two parts: a full abstract in English of the entire Register; and complete texts of the more important documents in their original Latin, French, or English. It is hoped that the work may be completed and printed off by the end of the present year. It is being prepared for press by Mr. James Mills and Mr. M^cEnery, of the Public Record Office.

¹ For list of names of Fellows and Members elected, see page 96.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS.

There were twelve Meetings of Council held during the year, at which the attendances were as follows:—

The President, 10; the Hon. Gen. Secretary, 12; the Hon. Treasurer, 9; the late Colonel Vigors, 3; Dr. Joyce, 4; James Mills, 4; Rev. Canon Healy, 0; Edward Martyn, 4; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A., 6; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A., 4; George Coffey, M.R.I.A., 4; Joseph H. Moore, M.A., 8; John Cooke, M.A., 5; Count Plunkett, F.S.A., 4; and W. Grove-White, LL.B., 6.

In accordance with Rule 17, the following Members of Council retire, and are not eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting, viz.:—

James Mills, I.S.O.; Dr. Joyce; and the Rev. Canon Healy, LL.D.

Nominations, in compliance with Rule 16, have been received to fill up the vacancies; and they are as follows:—

George D. Burchaell, M.A.; Henry F. Berry, M.A., I.S.O.; the Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, M.R.I.A.; Richard Langrishe, J.P.

The retiring Vice-Presidents are:—

For LEINSTER—The Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, M.R.I.A. For ULSTER—Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A. For MUNSTER—Robert Day, J.P., F.S.A. For CONNAUGHT—Richard Langrishe, J.P.

The nominations received for these vacancies, in accordance with Rule 16, are:—

For LEINSTER:

JAMES MILLS, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. (*Fellow*, 1892).

For ULSTER:

ROBERT M. YOUNG, B.A., M.R.I.A., J.P. (*Fellow*, 1891; *Vice-President*, 1898).

For MUNSTER:

JAMES FROST, J.P., M.R.I.A. (*Fellow*, 1877; *Vice-President*, 1898).

For CONNAUGHT:

RICHARD O'SHAUGHNESSY, B.A., C.B., M.V.O. (*Fellow*, 1894).

As only one nomination has been received for each vacancy, the foregoing will be declared elected to the four vacant seats on the Council, and as a Vice-President for each of the four Provinces respectively.

MEETINGS AND EXCURSIONS FOR 1904.

The following is proposed for the Meetings and Excursions in the year 1904:—

PLACE.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Dublin, . . .	Tuesday, *Jan. 26,†	{ Annual Meeting and Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Feb. 23,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Mar. 29,†	Do. Do.
Do., . . .	„ *April 26,†	Quarterly Meeting.
Kilkenny, . .	„ *May 31,	Evening Meeting and Excursions.
Tuam, . . .	„ *July 28,	Quarterly Do. Do.
Dublin, . . .	„ *Oct. 25,†	Do. Do. Do.
Do., . . .	„ Nov. 29,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.

* Railway Excursion Tickets will be obtainable for these Meetings.

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6 p.m. on the above dates.

SUMMER EXCURSION, 1904.

It will be observed that Tuam, County Galway, is suggested as the place for the Summer Meeting and Excursion for the coming year. According to rotation that meeting should be held in the Province of Connaught; and after consultation with Fellows and Members in that Province, Tuam has been selected; and the Council are pleased to be able to state that a strong Local Committee is in process of formation under the auspices of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam, Vice-President for Connaught, and President of the Galway Historical and Archæological Society; Richard J. Kelly, Esq., J.P., B.L., Hon. Local Secretary, North Galway, and Vice-President of the Galway Historical and Archæological Society; the Very Rev. Jerome Fahy, V.G., P.P., Hon. Local Secretary, South Galway; Thomas B. Costello, Esq., M.D.; and Joseph A. Glynn, Esq., Solicitor, Chairman of the Galway County Council.

The Meeting is to be held during the last week in July or first week in August, as may best suit local circumstances. Tuam and its immediate neighbourhood are rich in antiquarian remains; and a very pleasant and successful meeting may be anticipated.

PROPOSED SEA EXCURSION.

Owing to the solicitation of numerous members of the Society, it is in contemplation to have another cruise about the middle of June, 1904. The first sea excursion organised by the Society was in connexion with the Connaught Meeting in 1895, when a large party proceeded by the S.S. *Caloric* from Belfast to Galway, calling at several of the islands possessing remains of antiquarian interest, including the Aran Islands. In 1897 a more extended cruise was made in the same steamer, covering the whole of the sea-coast from Belfast to Kingstown, calling at Waterford for the Munster Meeting, which was held that year at Lismore. In 1899 a still more extended cruise was undertaken to the Scottish Coast and Western Islands, in which the Cambrian Archæological Association took part, and was the largest and most successful yet undertaken. After that it was hoped that arrangements could have been made for a tour to Brittany, as large numbers expressed a desire to participate in such an excursion. The Brittany cruise was, however, found to be surrounded by so many difficulties, that an excursion around the Irish coast has been suggested instead, calling at places not visited on former occasions, such as Rathlin Island, the Barony of Erris on the west coast of Mayo, which abounds in unexplored antiquities, Inishglory and the Davillaun Islands in the same county, the Maharees and the Blasquets off the Kerry coast, Cape Clear in County Cork, the Baronies of Forth and Bargy, County Wexford, and Bag-in-bun in the same county, where the Norman Invaders first landed. In addition, places visited before, such as Inismurray, Aran Islands, Clare Island, the Skelligs, &c., would be worth seeing again; and probably the Killeries, Berehaven, and Bantry Bay may be visited.

The details of this tour have not been settled; but it is expected that a trip of nine days can be arranged for, going round from Belfast and ending at Kingstown, at a cost of ten to twelve guineas.

It would be desirable for members who propose to join to send in their names at once to the Hon. Sec., 6, St. Stephen's-green, or to S. F. Milligan, Esq., M.R.I.A., Hon. Prov. Sec., at Belfast. Full particulars would be furnished as soon as matured; and it would help greatly if the probable number for whom accommodation would be required were known early. An application for particulars is all that is necessary to be made at present, as a list is now opened; and those whose names have been received by the 26th of January would have priority in case there are more applicants than the number for which accommodation could be provided. It is also necessary to know the probable number to judge of the capacity of the steamer to be chartered.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1898, AND
THE IRISH LAND ACT, 1903.

In our last Report we were enabled to give a *résumé* of the Society's connexion with the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in this country, and the successful efforts made to secure legislation on the subject; and, in continuation, the Council are gratified to be able to say that, through the exertions of several friends of Archæology, a most salutary clause has been inserted in the recent Purchase Act intended to protect monuments on lands which may be sold to tenants under the Act. A great deal will depend on the manner in which the clause is worked; but, from the sympathetic attitude adopted by the Estates Commissioners appointed under the Act, the Council have great hopes that it will be successful. A Committee was appointed by the Council, consisting of the President, Hon. Gen. Secretary, Mr. George Coffey, B.A., M.R.I.A.; Mr. W. Grove White, LL.B.; Mr. Richard Langrishe, J.P., and Mr. T. J. Westropp, C.E., M.R.I.A., *Convener*, whose Report on the subject, as adopted by the Council, is subjoined:—

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The first legislation for the vesting and preservation of Ancient Monuments appears to have been in the Irish Church Act, 1869 (32 & 33 Vict. c. 42, s. 25), by which the Irish Church Commissioners were authorized to vest in the Board of Works any ruined ecclesiastical building to be a "National Monument," if of artistic or historic interest. A sum of £50,000 was set apart for the conservation of such buildings; and 137 ecclesiastical structures were eventually vested.

The Act of 1882, best known as Sir John Lubbock's Act (45 & 46 Vict. cap. 73), provided for the preservation of certain other Ancient Monuments by an annual parliamentary grant.

The Act of 1892 (55 & 56 Vict. c. 46) amended its predecessor. It also provided for vesting of monuments by the owner if the Commissioners consented to become guardians.

Full information on these Acts, and a list of the monuments vested before 1892, may be found in the *Journal* of the Society for the year 1892, vol. xxii., p. 411, in a Paper by Mr. Robert Cochrane, F.S.A. The text of the Acts of 1882 and 1892 is there fully given. The earlier Act provided that the owner of any ancient monument might by a deed vest it in the Commissioners of Public Works. The Commissioners could purchase a monument, and an owner could bequeath one to them; inspectors could be appointed; penalties could be inflicted on any one injuring such a monument; and monuments similar to those vested could be added. A list of eighteen "monuments to which the Act applies" was included for Ireland, but these, though scheduled, were not, as supposed by many, actually vested thereby.

The Local Government Act for Ireland, 1898 (61 & 62 Vict. c. 37, s. 19), provides that "where any ancient monuments or remains within the meaning of this section are being dilapidated, injured, or endangered, the county surveyor of any county shall report the same to the county council," and a county council may prosecute for any penalty under sect. 6 of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 (45 & 46 Vict. c. 73). The provisions of sect. 11 of the said Act (defining "ancient monuments to which this Act applies"), and sect. 1 of the Ancient Monuments Protection (Ireland) Act, 1892, shall have effect as if they were therein re-enacted, with the substitution of "county council" for "Commissioners of Works"; "but this enactment shall be in addition to, and not in derogation of, the existing provisions of the said sections as respects the Commissioners of Works."

The Irish Land Act of 1903 (3 Ed. VII., c. 37, s. 14) added a very important clause in the matter of monuments, by which those on any lands vested under the Land Purchase Acts could be reserved from the purchaser to vest in the Commissioners of Works, subject to their consent, and come under protection of the Act of 1882.

Where the Commissioners refuse to take charge, the monument may be vested in the local County Council under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. The Act of 1903 defines the monuments as "any ancient or mediæval structure, erection, or monument, or any remains thereof."

Lastly, in the supplement to the *Dublin Gazette* of October 23, 1903, the Rules under the Act referred to by the Estates Commissioners, as approved by the Lords Justices, were published. Rule No. 9 provides for maps to be lodged with every originating notice, and an affidavit to be made by a competent surveyor as to the lands and their correct record on the map. Rule No 35 provides that "where any land proposed to be sold under the Land Purchase Act contains any Ancient Monument, application to the Commissioners, with a view to having the same dealt with under the provisions of sect. 14 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, may be made by the Vendor or Purchaser, or by any public body or association interested in the preservation of the same."

It will be noted that, under the last Rule quoted, the Royal Society of Antiquaries gains a legal position for making suggestions for vesting any of the countless remains likely to change hands under the operation of this far-reaching Act.

Your Committee suggest that, with a view of furthering the vesting of Ancient Monuments for their preservation, the Estates Commissioners should be approached and asked to give effect to the following suggestions:—

(A.) That under the Land Act of 1903 (Rule 35), as already quoted, the Surveyor appointed to revise the map of the land about to be sold, be

instructed to report as to the existence of Ancient Monuments, whether marked on the Ordnance Survey maps or not, the monuments to be roughly classed as—1. Pillar-stones and stones with carvings, ancient markings, or inscriptions. 2. Cromlechs and stone circles. 3. Forts of earth or stone and artificial caves. 4. Ecclesiastical ruins, such as churches, monasteries, round towers, crosses, and tombs. 5. Castles and ancient residential buildings. 6. Any other ancient structure or carving of importance. And (B.) that in cases where, after application made by the Estates Commissioners to the Board of Works, or the County Council, those bodies decline to accept the vesting of any monument, a clause should be inserted in the deeds of sale reserving such monuments and protecting same from injury by the purchaser or others, subject, however, to the right of investigation at any such monument with the approval of a recognized authority.

The following is the text in full of sect. 14 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, relating to Ancient Monuments:—

“IRISH LAND ACT, 1903, 3 EDWARD VII., CH. 37, SECT. 14.

“(1) Where any land, which is vested under the Land Purchase Acts in a purchaser, contains any ancient monument which, in the opinion of the Land Commission, is a matter of public interest, by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto, they may, with the consent of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, by order declare that the property in the monument shall not pass to the purchaser, and make an order vesting the monument in those Commissioners.

“(2) Where any such order is made, the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882, with respect to the maintenance of, and access and penalties for injury to, ancient monuments, shall apply as if the monument were a monument under the guardianship of those Commissioners in pursuance of that Act.

“(3) Where those Commissioners refuse to consent to the vesting of any such monuments in them, the Land Commission may, with the consent of the council of the county within which the monument is situate, make an order vesting the monument in that council, and subsection two of section nineteen of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, shall thereupon apply.

“(4) In this section the expression ‘ancient monument’ means any ancient or mediæval structure, erection, or monument, or any remains thereof.”

Rule No. 35, before referred to, is as follows:—

“ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

“35. Where any land proposed to be sold under the Land Purchase Acts contains any Ancient Monument, application to the Commissioners with a view to having the same dealt with under the provisions of section 14 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, may be made by the Vendor or Purchaser, or by any public body or association interested in the preservation of same.”

The President declared George D. Burtchaell, M.A.; Henry F. Berry, I.S.O., M.A.; The Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly; and Richard Langrishe, J.P., duly elected Members of Council; and, as Vice-Presidents, James Mills, I.S.O., M.R.I.A., for Leinster; Robert M. Young, J.P., M.R.I.A., for Ulster; James Frost, J.P., M.R.I.A., for Munster; and Richard O'Shaughnessy, C.B., M.V.O., for Connaught. John Cooke, M.A., and S. A. O. Fitz Patrick were re-elected Auditors of the Honorary Treasurer's Accounts for the year 1903.

The Honorary Treasurer read out the names of those Fellows and Members who have not paid their subscriptions, as follows:—

SUBSCRIPTIONS—TWO YEARS IN ARREARS.

FELLOW.

O'Rorke, Very Rev. Terence, P.P., Archdeacon of Achonry, Church of the Assumption, Collooney.

MEMBERS.

Bourke, Rev. John H., Sowerby, Sowerby Bridge, Yorkshire.
 Cussen, J. S., B.A., D.I.N.S., Cork.
 Fitz Simon, D. O'Connell, Moreen, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 Gill, R. P., Fattheen, Nenagh.
 Gleeson, Michael, Nenagh.
 Johnston, Professor Swift P., 1, Hume-street, Dublin.
 Langan, Rev. Thomas, D.D., St. Mary's, Athlone.
 Teague, Bernard, Scotstown, Co. Monaghan.
 Tibbs, Rev. P. Graydon, M.A., Oxmantown Mall, Birr.
 Wynne, Captain Graham, Clogherweigh, Sligo.

THREE YEARS IN ARREARS.

FELLOW.

Taylor, Rev. John Wallace, Errigal Glebe, Emyvale.

MEMBERS.

Browne, Very Rev. R. L., Franciscan Convent, Dublin.
 Cooper, Mark Bloxam, Barrister-at-Law, 95, Haddington-road, Dublin.
 Coyne, James Aloysius, B.A., Inspector of Schools, Tralee.
 Fallon, Owen, Ardara, Donegal.
 Henry, James, M.D., Swanpark, Monaghan.
 Lowry, Henry, 71, Great George's-street, Belfast.
 M'Larney, Rev. Robert, Canon, Banagher, King's County.
 O'Donoghue, David J., 41, Kildare-street, Dublin.
 Williams, W. D., C.E., 4, Bellevue-terrace, Waterford.

The Meeting then adjourned until 8 o'clock.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN 1903.¹

American Antiquarian Society, vol. xv., New Ser., Parts 2-3; *Anthropologie*, L', tome xiii., No. 6; xiv., Nos. 1-5; *Antiquary*, The, for 1903; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii., 6th Ser., Parts 1-4; Blake Family Records, 1300-1600 (Elliot Stock); Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, Transactions, vol. xxv., Parts 1-2; British Archæological Association, vol. viii., New Ser., Part 3, vol. ix., Part 1; Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. xliii.; Cambridge Gild Records; Cambridge, Report of the Library Syndicate, 1902; Cambridge and Hants Archæological Society, vol. i., Part 1; Canada, Geological Survey of, Annual Report, New Ser., vol. xii., 1899, and Maps to accompany same, Catalogue of Birds, Part 2; Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historical Society, vol. ix.; Cork Historical and Archæological Society, vol. viii., 2nd Ser., Nos. 56-59; Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. xxiii.; Dublin, History of the County of, Part 2, by F. Elrington Ball; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii., Parts 4, 6, 8; Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. ii., Part 1, 3rd Ser.; Folk-Lore, vol. xiii., No. 4; vol. xiv., Nos. 1-3; Glasgow Archæological Society, Report for Session 1901-2, Transactions, vol. iv., Part 3; Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxiv.; Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. xvii., New Ser.; Ireland, a Social History of Ancient, 2 vols. (P. W. Joyce, LL.D.); Irish Builder for 1903; Irish Flint Arrow and Spear Heads (W. J. Knowles); Kildare Archæological Society, vol. iv., Nos. 1-2; Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, The Early and Mediæval History of (Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.HIST.S., &c.); Numismatic Society Journal, 4th Ser., Nos. 8-11; Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements for 1903; Placentia, The Old Basque Tombstones of (Rt. Rev. Bishop Howley), St. John's, Newfoundland; Portugalia, vol. i., 1899-1903; *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxiii., No. 4, xxiv., Nos. 1-4; Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. lix., No. 236, lx., Nos. 237-8; Royal Dublin Society, Transactions, vol. vii., Parts 14-16, vol. viii., Part 1, Proceedings, vol. ix., Part 5, Economic Proceedings, vol. i., Part 3; Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings, vol. xxiv., Sect. C, Parts 2-4; Transactions, vol. xxxii., Sect. C, Parts 1-3; Royal Institute of British Architects, Journal, 3rd Ser., vol. x., Parts 1-4, Kalendar, 1903-4; Royal Institution of Cornwall, vol. xx., Part 2, 1903, pp. 77-92; Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, tome xvi., 1902, liv. 3, 4, tome xvii., liv. 1-4; Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings, vol. xix., 2nd Ser., and *Archæologia*, vol. lviii., Part 1; Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, vol. x., 2nd Ser., pp. 309-344, 355-370, vol. i., 3rd Ser., pp. 1-104, Index, pp. 213-220, 229-267, Registers of the Parish of Elsdon, final part, but incomplete; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxxvi., 1901-2; Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Mémoires, Nouvelle Ser., 1902, Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndihig og Historie, 1902, 11 Rakke 17 Bind, Nordiske Fortidsminder, 5-6, Hefte, 2 copies; Society of Architects, Magazine, vol. iii., Nos. 27-35, and 37, also Year Book; Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. xxiv., Part 9, vol. xxv., Parts 1-8; Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, vols. viii. and ix., 3rd Ser.; Suffolk Institute of Archæology, vol. xi., Part 2; Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. xviii.; Trinity College, Dublin, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of (Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.LITT.); Wade Genealogy, Part 4, The Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont; Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities, 3rd edition, edited by John Cooke, M.A.; Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, vol. xxxii., Parts 98-9; Wisconsin, Proceedings of State Society of, 1902; Yorkshire Archæological Journal, Parts 66-68, 1903.

¹ Compiled by Richard Langrishe, J.P., *Hon. Keeper of Printed Books*.

REPORT ON THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION FOR 1903.¹

The number of photographs in platinotype added to the collection during the year is 60. Of these, the late Colonel Philip Doyne Vigors contributed 8; Mr. H. T. Knox, 15; the Society, 5; Dr. George Macnamara, 1; and the Curator, 36. This raises the total number of photographs to 1,920. The additional photographs arranged under counties are:—

COUNTY OF CLARE.—Cappagh castle, in Glen Columbcille. Clonloghan church (Newmarket) (2 views). Formylemore cromlech (Broadford). Kilmaleery church (Newmarket) (2 views), with Mac Mahon monument. Ralahine castle (Newmarket (2 views). The Brady's castle, Tomgraney. Urlanmore castle (2 views). Urlanbeg castle (Newmarket). Total, 13.

COUNTY OF LEITRIM.—Kinlough castle and church. Manorhamilton castle. Total, 2.

COUNTY OF LIMERICK.—Askeaton, church of St. Mary of Iniskefty; the Franciscan Abbey (from west); sedile; Stephenson monument, 1642; the Desmonds' castle (4 views). Old Abbey (Shanagolden) (3 views). Total, 11.

COUNTY OF MAYO.—Ballynacarrach caher, near Kilmaine (2 views). Knappaghmanagh (Westport), carved stone (2 views). Total,

COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.—Boyle, the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary. Total, 5.

COUNTY OF SLIGO.—Aghanagh church (2 views). Annagh (Kilmaght), altar and bullaun (2 views). Ballinafad castle. Toormore church and altar (3 views). Total, 8.

COUNTY OF WATERFORD.—Ardmore, the round tower (3 views); St. Declan's oratory; well; St. Declan's cathedral (4 views). The ogham of Lugud. Island Hubbock cliff fort at Ballinvoyle Head. Seskinan church. Total, 12.

COUNTY OF WICKLOW.—Rathgall, great stone fort (3 views). A holed stone and cross. Total, 5.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE FELLOWS AND MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1903.

FELLOWS.

Ashbourne, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 12, Merrion-square, Dublin (*Member*, 1865).
 Bewley, Sir Edmund Thomas, M.A., LL.D., 40, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin.
 Connellan, P. L., 6, Via Augusto Valenziani, Porta Salaria, Rome.
 Glencross, J. Reginald M., M.A., Lavethan, Bodmin, Cornwall.
 Peacock, Dr. Charles James, D.D.S., 57, Queen's-road, Tunbridge Wells.
 Stapley, Sir Harry, Bart., Egypt Cottage, Cowes, Isle of Wight.
 Wyndham, The Right Hon. George, M.P., Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Chief Secretary's Lodge, Dublin.

MEMBERS.

Allen, Mrs., Ailsa Lodge, Kilrane, Co. Wexford.
 Barkley, Dr. James, Maghera, Co. Derry.
 Beatty, Arthur W., 54, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
 Bennett, Mrs., 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.

¹ Continued from vol. xxxiii., p. 109, by T. J. Westropp, *Hon. Curator*.

- Boothman, Charles T., B.L., 14, Clarinda-park, West, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 Boothman, Mrs. Charles T., 14, Clarinda-park, West, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 Boyle, Rev. Henry, P.P., Mount St. Michael, Randalstown.
 Brunskill, Rev. T. R., B.A., The Rectory, Killincoole, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
 Budds, Mrs. Zoë M., 82, Leinster-road, Dublin.
 Burke, Miss A., Westport House, Middletown, Co. Armagh.
 Butler, Mrs. Cecil, Milestown, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
 Byrne, Mrs. W. L., 1, Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin.
 Colville, Miss Carolin, Ph.D., Orono, Maine, U.S.A.
 Comerford, William, Urlingford National School, Co. Kilkenny.
 Coulter, Robert, Merchant, Thomas-street, Sligo.
 Davys, Miss Teresa, Mount Davys, Lanesborough, Co. Longford.
 Dolan, Joseph T., M.A., Ardee, Co. Louth.
 Donnelly, Rev. Michael, St. Macarten's Seminary, Monaghan.
 Donovan, Richard, D.L., LL.B., J.P., Ballymore, Camolin.
 Doyle, Very Rev. Canon James, P.P., St. Canice's, Kilkenny.
 French, Edward John, B.A. (Dublin), Solicitor, St. Ann's, Donnybrook.
 Fricker, Rev. Canon M. A., P.P., The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road.
 Gallagher, Miss Jane, Eglis, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
 Geraghty, Rev. Bernard, P.P., Kilbegnet, Roscommon.
 Goddard, Norris, Solicitor, 52, Merrion-square, Dublin.
 Hanna, Rev. Robert F., B.A., The Manse, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.
 Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law, 47, Eton-avenue, Hampstead, London, N.W.
 Kennedy, R. R., M.A., Grosvenor-place, Carlow.
 Kennedy, Thomas Patrick, 12, Alwyne Mansions, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 Lawler, Charles, J.P., 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
 Learmont-Anderson, Mrs., Rossnashane, Ballymoney, Co. Antrim.
 Leslie, Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A., Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham.
 Librarian, Public Free Library, Town Hall, Clonmel.
 Librarian, Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin.
 Librarian, Public Library, North Strand, Dublin.
 Librarian, Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin.
 Librarian, London Library, St. James's Square, S.W., per C. Hagbert Wright, LL.D.
 Lloyd, Miss Annie, 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
 Lyons, Very Rev. James, Dean of Ossory, The Deanery, Kilkenny.
 M'Glade, Patrick, Knockloughrim, Co. Derry.
 Martin, William, Solicitor, Monaghan.
 Metford, Miss Isabella, Glasfryn, Dinas Ponys, Cardiff.
 Moore, Count Arthur, D.L., Aherlone Castle, Co. Tipperary.
 Morris, Henry, Eudan-na-Greine, Dundalk.
 Mulhall, Mrs. Marion, 35, Via Venti Settembre, Rome.
 O'Conchobhair, Domhnall, 46 & 47 Dame-street, Dublin.
 O'Leary, Very Rev. David, Canon, P.P., The Presbytery, Dingle.
 O'Neill, Mrs., Jocelyn-street, Dundalk.
 Orpen, Miss Lilian Iris, Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
 Orpen, Lieut.-Col. R. T., St. Leonard's, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 Pim, A. Cecil, Monarna, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.
 Pim, Jonathan, Barrister-at-Law, 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 Pirrie-Conerney, Rev. John, M.A., The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry.
 Pirrie-Conerney, Mrs. C. F., The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry.
 Place, Thomas, Dunmayne, Rosemount, New Ross.

Reeves, Jonathan Townley, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bank of Ireland, Dublin.

Robinson, James, Solicitor, 47, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.

Slevin, Felix, Manager, Hibernian Bank, Londonderry.

Stevenson, James, Fort James, Londonderry.

Stevenson, Mrs. James, Fort James, Londonderry.

Tibbs, John Harding, B.A., 10, Windsor-road, Rathmines.

Verlin, W. J., Solicitor, Youghal.

Wallis, Hector, J.P., Balheary House, Swords, Co. Dublin.

Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P., Williamstown House, Castlebellingham.

Waters, Rev. Thomas F., B.A., St. John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

Wilson, James George, 8, Cope-street; and Tavistock, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.

Wilson, T. W., 10, Selborne-road, Handsworth, Birmingham.

An Evening Meeting was afterwards held at 8 o'clock (the President in the Chair), when Mr. Francis Elrington Ball, *Vice-President*, M.R.I.A., read a Paper on "Tallaght and its Neighbourhood" (illustrated by lantern slides). A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Ball for his Paper.

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald read a Paper on "Barnaglitly: Identification of the locality which was the scene of the Fight known as 'the Pass of the Plumes,' fought on the 17th of May, 1599," which was referred to the Council for publication.

The Society then adjourned until Tuesday, 23rd of February.

An Evening Meeting was held on February 23rd, 1904, at 8 o'clock (the President in the Chair). The following Papers were read:—

"A Diary of the Siege of Limerick Castle in 1642," by M. J. Mac Enery, B.A.

"Inscribed Stones and Crosses in the Barony of Rathdown, County Dublin," by P. J. O'Reilly, *Fellow*.

Both Papers were illustrated by lantern slides, and referred to the Council for publication.

An Evening Meeting of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 29th of March, 1904, at 8 o'clock, the President, JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., in the Chair, when the following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"Extracts from the Diary of Mr. James Reynolds, of Mohill, County Leitrim, 1658 and 1659," by the Rev. Joseph Meehan, c.c.

"The Daff Stone, Moneydig, County Derry," by the Rev. George R. Buick, LL.D., *Fellow*.

"An Identification of Places named in Tirechán's Collections," by H. T. Knox, *Fellow*.

The Outer Cover of the Sheskeil Molaise, made for its protection about seventy years before its transference to the Royal Irish Academy's Museum, was exhibited by the Rev. Joseph Meehan, c.c.

The Society then adjourned until Tuesday, the 19th of April, 1904.

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES
IN UNION WITH
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

S C H E M E
FOR RECORDING
ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS
AND
FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

1903.

COMMITTEE
FOR RECORDING
ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS
AND
FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

LORD BALCARRES, M.P., F.S.A., *Chairman.*

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A., M.A.

F. W. ATTREE (Lt.-Col. R.E.),
F.S.A.

W. H. ST. J. HOPE, M.A.

BOYD DAWKINS (Prof.), F.R.S.,
F.S.A.

J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A.

O. E. RUCK (Lt.-Col. R.E.),
F.S.A.Sc.

A. R. GODDARD, B.A.

W. M. TAPP, LL.D.

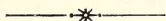
BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE (Prof.), F.R.S., F.S.A.

I. CHALKLEY GOULD, *Hon. Sec.*
(*Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, London.*)

EXTRACT from the Report of the Provisional Committee to
the Congress of Archæological Societies :—

“There is need, not only for schedules such as this Committee is appointed to secure, but also for active antiquaries in all parts of the country to keep keen watch over ancient fortifications of earth and stone, and to endeavour to prevent their destruction by the hand of man in this utilitarian age.”

S C H E M E
FOR RECORDING
ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS
AND
FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.



AT the Congress of the Archæological Societies, held on July 10th, 1901, a Committee was appointed to prepare a scheme for a systematic record of ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS AND FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

It was suggested that the secretaries of the various archæological societies, and other gentlemen likely to be interested in the subject, should be pressed to prepare schedules of the works in their respective districts, in the hope that lists may eventually be published.

It is believed that the schedules will not only be of value to archæologists and antiquaries, but may serve to interest landowners, members of County, Borough, and District Councils, and others, in these neglected but priceless memorials of the past.

As the opportunities to use their influence towards the preservation of antiquities must increase, the importance of securing the co-operation of County, Borough, and District Councils is manifest, and their efforts would be largely directed and aided by such lists as the Committee hopes to secure.

The ground has been, to some extent, covered by the useful archæological maps of the Society of Antiquaries, and by lists of early forts recorded in some volumes of the Victoria County Histories (now in course of publication); both together, however, cover but a limited portion of the country, and neither work is so generally accessible as it is hoped the Committee's schedules will be.

Not to court failure by attempting too much the Committee suggests that—

1. The lists should be confined to defensive works, omitting burial barrows and boundary banks.
2. Though careful record should be made of any "finds" indicative of period of use of the forts, no effort need be made to assign a definite period of construction, excepting in those cases in which the age is beyond question, *e.g.* camps and fortified settlements of undoubted Roman origin, or enclosures of proved Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron age.

It is proposed that defensive works be classified, so far as may be, under the following heads:—

- A. Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial banks or walls.
- B. Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill*;
Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.
- C. Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.
- D. Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.
- E. Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.
- F. Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.
- G. Works which fall under none of these headings.

CLASS A.

Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs or water, additionally defended by artificial banks or walls,

e.g.—Comb Moss, Derbyshire.*

Old Castle Head, Pembrokeshire.

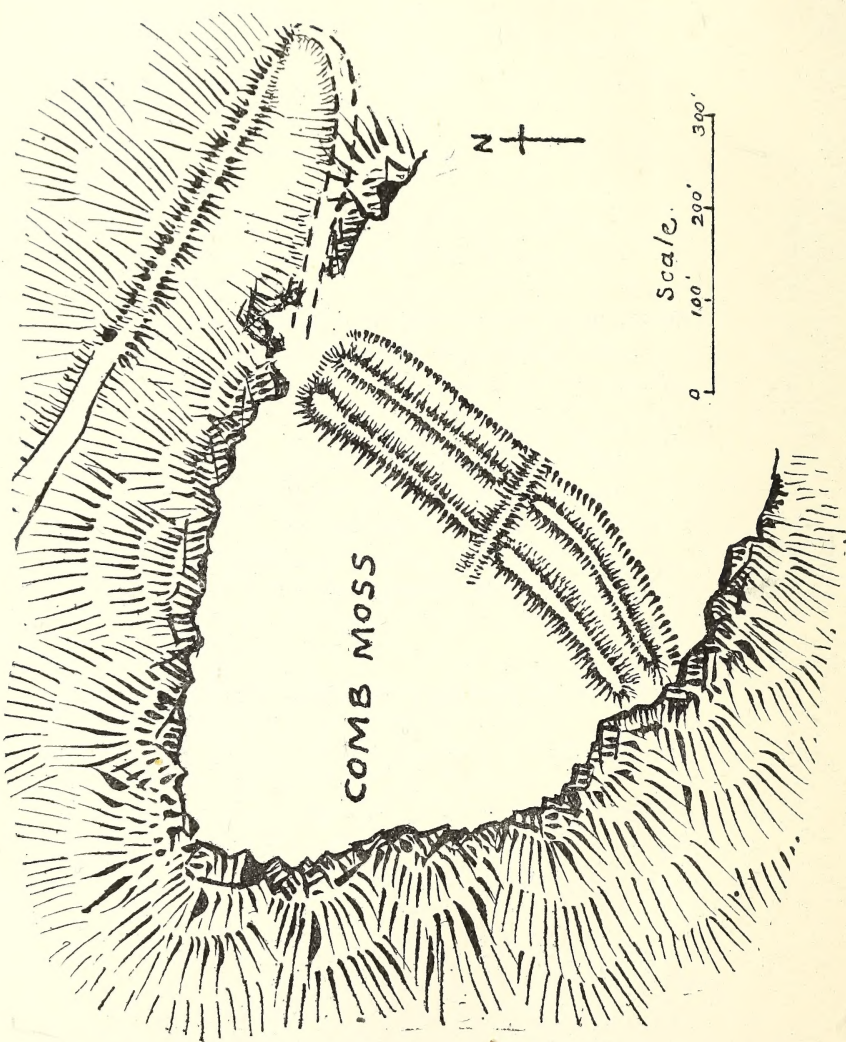
Treryn Dinas (Logan Rock), Cornwall.

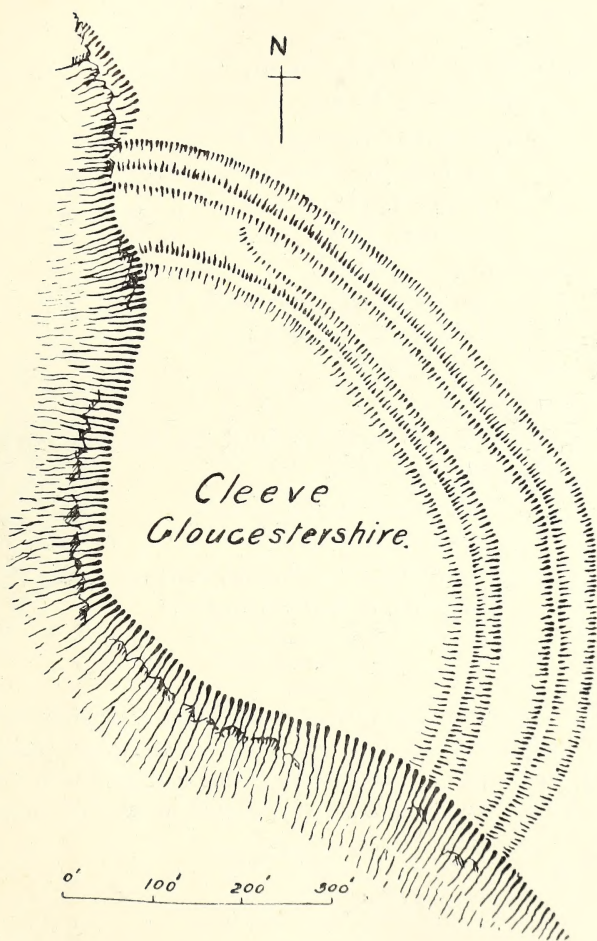
Doward Hill, near Monmouth.

Dike Hills, Dorchester, Oxfordshire.

Cleeve Camp, Gloucestershire.*

* See plans on following pages.





CLASS B.

Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill*,

e.g.—Mam Tor, Derbyshire.*

Cadbury (near Wincanton), Somersetshire.

Hambledon Hill, Dorsetshire.

Hembury, Devonshire.

Cissbury, Sussex.

Badbury Rings, Dorsetshire.*

Maiden Castle, Dorset.

Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection,

e.g.—Ambresbury Banks, Essex.*

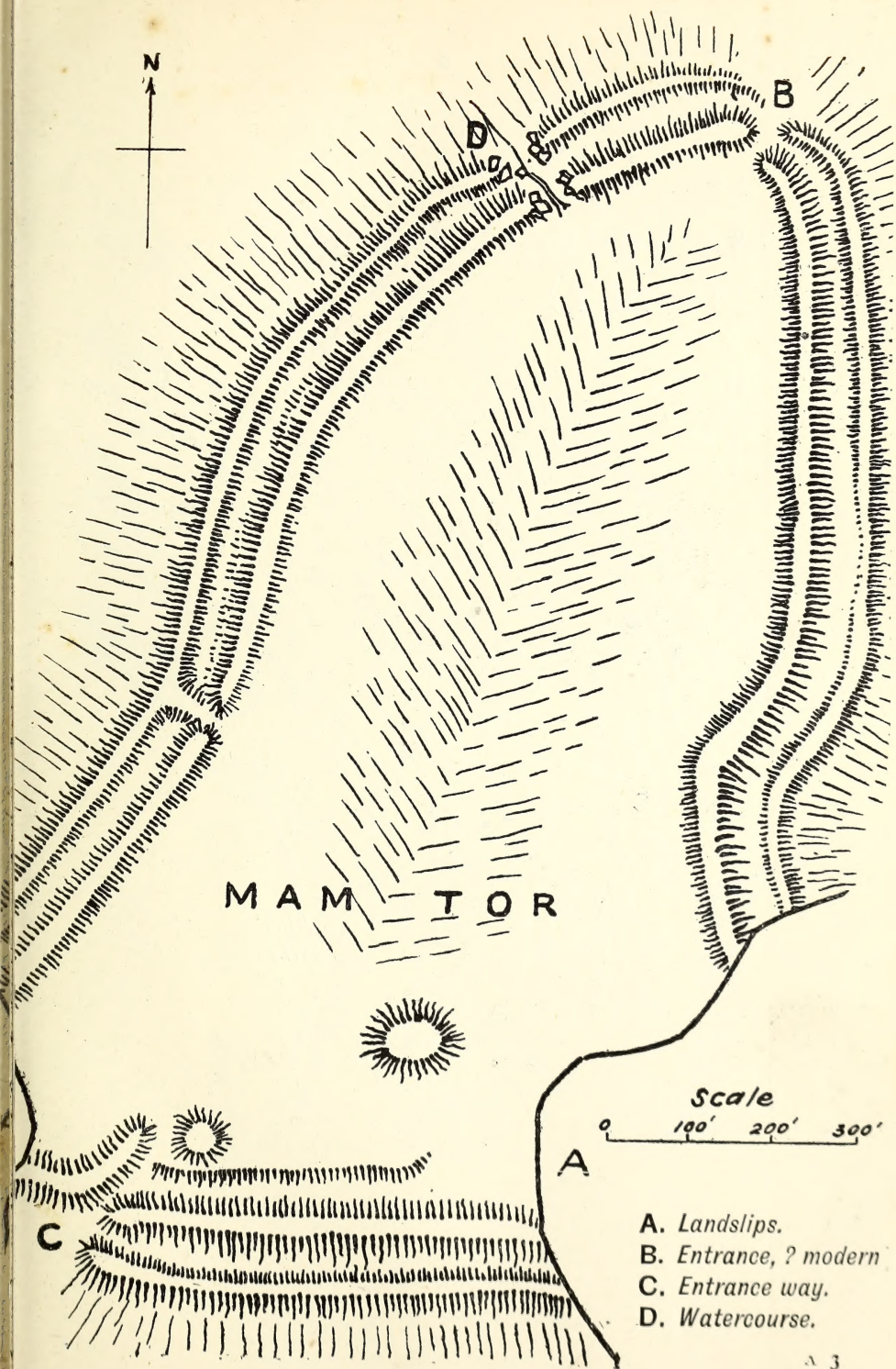
Yarnbury, Wiltshire.*

The Auberys (Redborne), Herts.

Hunsbury, near Northampton.*

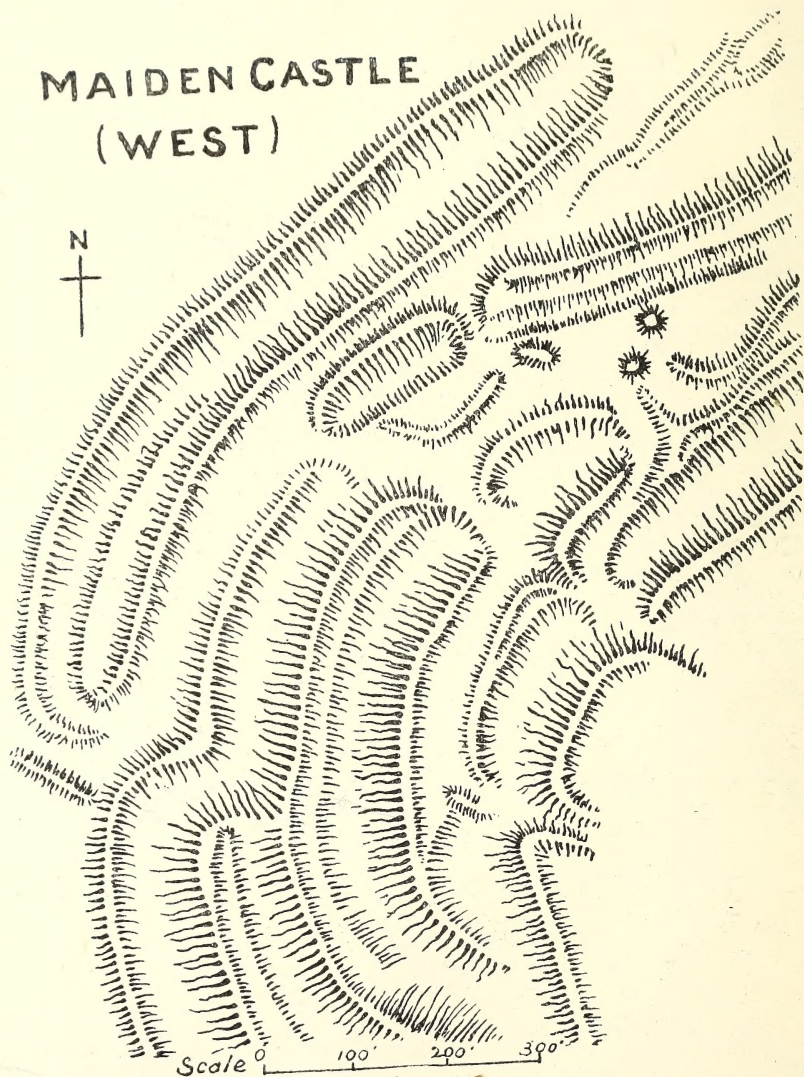
The entrance ways to early hill-forts were frequently rendered difficult of approach, sometimes circuitous as at Ardoch, dangerous as at Comb Moss, or involved as at the east and west ends of Maiden Castle.* Such entrance ways should be carefully noted.

* See plans on following pages.

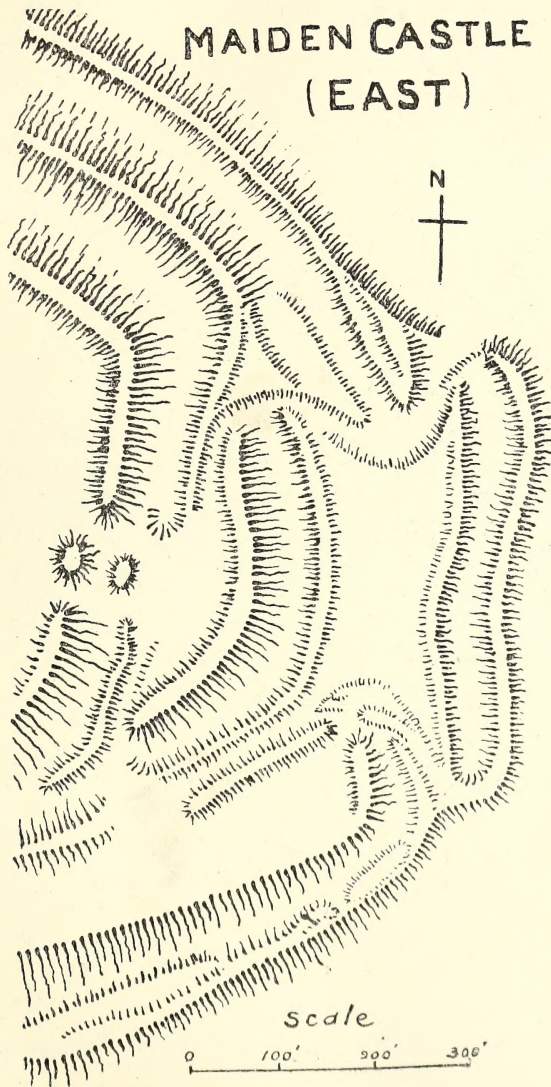


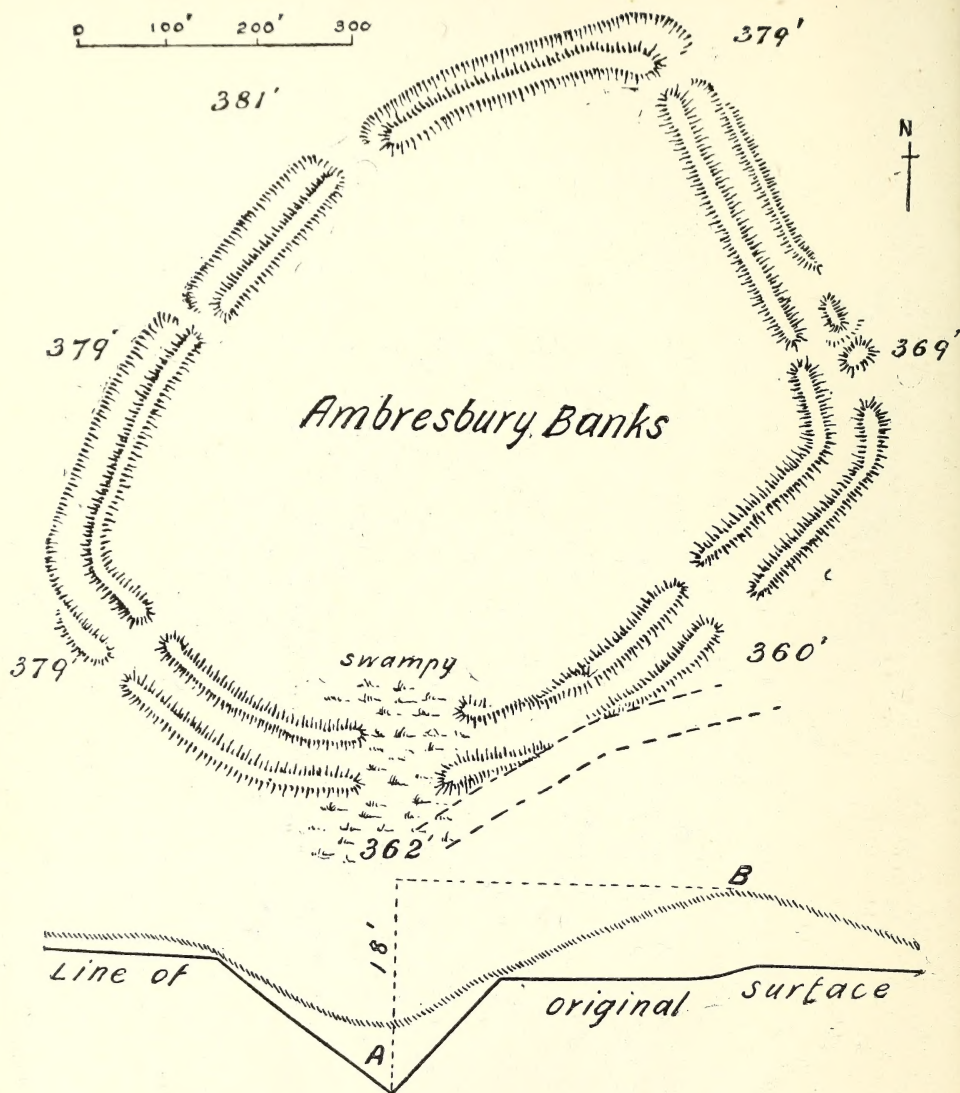
- A. Landslips.
- B. Entrance, ? modern
- C. Entrance way.
- D. Watercourse.

MAIDEN CASTLE (WEST)



MAIDEN CASTLE (EAST)

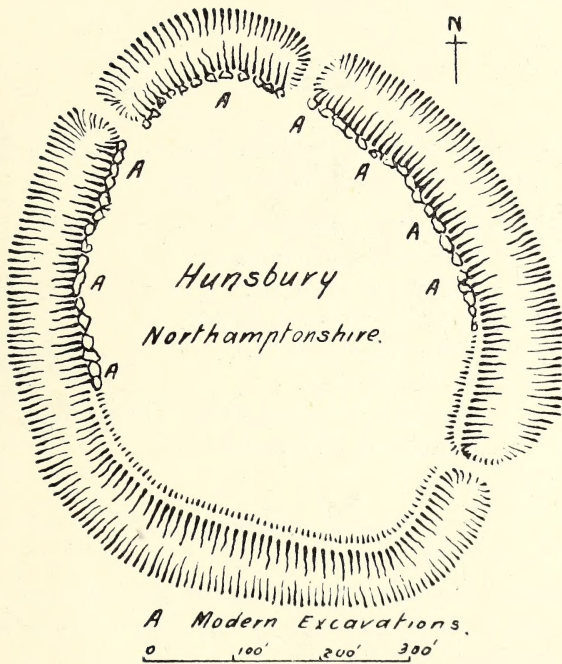




A. 7 ft. of silt had accumulated here since fosse was cut.

B. Present summit of rampart, originally higher. The shaded line indicates present surface. The figures indicate feet above sea level.

The section is copied from Essex Field Club *Transactions*, 1881.



CLASS C.

Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period,

e.g.—Melandra, Derbyshire.*

Silchester, Hampshire.

Ratby, Leicestershire.*

Caerleon, Monmouthshire.

Wareham, Dorsetshire.

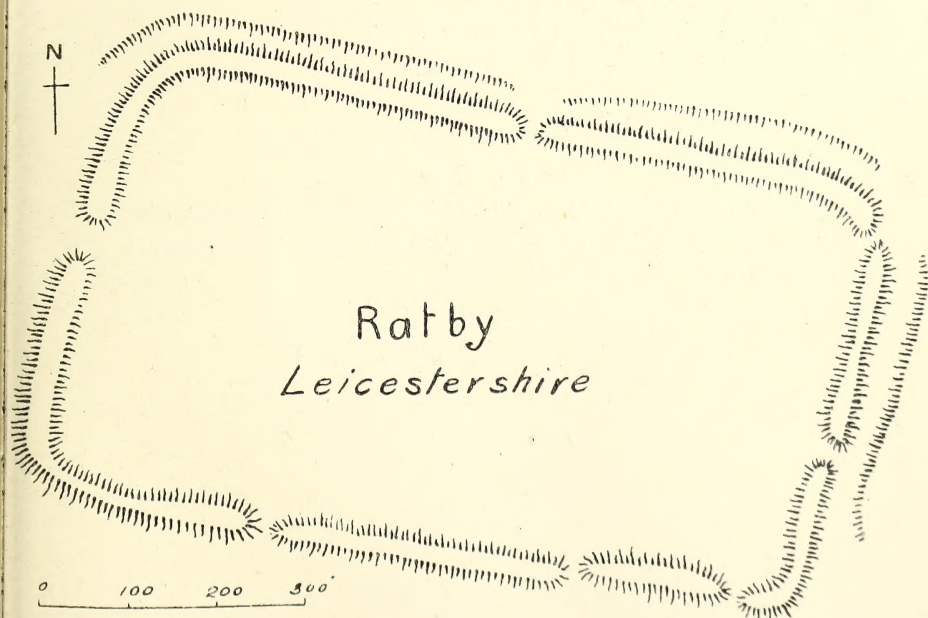
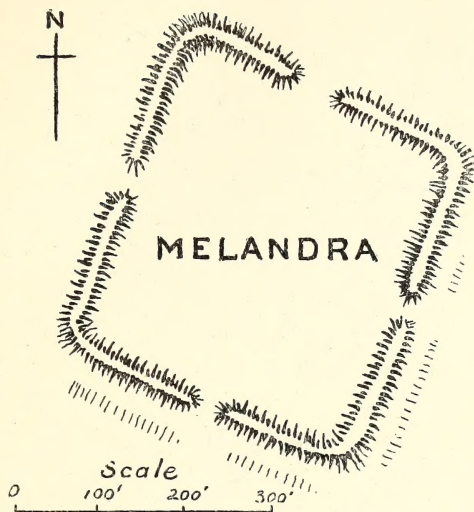
Richboro', Kent.

Woodcuts, Cranborne Chase, Dorsetshire.

Porchester, Hampshire.

* See plans on following page.

In some cases, as at Silchester and Porchester, the earthen defences have been strengthened by the addition of a wall and towers of masonry.



CLASS D.

Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse,

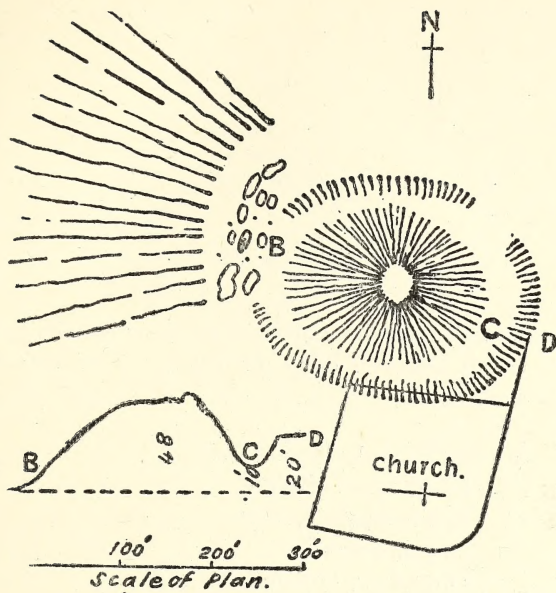
e.g.—Bures Mount, Essex.*

The Mount, Caerleon.

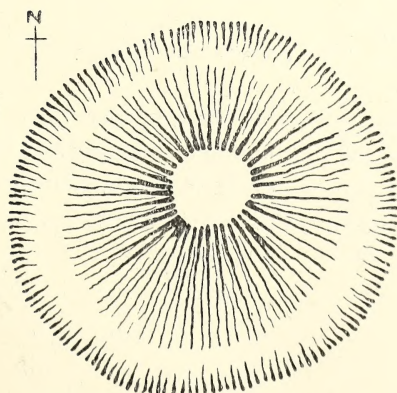
Clifford's Hill, Northamptonshire.*

* See plans on following page.

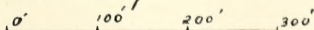
In some cases, forts, apparently of this class, may be incomplete examples of Class E, which once possessed, but have lost the attached courts or baileys.



BURES MOUNT. ESSEX.



Clifford's Hill
Northamptonshire



CLASS E

Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts,

e.g.—Hallaton, Leicestershire.*

Laughton, Yorkshire.

Berkhampstead, Herts.

Ongar, Essex.*

Dingestow, Monmouthshire.*

Powerstock, Dorsetshire.

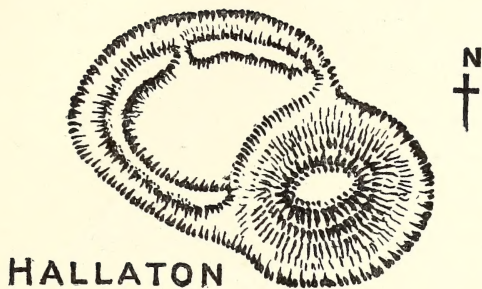
Merdon Castle, Hampshire.

Hedingham, Essex.*

Corfe, Dorsetshire.

* See plans on following pages.

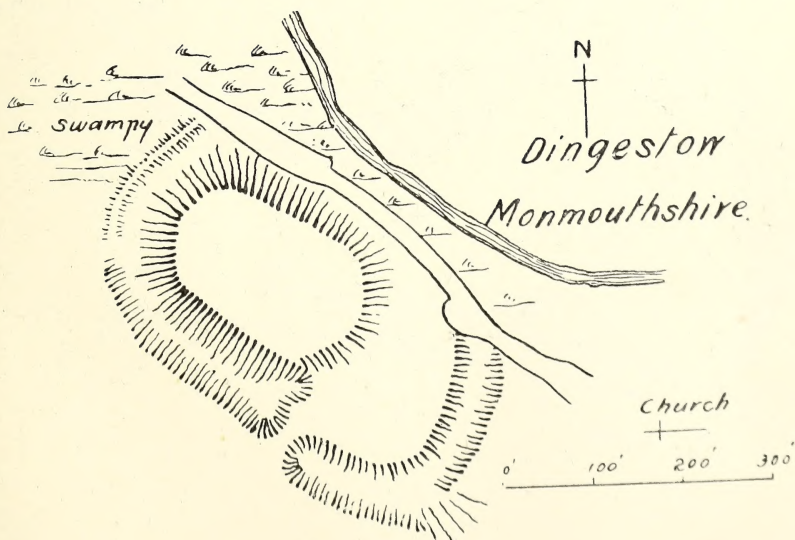
In some cases, earthworks have, in later times, been obscured, or strengthened by the substitution of masonry and buildings for the original timber defences, as at Windsor, Carisbrooke, Arundel, Berkhamstead, Norwich, Castle Acre, Corfe, &c.

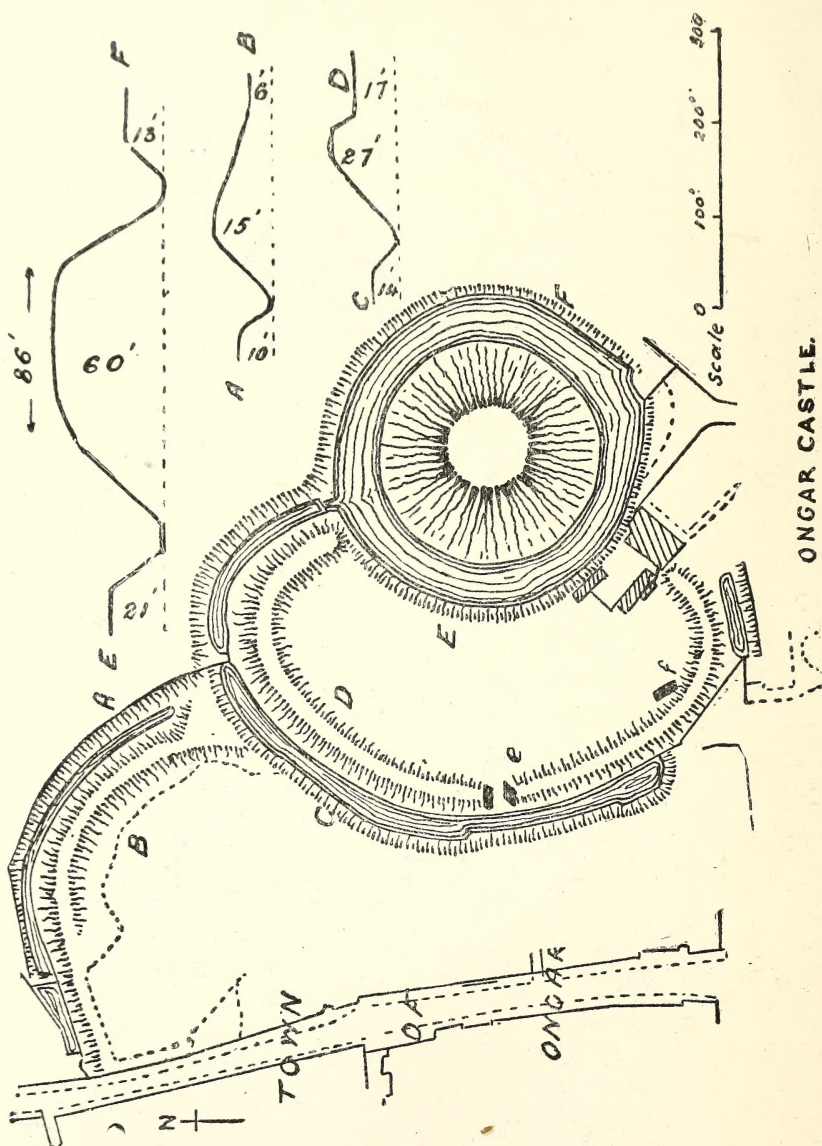


HALLATON

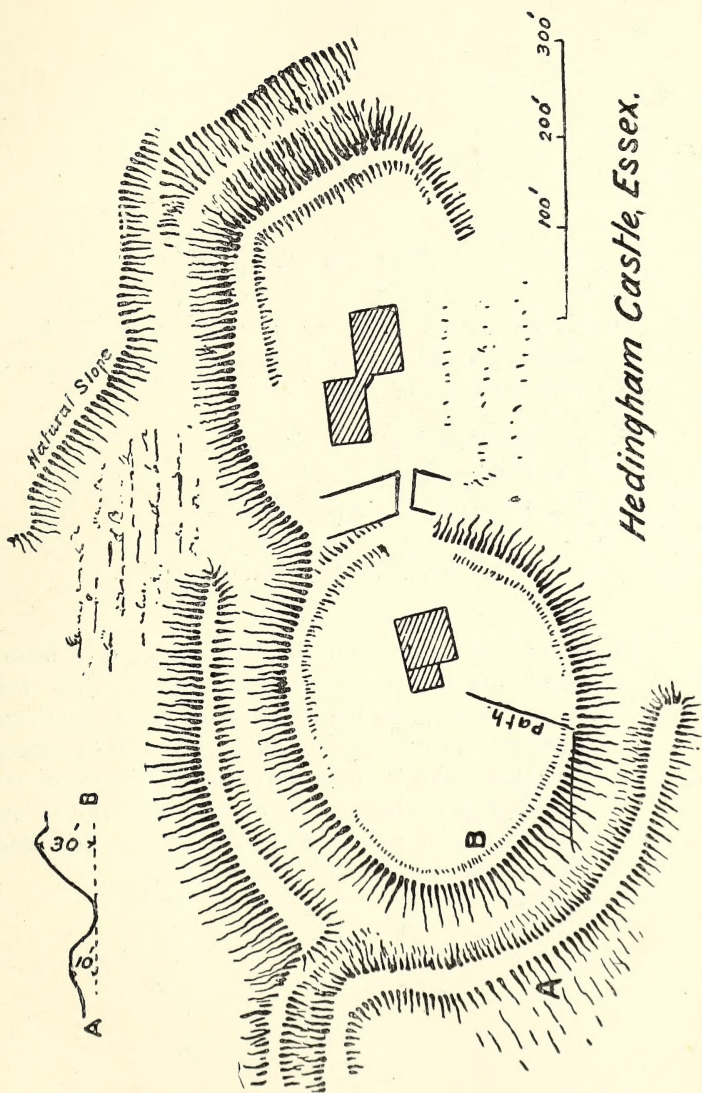
Scale

0 100' 200' 300'





ONGAR CASTLE.



CLASS F.

Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats,

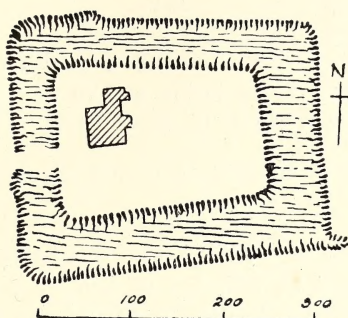
e.g.—Botelers, Basildon, Essex.*

Cubley, Derbyshire.*

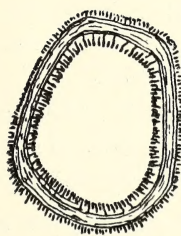
Old Hall, Denby, Derbyshire.*

*See plans on following page.

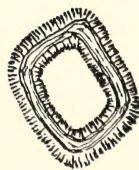
Homestead moats occasionally have traces of a rampart, usually on the inner side of the ditch. This should be mentioned, also the shape of the enclosure (circular, rectangular, &c.). A note should be made of examples in which channels divide the enclosure into two or more islands, and of those which are provided with an outer moat (generally narrower) at some distance, enclosing a considerable area round the homestead.



"Botelers"
BASILDON
ESSEX.



CUBLEY



OLD HALL
DENBY

Scale
0 100 200 300

N.B.

In every case in which masonry is used for defence, whether wholly or in part, or as an inside wall to the rampart, or as the rampart itself, the fact should be mentioned.

The existence of mounds or tumuli entirely within defensive enclosures should be noted.

When a fortress is provided with more than one rampart or wall, the fact should be recorded, as also when the enclosed area is divided by transverse banks. It should also be noted whether such additional ramparts or their ditches are intermittent or continuous, and whether the entrances are direct or of a tortuous character.

It is specially desired that the position of each work be indicated by noting the number of the sheet of the O. S. (6-inch scale) in which it appears, and by giving the name of the nearest town or village.

Plans traced from the 25-inch O. S. maps should, if possible, be sent. Ramparts and ditches should be clearly indicated, as in the accompanying illustrations, as well as the O. S. levels, and accurate sections will be of great service. Precipices, as at Comb Moss, and abrupt slopes, as at Mam Tor, should be indicated as shewn on the accompanying plans, and named.

Although lists of all defensive earthworks and enclosures will be welcomed, it is to be borne in mind that plans and sections of them, based upon personal examination, are particularly desired.

Though not strictly within the scope of this enquiry, it is suggested that all mediæval castles should be included in the schedules, since many of them originated in earthworks of Class E.

Assistance will be duly recorded in the report which the Committee hopes to present to a future Congress of Archæological Societies.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1904.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II., VOL. XXXIV.

Papers.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISH OF KILCOMENTY, NEAR
BIRDHILL, COUNTY TIPPERARY.

BY HENRY F. BERRY, I.S.O., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read MARCH 31, 1903.]

THIS parish, which is situated in the barony of Owney and Arra, in the south-west corner of north Tipperary, is bounded on the north by the Shannon and the parish of Templeichally; south by the parish of Kilvellane; east by the parishes of Kilmastulla, Killoscully, and Kilnerath; and west by the county Limerick. It takes its name from *cille* = 'cell' or 'church,' and *Commaneth*, the name of the patron saint.

The earliest form of the parish name that I can find, appears in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, 1302¹-6, as *Kilcommytha* (in the deanery of Wethirchir²), wherein the parish is valued at 13*s.* 4*d.*, the tenth being 16*d.* In an old Registry Book of the diocese of Cashel, now in the Public Record Office, is a copy of a visitation held by Richard, archbishop of Cashel, in 1437, in which occurs the following entry:—"Decanatus de Owthnia, Ecclesia de *Kilcomnaty* iijs." The *Valor*

¹ Irish Exchequer Record, 533/9; Roll E. m. I.; "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland" (Sweetman), p. 281.

² "Uaithne Tire." Deanery of Owney. See "Book of Rights," edited by O'Donovan for the Celtic Society, 1847. Note, p. 45.

Jour. R.S.A.I. { Vol. xiv., Fifth Series. }
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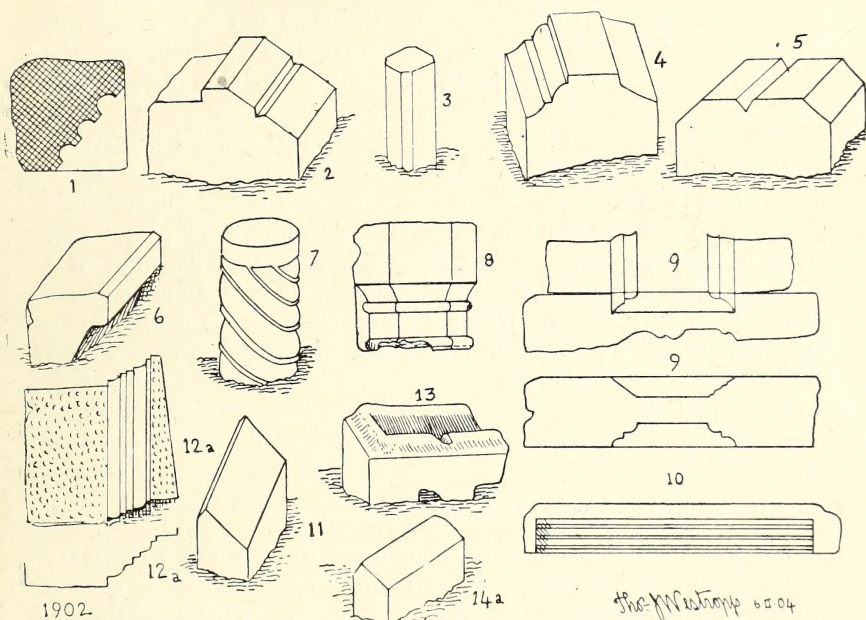
Beneficiorum (Exchequer), 1537, speaks of the vicarage of *Kilcomit*; and the Regal Visitation of 1615 mentions the vicarage of *Kilcoweth* (which seems to have been intended for *Kilcometh*), in the deanery of Owthney.

O'Donovan, in the course of one short letter, speaks of the patron saint of this parish as *Cuimin fodha*, *Cumenad*, and *Cumenod*, while in the Ordnance Survey the name takes the form of *Cuminad*. With all these variants before us, we must now consider what is most likely to have been the real name of the saint whose memory is still venerated in the district. In the letter indicated above—an Ordnance Survey letter—dated at Nenagh, 13th October, 1840, now in the Manuscript Room, Royal Irish Academy, O'Donovan names *Cuimin fodha* as the patron saint of Kilcomenty, adding, "The 18th March is still kept holy in the parish, in honor, as it is believed, of St. *Comenad*, but the 12th is his day, according to the Irish Calendars." As a matter of fact, 12th November is St. *Cuimin fodha*'s day, and the word "November" has been accidentally omitted in the original letter. O'Donovan thinks it probable that the parish was "transferred to some continental saint," as, he alleges, was frequently the case in different parts of Ireland. This seems straining a point overmuch, as 18th March has been observed from time immemorial in the parish. One wonders why, in two of his references, O'Donovan makes the name end in *ad* and *od*, unless it were to retain some abbreviation of *fodha*. The country people invariably speak of the patron as St. Cummenat; and so much is known concerning St. *Cuimin fodha*, and his history, that very little consideration will show how unlikely it is that he was ever connected with Kilcomenty. The holy person, who, in addition to a cell, had a "bed" and well at the latter place, was probably a recluse or anchorite. St. *Cuimin* was Bishop and Abbot of Clonfert, a man of distinguished learning, and one who led a busy, active life, crowds of students being attracted to his famous school at Clonfert. He was the writer of the celebrated letter to the Abbot of Iona, on the Paschal controversy, which about the year A.D. 630 had reached its culminating point in dividing Christendom on the question of the correct computation of Easter. With a view to a proper study of this subject, he is recorded to have gone into strict retirement for a year, and to have chosen "*Disert Chuimin in regione Roscreensi*" for his retreat. This place is near Roscrea, and the parish is called *Kilcommín*. Had St. *Cuimin* had any connexion with what is now known as Kilcomenty—an ideally lonely and isolated spot—he would naturally have resorted thither; but it seems clear that the cell, bed, and well were appropriated by quite another, one whom Canon O'Hanlon is compelled to speak of as "this almost unknown saint."

An additional and very strong reason for differing from O'Donovan is to be found in the fact that the Martyrology of Donegal, under the date of 18th March, commemorates a saint named *Coman*, son of Ernan. This saint was a bishop, and came of the race of Conall Gulban, son of

Niall. Were he the true patron of Kilcomenty, however, one is at a loss to account for the parish name appearing in any other form than that of Kilcoman.

It seems more likely that the form of the word 'Kilcomenty' indicates a female saint. The termination *nat* or *net* was anciently used as a diminutive in women's names, *e.g.*, Killasnet and Kilbegnet. The former represents a saint named Osnat, which signifies 'little fawn' (*os* = 'a fawn'); the latter place was so called from St. Beecnat (*bec* = 'small: extremely little body' ¹). Dr. Joyce gives some other instances; and



KILCOMENTY CHURCH.

- 1, 10. Hoodstone.
2, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14. Jamb-stones.
3. Shaft of Window.
7. Spiral Shaft.

8. Capital.
9. Window.
12. Jamb of Main Door.
13. Stoup.

analogy justifies us in supposing that our saint may have been 'little Comma.' The Martyrology of Donegal mentions two saints named Comnat; but neither is commemorated on 18th March. St. Commaneth is not noted in the hagiologies.

St. Senan's ² mother is found to be named Cumaina and also Comgella; and *Cum* in the former is the same as *Com* in the latter. The Calendar

¹ "Irish Names of Places" (Joyce), 2nd series, p. 28.

² Rev. Canon Day, Rector of Newport, was informed by some of the old people in the parish that St. Commaneth was said by tradition to have been sister of the saint (Senan), who had a holy well near Doonass, in Clonlara parish. This is on the other side of the Shannon, in County Clare.

of Ængus does not mention Comgella as a saint; but Coma, daughter of Comgall, appears on 22nd January, while Comgella is made to be daughter of Ernach. Coman, who is mentioned by O'Hanlon on 18th March, is said to be son of Ernan; the accounts of him are rather complicated, but we cannot fail to be struck by the coincidence of this Coman being son of Ernan, while Comgella's father was Ernach.

Some confusion appears to have occurred; but on a review of the apparently contradictory evidence, the truth seems to be that, while in some places a saint named Coman was revered on 18th March, a female saint *Comanait* was commemorated on the same day in the parish of Kilcomenty. Comanait is the ancient form of Commaneth, and the genitive of Comanait is Comnata; Kilcomenty in Irish, then, is Cill-Comnata.

The old graveyard of the parish, the Saint's well, and bed are situated in the townland of Ballyard. Mr. T. J. Westropp, to whom I am indebted for the sketches of fragments of the church that illustrate this paper, and for the beautiful photographs, from which the accompanying views have been taken, kindly came over from county Clare, and on a perfect summer afternoon, August, 1902, joined me in visiting the site of these antiquities. Previous visits had revealed to me the existence of a few carved mullions lying about in the churchyard; but it remained for Mr. Westropp's practised eye to detect carved stone-work to an unlooked-for extent, and he was able to sketch no fewer than forty specimens.

The following description of the remains of the church has been supplied by him:—

“ST. COMMANETH'S CHURCH.

“There are few churches so completely overthrown as Kilcomenty which preserve in their scanty remains so much that enables us to form a notion of the building as it stood in its entirety. In the first instance, St. Commaneth's Church is practically levelled to the ground; but, by a strange good fortune, small portions of the wall to the sides and west end of the building, and a considerable reach with both angles at the east end, are sufficiently preserved to give us an idea of the size of the church. The tombstones, within and without the walls, mark the outline of the oblong as well. It measured internally, as nearly as we could fix it (within a few inches), 60 feet long and 26 feet wide, the average proportion and dimensions of several of the lesser churches on both sides of the Shannon in northern Munster. There are numerous dressed stones, jambs, and shafts of the features of the edifice. It had, so far as we can judge, two windows, two doors, a recess for a piscina or stoup, an oblong basin, probably that of a stoup, and some other ope of simple character, with a chamfer 22 inches and a side 3 inches wide, possibly from its very wide splay a fragment of another window. There can be little doubt that the more ornamental doorway and window

belong to the same period (from 1470 to 1510), and that they probably stood in the south wall; they are of a very common type of the latest fifteenth-century moulding. The door has small square recesses and beadings alternating with convex bands; the window sill and jamb have a concave and a convex moulding, the latter up the sides of the light; they have a straight-edged recess between the moulding which is not continued round the sill; the head was not found after a very careful search. The light was 9 inches wide. In the south wall of the graveyard is the plain and rather singular hood of a window; the recess is 46 inches wide, and, if for a window, implies one of unusual width, with probably at least three lights; but, as only the hood remains, we can say nothing further as to its nature, and it may have covered some other recess or even a door. The plain blocks with bold chamfers on the edges, and a small angular division in the face, probably represent a doorway; they are nearly 17 inches deep. There are three blocks showing the face beside the jamb, and one with only the jamb, but all are of the same section; they are of limestone very smoothly dressed, and seem older than the other features, but show dressing with a toothed chisel. The others have that pitted dressing which became so general in the sixteenth century. Besides these larger fragments we may name a few others. A plain central shaft of a window formed of a slightly oblong block (8 inches through) with the edges chamfered off, and no slot or holes for sashes in the part which rises above the ground. A very neat column, with a plain fillet and spiral fluting of excellent execution, projects from the ground near the last; it closely resembles the cloister shafts in some of our monasteries, but may have been the dividing shaft of a double recess; this stands outside the east end of the church. A capital (octagonal in design, but the back division merged in the block which it ornaments) lies firmly fixed in the ground at the root of a tree in the north-west angle of the graveyard, and was thickly mossed when we found it. Its design is simple but effective, the upper part consisting of plain squares, under them a chamfer, a rounded fillet, an oblong space, and a chamfered fillet. The spirally-fluted shaft may have belonged to this, though it is round, not octagonal."

A carved holy-water font was many years ago rescued from the ruins, and brought to the old chapel at Birdhill. This is now in charge of Rev. Canon Howard, P.P., and has been placed within the precincts of the Roman Catholic Church at Newport. Father Howard informs me that the parish of Kilcomenty, which under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cashel is ecclesiastically known as Birdhill, was united to Newport in 1823.

ST. COMMANETH'S WELL.

About 30 yards east of the graveyard, a rapid stream which there issues from the ground is called St. Commaneth's Well. This stream flows from Ballinahinch, about two miles distant, and close beside the

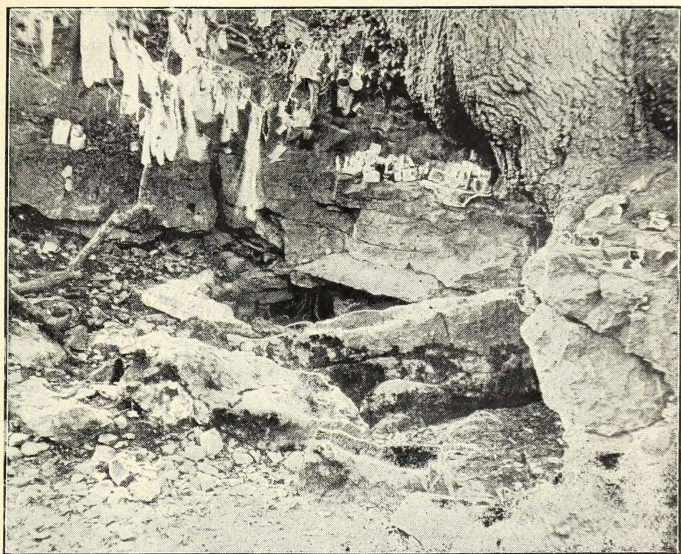
saint's bed; it is carried underground for nearly 200 yards, emerging at and forming the well; then, turning sharply by the south wall of the graveyard, it finally empties itself into the bog of Shower. One of the legends told concerning the well is that long ago it was situated close by the stone known as St. Commaneth's Bed, but that some cattle having been accidentally allowed to sully its waters, the well in a single night moved down to its present site. Two of the traditional trout said to frequent holy wells in Ireland are supposed to be here. Over the well, completely shading its waters, are four ancient trees—one sallow, one whitethorn, and two ash. Those two last are in reality one enormous tree, which, near the lower part of the trunk, is divided into two, and its branches and the hollow by the well are covered with rags and votive offerings of every description, deposited by pilgrims who have made their rounds.

The summer of 1902 was exceptionally dry in North Tipperary, the month of August being phenomenally so. Springs, wells, and streams that in living memory had never been known to do so, ran dry; and St. Commaneth's Well formed no exception to the general rule, for it must be recorded that we failed to find even one drop of water within its usually brimming basin.

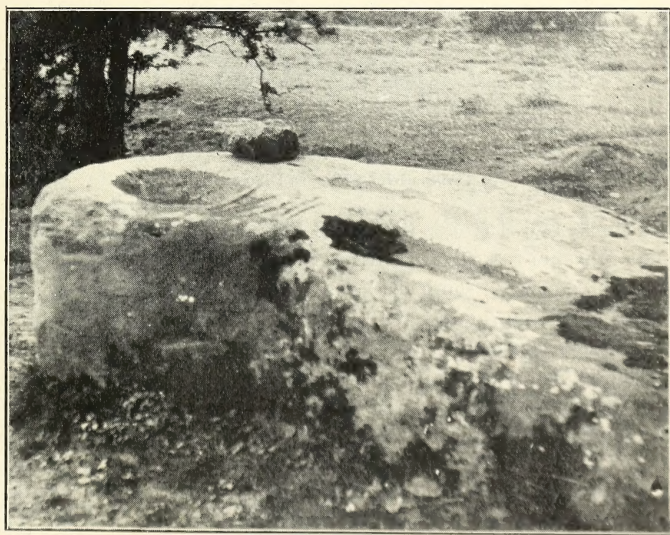
The rounds practised here are seven in number. Having taken seven pebbles from the stream running from the well, and having repeated the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary!, Creed, and Gloria, the pilgrim throws one of the pebbles back into the brook, and proceeds to walk round the well. Following the course of the water for a time "sunwards," through the field south of the stream, he crosses it by a small bridge and enters the graveyard by a gate at the extremity of the south wall. Proceeding along a well-worn pathway by its north and east sides, he quits its precincts by a stile, which brings him to the well again, where he kneels and prays, and so on, until the appointed number of rounds are performed. While Mr. Westropp and I were in the cemetery, a country woman and two children "were making their rounds."

ST. COMMANETH'S BED.

Close by the spot where the water of the stream disappears for a space under ground rests the traditional bed of the saint, lying north of the stream, and nearer to the road than the graveyard and well. It is a large irregular block of brownish sandstone, 8 feet long, and 4 feet 9 inches wide, extreme measurements, and stands about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet high. The highest end is to the west, and here is a large and deep bullaun. To the west of this is a shallow, dish-like bullaun, and there are traces of two or more basins. Two sets of scorings are to be found on the stone; that nearer the top consists of six irregular broad strokes, not ogamic in character, while the set lower down consists of four slight scores. These markings are reputed to represent the impressions of the



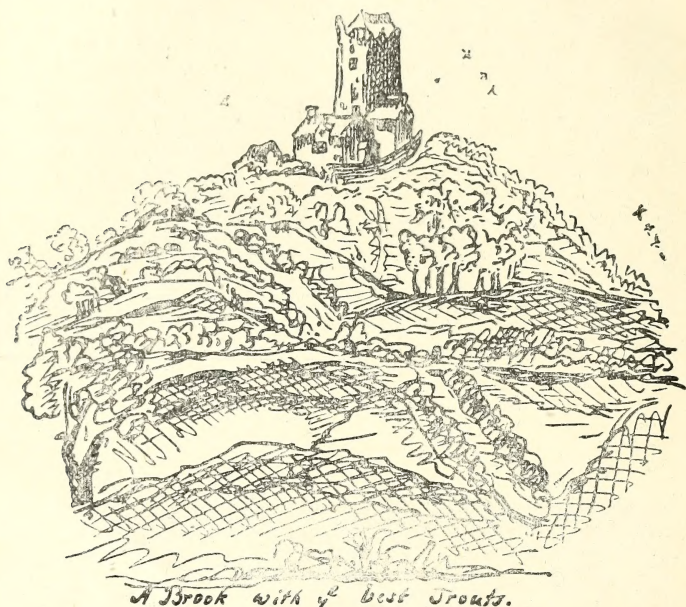
ST. COMMANETH'S WELL, KILCOMENTY.



ST. COMMANETH'S BED, KILCOMENTY.

saint's ribs and hands. It seems strange that in the Ordnance Survey letter quoted above, descriptive of the remains in this parish, O'Donovan omits mentioning the stone known as St. Commaneth's Bed.

About a mile south-west of St. Commaneth's graveyard, in the townland of Cragg, stands a square castle, which measures outside 31 feet north and south, 27 feet east and west. Its walls are about 6 feet



CRAGG OWHNY.

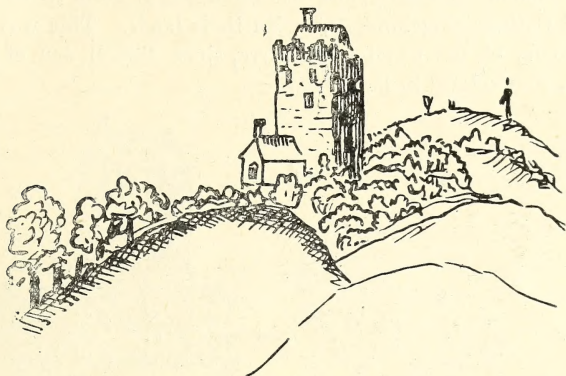
(From a Sketch by Thomas Dineley, 1681.)

6 inches thick, and it stands 35 feet in height. Two of its floors rested on stone arches, and a spiral staircase leads to the top in the south-west corner. The doorway, semicircular at top, is placed on the south side, and the windows appear to have been quadrangular. O'Donovan states that tradition ascribes the erection of Cragg Castle to the family of O'Mulryan. That the tradition was perfectly accurate is shown by a Fiant of Queen Elizabeth dated in 1591 (No. 5697), which mentions Anthony oge O'Mullryan of Cragg; as well as by a Chancery Inquisition, taken in 1624, which finds that Cornelius, otherwise Conogher, O'Mulryan was at his death in 1611 seized in fee of Craig; he also held Ballym^cKeogh, close by. Thomas Dineley¹ during his visit to Ireland,

¹ See Extracts from his Journal, edited by E. P. Shirley. *Journal*, vol. ix., p. 198.

in or about 1681, passed Cragg Castle in journeying from Limerick through Caherconlish to O'Brien's-bridge. Dineley calls the place "Cragg Owghny, in the county palatine of Tipperary," which he says means Rock Owghny, adding that it was a principal seat of the Ryans, but at the time of his visit it was in the hands of Richard Lee, Esq.

The castle is still standing in good preservation on a rock, very precipitous on its south-eastern side. The accompanying view, taken from a woodcut illustrating Dineley's Tour, shows the building as it stood 220 years ago.



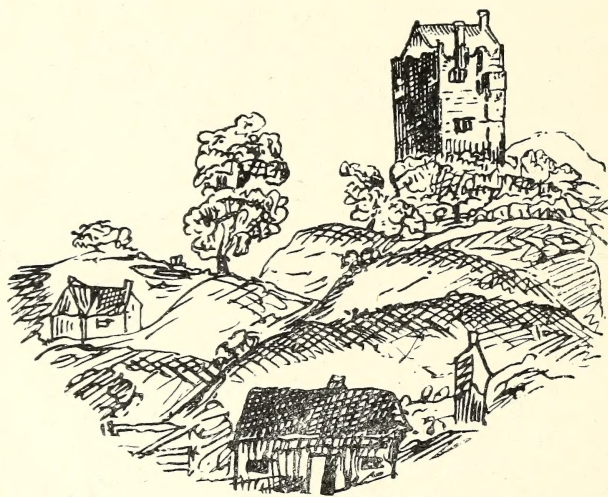
KNOCKANNANEEN (BIRDHILL) CASTLE.
(From a Sketch by Thomas Dineley, 1681.)

KNOCKANNANEEN.

Dineley continued his journey from Cragg to O'Brien's-bridge by way of Knockannaneen, which he judged to be a small mile distant. He informs us that this name means in English 'the hill of the white bird,' and that the estate and castle of the name belonged to — Sheldon, Esq. The surrounding lands, including the townland of Knockannaneen, had been forfeited in the rebellion of 1641 by Connor O'Brien, one of the Mac I Brien Arra family, and they were granted, under the Act of Settlement, to Lieutenant William Sheldon. These lands, long known as Birdhill, now form portion of the property of Mr. Twiss, of Birdhill House.

Two views of the castle of Knockannaneen are given in Dineley's Tour, and are reproduced here. Not a trace of this castle is now visible, but old men point out its site at the back of Birdhill House; and Mr. Martin Hassett, of Birdhill, informed me that his father had seen portion of the foundations of the old castle exposed to view when engaged in superintending some works which were being carried out by the late Mr. George Twiss in what are now the stables.

A pedigree¹ of the Mac I Brien Arra clan mentions this castle. It states that "Torlogh (Mac I Brien Arra) divided the territory among his sons in manner following: he left the lordship or captainship to his son Murtagh, surnamed the Bishop; to his son Torlogh Carrach he left Beal-atha² (now Ballina) and Cnocan-an-ein-fhinn (now Birdhill), two good castles, with the lands belonging to them. To Teige na Buille, his third son, the castle of Kilcolman and its lands; to Moragh-na-dtuagh the castle of Tuath aesa greine, with its lands; and to his son and heir Murtagh (above) he left Baile-an chasleain (now Castletown), the hereditary mansion of the family, and also the castle of Moin ruadh (Monroe), Pallis and Cathair Conchubhair,³ with their lands. This was the third division made of the territory of Arra, since Donell, son of Brian roe (O'Brien), first settled in it.



KNOCKANNANEEN.

BIRDHILL CASTLE.

(From a Sketch by Thomas Dineley, 1681.)

The above-named Torlogh, chief of his name, flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, dying in 1601. He is frequently mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters and in the State Papers, which latter show him to have been a faithful subject of the Queen.

His son, Murtagh (stated above to have been surnamed the Bishop), was appointed custos of the See of Killaloe in 1570, but not being sufficiently old, he was not consecrated as bishop until 1576. He resigned

¹ MS. H. 1. 7, Library T.C.D.

² Beal-atha-na Borumha. Fragments of this castle are to be seen on a low rock, 40 feet from Killaloe bridge.

³ Caher Connor is an island in Lough Derg, opposite Derry demesne, 2½ miles north of Killaloe.

in 1612, dying in 1613. Cotton states that he was educated at Cambridge, and that there was an elder brother, Donough, by whose death in his father's lifetime the bishop became chief of the clan.

The palatine jurisdiction of the Ormonds, originally granted to James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, in 1328, and which was seized by the Crown in 1621, did not include the Barony of Dough Arra (MacBrien's country). This forms the major portion of the present Barony of Owney and Arra, and it was joined to the county of the Cross of Tipperary in 1606. The palatinate jurisdiction was restored to the Butlers in 1662, and the Duke of Ormond exercised it over the whole of the County Tipperary, including the Barony of Owney and Arra, and the county of the Cross.

Cnocán an éin pínn means 'the little hill of the white bird.' From a very early period éin (*ain*) has been Irish for 'a bird,' and the termination *naneane*, 'of the birds,' is found in Ardneane and Rathneaney. In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, *eanpíonn* appears as Irish for 'an osprey or kite.'

Few who hear the English-sounding name of Birdhill are aware that it is a translation of a very ancient Irish place-name. When the stations on the G. S. & W. Railway shall have their old names printed in Irish characters, how many a Saxon (not to mention Hibernian) traveller, in making the tour of the Shannon and Lough Derg, on reaching the picturesque little station that the Guide-book would have taught him to look for as Birdhill, will be startled on finding himself lost at a place transformed into Cnocán an éin pínn!

The only legend that I have been able to gather in the neighbourhood as accounting for this ancient name is a variant of the story of Ossian, the hound Bran, and the blackbirds. The original tale may have referred to a white bird; but in course of time it is possible that it may have become lost, and the better known Ossianic legend have taken its place. This last will be found very fully related in a paper on "The Fenian Traditions of Sliabh-na-m-ban," by Mr. John Dunne.¹

Mr. Gleeson, an aged farmer, who has a holding close to St. Comaneth's Well, related to me the following version of the origin of the name Birdhill:—

"In Ossian's days, a great bird, so large that its shadow covered acres, was engaged in devastating the country around, during which time his dog, Bran, had a terrible fight with it, which ended in his defeat. Some time after, Ossian asked the hound one day if he saw or heard anything, and on the third inquiry, Bran declared that he saw something which caused so much darkness that it could be naught else save the ill-omened bird again. The aged hero gave Bran up for lost;

¹ *Journal*, vol. i., 1849-51, p. 352. The Rev. J. F. Lynch, in the "*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society*," April, 1896, relates the "Legend of Birdhill" at some length.

but the faithful dog bade him take courage, as he was sure, if he could only get something to throw down the bird's throat, he should kill him. Ossian accordingly provided him with a large ball, which, during the struggle that ensued, Bran managed to plant right in the bird's throat, killing him at once. The neighbourhood was greatly relieved, and since this memorable contest the hill on which it took place has been known as that of the white bird."

Another account states that Bran killed a notorious blackbird on Moon-a-lu, 'the bog of the blackbird,' on the margin of which Bird-hill station now stands.

In the story, as related by Mr. Dunne, Ossian blew a trumpet, when the sky became darkened by flights of birds of blackest plumage; Bran attacked and killed one enormous bird, the virus of whose blood infused poison into his veins. The dog becoming maddened, Ossian, in self-defence, ordered the boy who accompanied him to hurl a ball of brass into his mouth, as he rushed towards them. The boy was too frightened, and in the end, Ossian himself killed his hound with the ball.

Ossian's bronze trumpet is said to lie buried beneath the rock known as Carrigeen, on the townland of Birdhill, which forms a prominent and striking object in the landscape, and from the summit of which a most extensive view, embracing portions of five counties, is to be obtained.

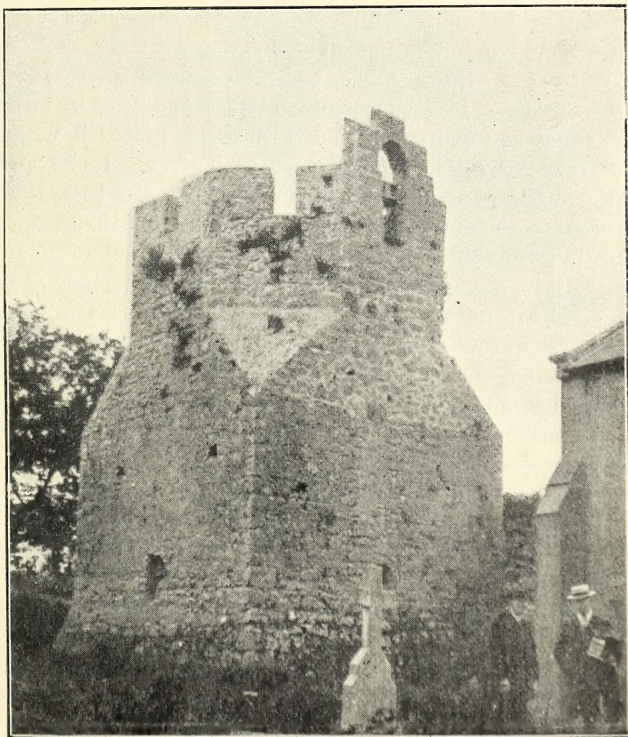
NOTES ON ASKEATON, COUNTY LIMERICK.

PART IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE CASTLE (WITH APPENDICES).

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII., page 254.)

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY.—The Church of Askeaton¹ (like several others in the ancient district of Connello) is attributed to the Knights Templars, and stated to have been built in 1291.¹ The first



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ASKEATON—THE BELFRY.

legend can be shown in other cases to have originated in the prefix "Temple."² What truth lay behind it is hard to discover; as in the

¹ Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i., p. 81.

² Such as Temple Athlea (Athea), Temple Glantan, Templeinniwebaoith (Strand),

records relating to the suppression of the Templars, I only find a small preceptory, perhaps even a mere plot of land, in Limerick;¹ no mention even of the reputed house of Newcastle, none of Askeaton. Of course, as the Templars were not priests, they must have sought the ministry of the parochial clergy.² It is, therefore, quite possible that some of the Knights of the Temple may have stayed in Askeaton Castle, and worshipped in the church.³

As regards the alleged date, if intended to mark the first foundation, it is demonstrably false. If "Iuriase" or "Inniase" be Inisceftý⁴ or Askeaton in the inquisition of Meyler FitzHenry and Bishop Donat O'Brien (1200, 1201),⁵ as its position next to Tomdeely would seem to imply, we might conjecture that the foundation of its church took place along with that of the castle in 1198-1199. However, the church of the Blessed Virgin at Inisceftý is mentioned in 1237 and 1268,⁶ so if the old writers had any valid authority for the date 1291, it may represent a mere restoration under the de Clares.

The rectory, as already noted, had been granted before 1237 to the Abbey of Keynsham, in Somersetshire. Many details of its history, and of the litigation and quarrels of the Bishops of Limerick with the representatives of the English house, have been given. Its advowson was held by the de Clares at any rate down to 1322. In 1318 the church was robbed by a certain Roger Crompe.⁷ A custom had grown up in those uncertain times of storing not only valuables, but even provisions (such as corn), in the churches, as the peasants in Iceland store goods and even dried fish in the sacred edifices to this day. The ægis of the church was, however, often powerless to protect the holy place from desperate men, who feared neither God nor human laws; and the Plea Rolls show that an unusual outburst of sacrilegious theft had taken place in the weakened state of law and society after the invasion of the Bruces. For example, at the assizes of 1318 and 1327, in the County of Limerick alone, we find mention of a chest full of silver belonging to Felicia the Tanner, stolen from the church of the Friars Preachers at Kilmallock, and taken to Grene by Thomas the Chaplain.⁸ Goods were

Templenamona (Monagay), and Temple beinid (Ballyallinan) all to the south and east of Newcastle. The legends of the Templars of Newcastle are mentioned in Fitzgerald's History, 1826. See also "Memorials of Adare," pp. 151-152.

¹ See MSS., T.C.D., 1060, and Exchequer Rolls, London, i. Ed. II. "De bonis templariorum, Lymer."

² As Froude remarks, this selection of confessors, unattached to their order, goes far to acquit the Knights of consciousness of the abominable beliefs and actions of which they were accused to their ruin.

³ The only shadow of corroboration—the hospital lands in Askeaton town—has been already noted. But the resultant proof is very slight. See p. 31, *supra*.

⁴ See Appendix A, *infra*, p. 126.

⁵ "Black Book of Limerick," No. xxi, p. 14.

⁶ See vol. xxxiii., p. 29.

⁷ Plea Roll, 124 of xi. Ed. II., m. 34.

⁸ William, Bishop of Emly, was believed to have been involved in the Kilmallock case, so it may have been not a robbery but some mistake leading to illegal removal. *Ibid.*, also No. 123. Term S. Trin. xi. Ed. II., m. 30, m. 34, m. 35, *dorso*, m. 37; No. 124, m. 34; and No. 126, xiii. Ed. II., m. 3.

also taken from the churches of Athnedes (Ath na deisi or Atheneasy), Kilfrosse, Balisiward, Ardpatrick, and Iniskefty, while soon afterwards (1329) the prior of the House of the Holy Trinity of Adare, with two friars, John Leys and Gilbert de Clare, was accused of stealing goods worth 100 shillings from the new house of the Augustinians in that place. The jury found as to the Askeaton robbery, "that Roger Crompe had put himself into the church of Iniskefty," and "committed divers robberies in the said church." Meanwhile, as the law "dragged its slow length along," the criminal seized his opportunity, "escaped from justice, and fled out of the villate." I found no record of his subsequent capture, unless he was one of the sixteen thieves, of whom eight were executed at Limerick by John Wogan, the Chief Justice, while the rest abjured the realm.

Little else but lawsuits about the rectory, and questions about the vicarage and advowson, with valuations in the episcopal visitations, remain. We get a glimpse of the church and its English owners in 1381, 1395.¹ William de Neweton, "proctor of Kenesham Abbey, near Bristol in England," undertook in the former year to satisfy the Crown as to the fines of Garth² and Inskyfty rectories in County Limerick, according to the survey of the extent of the same newly made. He asked to have his expenses allowed in the matter, and promised to pay the balance into the Exchequer. In 1395 the royal letters of Richard II., confirming the Abbot and convent of Kenesham in two parts of the rectories of Garth and Iniskefty, in order that they should keep the lands against the Irish rebels, were produced at a court, held at Kilmallock by the Justices, Roger l'enfaunt and Odo de Lees, in Hilary Term.

From the ruins, it is evident that some repairs took place in the church late in the following century; but the skilled hands that left their mark on the castle and abbey were not employed.

On the dissolution of Keynesham, the Irish rectories became inappropriate to the Crown, Askeaton was granted to Nicholas Fanning in 1542,³ and possibly was administered by the Earls of Desmond. After the fall of this noble house, we find, in the surveys of 1583 and 1586, that in the parish of Askeaton "is no temple except an old chapel, of which the walls alone are left, and which belongs to the parish of Ballingarrie. The rectory is inappropriate, and pertains to our Lady the Queen, in right of the late abbey of Kensam in England."⁴ "The Vicarage was held by Maurice oge mac Person, and had to supply coyne and livery to the Earl of Desmond, and to support 2 horses and 4 horse boys."⁵

¹ R. Mem. Scac. iv. Ric. II. (Ireland), m. 66, *dorso*. *Ibid.*, xviii. and xix. Ric. II., m. 27.

² Ballingarrie, County Limerick.

³ Fiant, 311, Henry VIII., Ap. Seventh Ann. Report D. K. R. I.

⁴ Desmond Roll, 1583, Public Record Office, Dublin. This, the Rental of O'Conyll, 1452, and the Inquisition of May, 1584, identify Iniskefty with Askeaton.

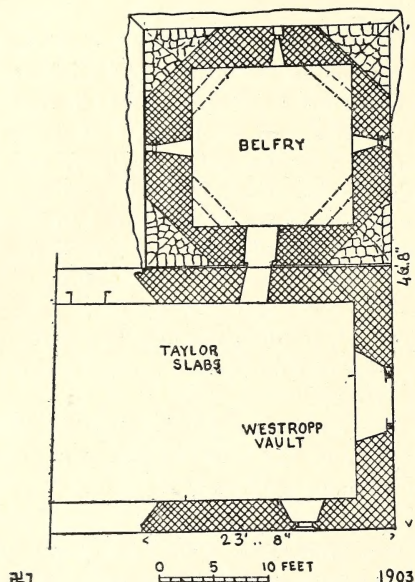
⁵ Peyton's Survey Book, 1586.

In the view of the church in "Pacata Hibernia," which from the roofed condition of the abbey and church we incline to date before 1586, we see a two-aisled building, the north aisle abutting on a square belfry, the upper part not being octagonal, but evidently much broken. No windows are shown in it, but large ones appear in each of the west gables, and a door near the same end of the north wall. The advowson was granted by James I. to Sir R. Boyle in 1603, and appears in the Regal Visitation of 1615¹ as in the deanery of Rochell,—“Askeaton, the rectory impropriate to Richard Boyle, Knight, Edmond Holecom is its vicar, Rect. min. et predicator, valor £10. Church and chancel in good repair.” The church stands on a gentle slope to the east of the village,

in a churchyard far larger and more regular than in Elizabethan times. When we examine the remains, it becomes evident that the “Pacata” view errs (at least) in making the north aisle abut against the belfry tower, for the older windows, both in the tower and church, the batter of the base, and the absence of any trace of such junction equally preclude its existence, and the present church is in line with the old chancel. Lewis² states that in 1834 the “south transept still existed, and was separated from the nave by two lofty arches rudely closed up.” He adds that the remains were precisely in the state in which they are described in “Pacata Hibernia”; but this statement is as inaccurate in fact as in language. Some six years

later, O'Donovan and O'Curry visited the place, and found the south wing demolished and the new church in existence.

The belfry and chancel are still standing, their eastern faces being in line, but not bonded. The curious tower³ adjoins the chancel on the north. It is three stories in height; the two lower being square, about 15 feet each way inside, and 22 feet outside over the abrupt batter of the base; the walls are about 4 feet thick. The building is of very rude and early appearance; but the features give no clue as to the date. The lower floor was lit by lintelled slits (with splays outward and inward



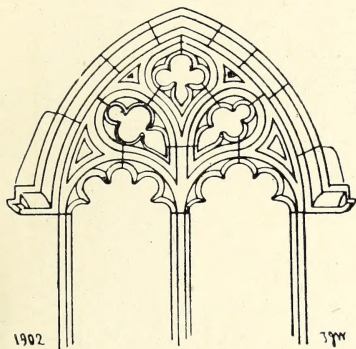
ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ASKEATON—PLAN.

¹ P. R. O. I., Dublin. ² "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i., p. 81.

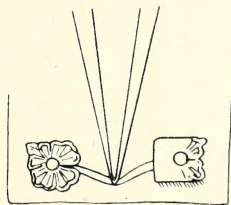
³ Like that at Inistioge (*Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 370).

in three of the walls), and had a plain, round-headed door leading into the chancel, to which it evidently formed the sacristy. The next story had plain slits, now defaced, in its east and north wall, and a higher large window (with nearly semicircular-headed light and slightly pointed splay arch) to the west. The top story is octagonal, resting partly on the middle of each wall, and partly on rude skew arches at each corner.¹ The upper part has been too much repaired and modified to show its age or design (for one cannot attach very much weight to its non-appearance in "Pacata"); it may originally have had tall, pointed opes in the principal faces (or even on each side), with stepped battlements and low spire; but it is impossible to assert this with assurance.

The chancel is 18 feet 8 inches wide, and at present about 28 feet long; the round-headed door from the belfry opens through its northern wall. The east window has a rude, pointed splay; but there only remain the south jamb and one block of the northern, with holes for metal frames, and only relieved by a slight external reveal and chamfer; the light was 4 feet 2 inches wide. In the south wall we find a window with a deep, segmental arched splay, and a trefoil light



ASKEATON CASTLE.
WINDOW OF HALL.



ASKEATON CASTLE.
CORBEL.

within an ogee-headed moulding. Some previous antiquaries have regarded it as of pre-Norman antiquity; but it is little, if at all, earlier than 1500. It is chamfered externally; and had, at the top, a finial of late foliage, now much defaced. Farther to the west, in line with the west face of the belfry, there was a larger window in each wall; but only the eastern sides and springs remain. The rest of the church has been entirely demolished.

The chancel is nearly filled by the large, plain vault of the Westrópps, of Ballysteen.² Near it lie the curious slabs:—"The gift of Mrs. Judith

¹ When perfect, it possibly somewhat resembled the tower of the church of Clonmel, County Tipperary.

² This family descends in the female line (through Sara, wife of Thomas O'Dell, and sister and heiress of John Thomas Westropp, of Ballysteen, High Sheriff, 1794, died, 1825) from Thomas Westropp, who purchased Ballysteen in 1703. He was fourth son of Mountfort Westropp, of Stainesbye, Yorkshire, and Kilkerin, County Clare; and

Taylor, late of | Ballynort, relict of Robert Taylor,¹ | Anno. 1731''; they bear the Ten Commandments (cast down and broken like their prototype), the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. I found only two old tombs worthy of notice:—" [This] tomb was erected by Richard Taylor of Ballyglahane² in ye County of Limerick Esq | [in me]mory of his son Mr Robert Taylor who | [depart]ed this life ye 29th day of May 1726 and in | [memor]y of his wife Mrs Mary Taylor daughter of | [Tho]mas Finch Esq late of Corke who departed | [this lif]e ye 2nd day of December 1730 and in | [the . . .]ty third year of her age." The second lies near the south wall of the church, and bears as arms a lion rampant, and a rose:—" Frances relict of Thomas Fitz | Thomas Rose who departed | this life the 28th of February 1755 | in the 46th year of her age."³ The east window of the modern church is in memory of the Hewson family, of Castle Hewson (Ballyengland); but, like the other modern monuments, it lies outside the scope of this paper.

The chalice and paten are of the time of the Restoration. The inscription on the former, which is of simple but graceful design, is "Ex do: Simeo⁴ Eaton Arm^r. Par: Askeaton, Anno. 1663." The hall-marks show a castle with side turrets, and a star with waved rays. The chalice stands 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, its bowl 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. The paten forms its cover, and is 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter. I was unable, for want of opportunity, to examine or sketch the chalice of the monastery; it is still in the keeping of the parish priests.

OTHER ANTIQUITIES.

The high-domed monument with a cross, shown between the abbey and the bridge in "Pacata Hibernia," has disappeared; it probably marked the southern limits of the convent lands. The old bridge is shown in the same view as having six arches, with a curious trap-door hinged to the side at each end; no trace of these traps remains. Sandby's view (1779), as already noted, is wrong in giving ten arches. Holmes's drawing (1799) shows five, the sixth (then as now) being concealed by the quay.

In 1834 two "very splendid" fibulæ of "pure gold" were discovered in sinking the foundation of a wall to the west side of the river; while

Frances, daughter of John Taylor, of Ballynort. From the said Thomas descend the Westropp, now of Mellon (Maeleen), and the Westropp Dawsons, of Charlesfort, County Wexford.

¹ His uncle, Robert Taylor, of Ballynort, by his will, 1693 (proved at Limerick, 1693, see Appendix E), directs "alsoe it is my will that a handsome burying place be made at Askeaton." I cannot find that his will was carried out.

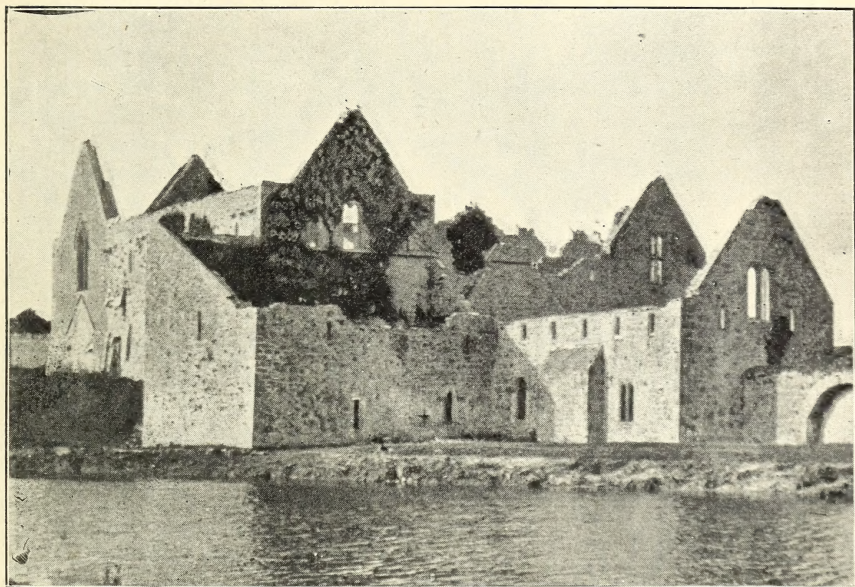
² Richard Taylor, of Ballyglehan (now Hollypark, where his descendants still reside), was son of William Taylor, of Burton, Cork, second son of John Taylor, of Ballinort.

³ See "Report, Association for Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland," vol. iii., p. 102.

⁴ Not "Timoth Eaton," as in "Round about the County of Limerick," pp. 187, 188.

“silver chalices, crosiers (?), and a great number of coins” were found near the abbey and castle.¹

In 1873 two decorated bronze pins were found below Askeaton, near the mouth of the Deel, below high-water mark, on the eastern bank of the stream. They showed traces of decorations in green, red, and purplish-brown enamel, and remained in possession of the Rev. Robert Gabbett down to 1883.²



ASKEATON ABBEY. (FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.)

THE DESMONDS' CASTLE.

The Castle of Askeaton³ is described at unusual length in the Inquisition Roll of the Commissioners appointed to report on the estates of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond. The Royal letters, dated August, anno 26 Elizabeth, 1583, head the report, which forms a bulky roll of parchment, in such excellent preservation, and so carefully engrossed, that it is astonishing that no antiquary, writing on places in the County Limerick, seems, up to the present time, to have made any use of it.

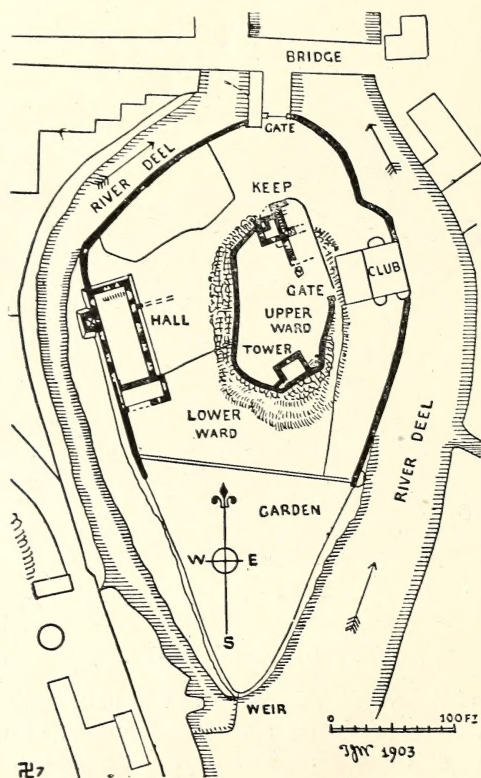
¹ Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i.

² Figured in *Journal*, vol. xvi. (1883-1884), p. 67.

³ For views of the castle in earlier parts of this Paper, see p. 25, from south-west; p. 158, view in "Pacata Hibernia"; p. 165, Sandby's view, 1779; and p. 172, Holmes's view, 1799. The view in Fitzgerald and Macgregor's "History, &c., of Limerick," vol. i., p. 360, is much more accurate than the similar view by Holmes. It omits the Club House, and seems to be earlier than the last-named engraving.

The ninth sheet contains a statement as to Askeaton, which, from its intimate connexion with buildings rather than the general history of the place, I have reserved for the topography. I translate out of the absurdly uncouth Latin of the original:—

“The manor of Asketten, *alias* Asketiny, lying in the district (*patria*) of Connello, *alias* O’Gonyll, in the said County of Limerick, with an excellent castle, formerly a chief house of the said late Earl of Desmond, standing in a good state of repair, because William Pellam, Knight, Lord Chief Justiciary of Ireland, at the time of the last rebellion,



THE DESMONDS' CASTLE, ASKEATON—PLAN.

remained there and repaired those parts of the same castle which the aforesaid late Earl, at the time he entered into rebellion, burned down. And the said castle is situated on a little island under a rock, and is encircled on every side by a river running from the south to the north to the great River Shannon, from which (latter) river the castle is a mile away, so that skiffs of twelve tons burden ('*cimba oneris xii dollīū*')¹

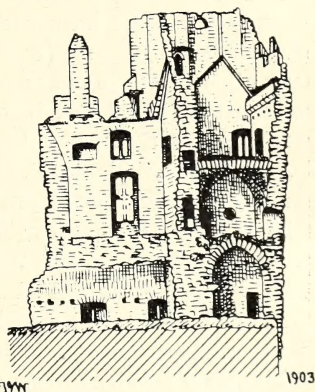
¹ *Dollūm* generally equals a ton.

can come to the bridge of the said castle at the spring-tide ('apud le springtide'). And the said castle contains in itself two separate courts ('duos separaī le coorts') with one bawn ('uno lez balne'), and several strong buildings placed here and there—namely, a large hall and chamber, with three cellars, a kitchen, and other necessary places, and bedrooms, two of which have iron doors. A garden, triangular in plan, in which is a fish-pond, lies to the south; which are all included by a stone wall, and are valued (by the year) by the above said Commissioners in sterling money, at forty shillings."

The lands of the manor may be found in the Appendix to this Paper; but we further learn from the Roll, "there is a watermill a furlong below the said castle, all its walls are of stone, but only the walls remain. The late Earl of Desmond, at the time he went into rebellion, wasted and burned the same."¹ "There is to the north of the said castle a certain island called Gote's Island, full of large underwood (sub-boscois)." From the Peyton Survey of Limerick, 1586, we further learn that there was another wear in Asketten ("unius alter le weare") pertaining to the Earl of Desmond, called Corren Erle, *alias* the Erle's weare, which was built near to the bridge of Asketten, outside and to the north of the said bridge," and which paid a tythe to the convent.

Nor does this exhaust our material, for, as we have so often had occasion to note, there is a view of Askeaton, probably drawn before this time,² and afterwards engraved for "*Pacata Hibernia*."³ There is a coloured sketch in Lambeth Palace Library of the same, and the view is unusually instructive and (as such views go) fairly accurate, corresponding with the existing remains not merely in salient features but in many details.

THE KEEP.—The long, low, wedge-shaped island rises in the centre into a flat-topped, grassy platform, with precipitous sides, which was probably the site of the prehistoric fort of Gephthine, or Iniskefty. At the northern end rises the keep of the Desmonds' Castle, a noble tower about 90 feet high, built with shell mortar, showing fragments of cockles, periwinkles, &c., and with (I think) unusually thin walls, little over



ASKEATON CASTLE—THE KEEP,
FROM THE EAST.

¹ It was more probably burned by Malbie in 1579. See "Letter of Gerald, Earl of Desmond," *supra*, p. 39.

² It shows the abbey and church as roofed. The Friary was still inhabited in 1586, but the church was then in ruins.

³ See above, vol. xxxiii., p. 158.

4 feet thick. A turret projects from its western face, and a lower but larger building extends to the south. The whole of the eastern face with much of the sides has been so entirely levelled that no trace of the foundations can be seen.

The main tower displays an instructive section with two vaulted stories and an upper room which had a roof, of which the weather ledge is seen against the turret. The lower floor on the platform of the crag had a vault lying east and west. In its north-western corner, lit by a small slit to the north, a small door leads to a narrow flight of stairs which first takes a turn to the left and then runs with a slight curve up the main wall to an ancient oaken door, much decayed, 3 inches thick, and studded with large-headed iron bolts and nails. This opens into a wardrobe in the turret; it is called "Desmond's Jail," and measures 8 feet 2 inches by 7 feet 1 inch, with a pit in the south-east corner. Like so many similar structures (as at Quin Abbey, Carrigogunnell Castle, and many other places in our islands and on the Continent), the down-shaft was ignorantly supposed to have been an oubliette, and dismal stories were told about prisoners lowered or flung into its depths. The story above this has a similar arrangement with the pit in the north-west corner, and their drains open separately at the foot of the crag. The staircase then turns eastward, and at the twenty-third step is broken away; it is, however, easy to climb round the broken wall on to the next floor; a large cross-vaulted room, where another door leads into the turret, and an unusual circular ope, which once had a chamfered stone cross-bar, may be noted. The side of a large north window remains, with another smaller one near the north-west corner.

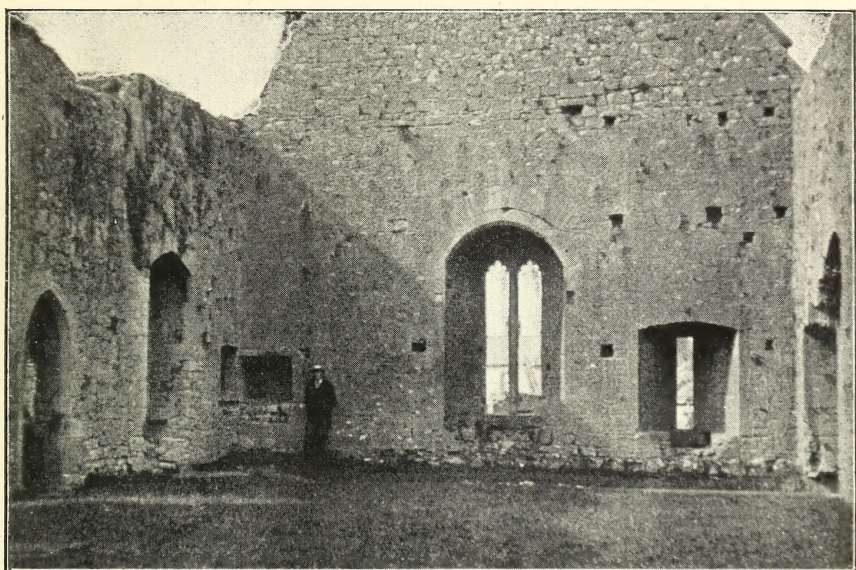
Above this I have not explored the ruin, but the broken rooms can be well seen from the road to the east of the Deel, and from the bridge. Another reach of the staircase runs through the south wall westward, and from it a pointed doorway leads into the upper story of the south wing. The turret rises for two stories above the floor of the main upper room; its uppermost story has a neat western window-slit, and is battlemented; the parapet next the main tower has a round hole—"a breach in the battlement," made (of course) by a cannon shot of "Cromwell." All the rooms have small slits to the south, flanking the western wall. A curious arrangement prevails: an angular projection extending from the turret to the main wall on the south is made to overhang and protect that recess, and a similar, but semicircular, wall sweeping from the turret to the north wall of the keep, and curving into their respective faces; it stops at the floor level of the second vaulted room. In this projection we note a deep recess at the north-west angle of the upper room of the keep, which is lit by a large double-headed window with (I believe) cinquefoil heads;¹ a similar window opens near the recess in

¹ It is very hard to distinguish between the small, stepped window-heads and those which are cusped, even at a short distance from them. For views of some of the

the north wall of this room. Another door opens on to the battlements of the annexed south wing.

The stairway leads to a curious little inner turret, opening on the south gutters of the main roof. These gutters were supported on corbelling, and afforded a narrow footway between the roof and the lofty three-stepped battlements.

The south wing adjoins the keep, and has three stories; the first was under a vault lying north and south; two windows with flat heads open in the west wall. In the second story remains the frame of that great cross-barred window so prominent in the "Pacata" view; it had stepped heads. The upper story has a large, plain but neat fireplace, and (to the

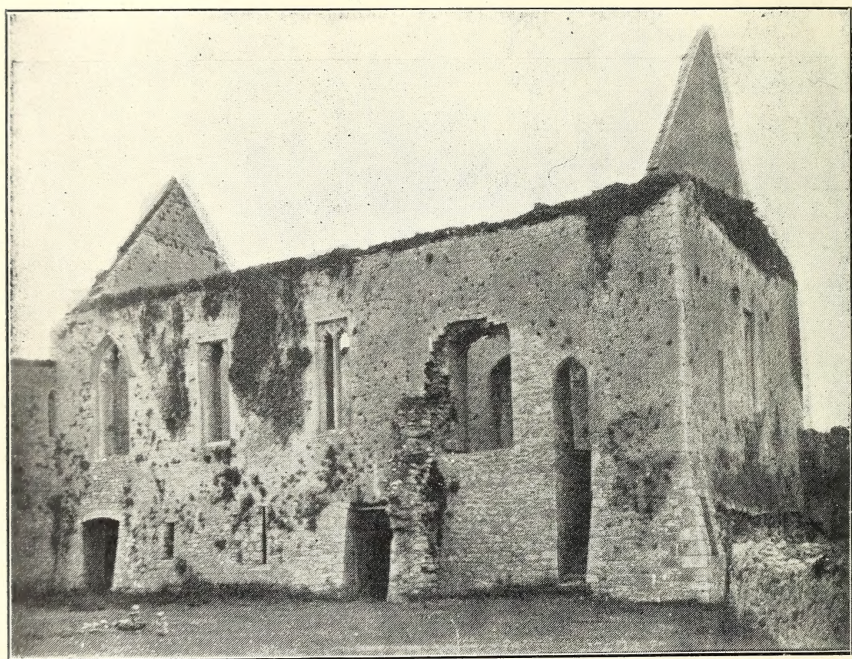


ASKEATON CASTLE—NORTH END OF BANQUETING HALL.

north end) a perfect window with two oblong lights. A door, already noted, opens into this room from the keep. The upper part seems to have undergone considerable alteration, perhaps when the fireplace and its lofty chimney were made, in the sixteenth century, as two lines of roof are marked against the keep. It was also crowned with three-stepped battlements. The trace of a long chimney-shaft runs up the wall at the southern end. The outer thickening of the wall at the chimney is supported on a neat corbelling of three small, pointed arches.

THE UPPER WARD was defended by a wall of irregular plan, running
windows in Askeaton Castle, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, vol. xvii., part II., pp. 544, 545.

along the top of the crags. This, in Elizabethan times, had plain, square battlements and loopholes, but is now nearly demolished to the inner level of the court. It was defended at its southern end by a strong tower, said to be older than the keep, from which it lies about 72 feet distant. The lower story is vaulted, and is 8 feet to 10 feet high, with small defaced opes. Above this rose more than one unvaulted story, 23 feet 2 inches by 15 feet 9 inches. The north and west walls, or rather their angles, rise about 40 feet, but the centre of each is nearly levelled to the floor. At the south-western angle projects an irregular little



ASKEATON CASTLE—THE BANQUETING-HALL, FROM THE EAST.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Fogerty.)

turret, its faces flush with the lines of the inner ramparts; it commands the foot of the sloping way which rises northward up the eastern crag to the remains of a strong gate. If we can trust the "Pacata" view, there was opposite the hall another tower as high as the south wing of the keep, having at least three stories, and battlemented on the western face. Of this no remains are visible, though the wall from it to the hall can still be traced.

The ruined club-house extends across the lower ward to the east of the central platform. It is reputed (I know not if there is the least truth

in the statement) to have been a "Hell-fire Club," and vague legends existed of orgies celebrated by that ill-reputed association within its walls. When I first saw it in 1875, some of the roof-timbers remained; ten years later the arch of the main window had partly fallen; but it is little the worse for the eighteen years that have since elapsed.

THE LOWER YARD.—A long modern wall, but resting, I believe, upon old foundations, crosses the island, not far to the south of the crag. In the scarcely defensible southern angle lay, according to the Desmond Roll, the garden and fish-pond of the castle. The ramparts are intact to the north-west from the hall to the bridge. They have stepped battlements, and are so narrow that they were possibly defended off wooden platforms. The walls have some recesses and loopholes. The ward was further divided by a strong cross-wall from the upper ward to the hall. This is shown in the "Pacata" view, and the western end and foundations remain. The high, double gateway at the bridge has entirely disappeared. Any foe who forced his way over the bridge and through that strong gate would have found himself in a death-trap, under deadly fire from the keep, the upper ward, the cross-wall, and the hall, which had evidently a battlemented walk outside its northern gable and along the gutter.

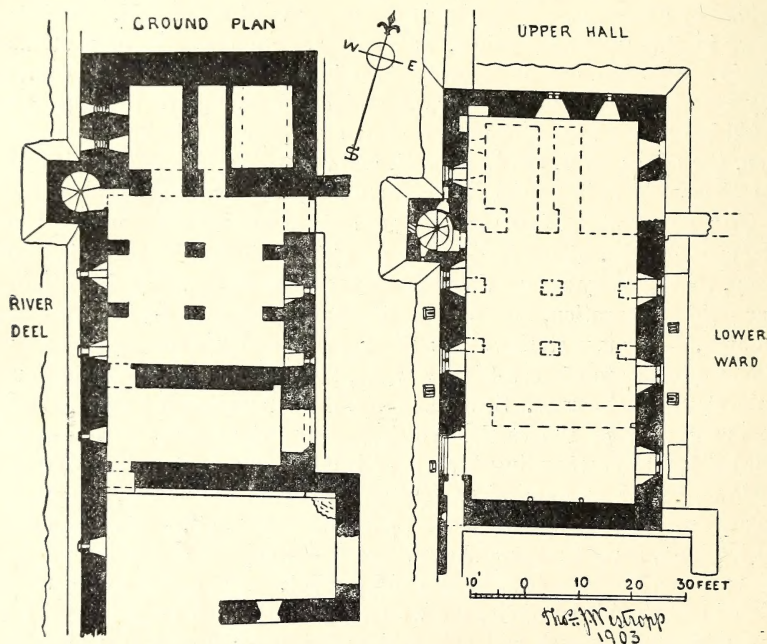
THE BANQUETING-HALL¹ is a large and handsome building of the fifteenth century. The details are so closely similar to those in the abbey, that we may regard them as by the same hands. It is still in very good preservation, save for the shafts of some of the windows and one arch. It is two stories high; the upper is a single room 72 feet by 30 feet 4 inches to 31 feet 4 inches wide, there being a slight projection in the south-west corner. Strange to say, the western wall forms part of the outer wall of the castle, which (despite the protection formerly afforded by the surrounding branch of the river) must, with its great windows, have been exposed to no little danger in times of war, and made a considerable gap in the defensive area of the ramparts. The southern end is blank, save for three shallow arches extending across its upper face to widen the base of the gable and parapet. The arches rest on two pointed and moulded corbels, the western one of which ends in sprigs, with two roses, one of which is still unfinished.² The east wall has five large windows which, like those to the west, vary in height, the southern being 12 feet high; the others about 10 feet high, and of varying breadth, 6 feet, 5 feet 6 inches, and 6 feet 3 inches. The two more northern windows have their jambs much defaced. Their arches are supported by modern piers. They spanned for many years a huge gap, being only supported by their rock-like masonry. A modern flight of

¹ See last two pages. The *Journal*, vol. xix. (1889, p. 159) gives a short description of the hall, and says, "The gable wall of this portion" (the vaulted rooms) "includes the gable of an ancient church." Perhaps, however, this refers to the room at the south end.

² See p. 115, fig. 2.

steps leads up the break under the most northern window, and gives the only easy access to the hall, for the spiral stair is much broken. The most southern window is well moulded, and has the remains of rich decorated Gothic tracery, which consisted of two lights with cinquefoil heads and four quatrefoils;¹ the hood-mouldings are boldly hollowed. The two next windows had each two cinquefoil-headed lights with modern shafts. There are black marble seats to each side of the window recesses.

The north end has a large central window with two cinquefoil-headed lights and a simple flat-topped window to the east. There is an ambry in each wall at the north-west angle.



ASKEATON CASTLE—PLAN OF THE BANQUETING-HALL.

In the west wall, going southward, we note—a window with pointed lights; a plainly chamfered door leading to the staircase turret; a broken window of decorated Gothic; it once had two cinquefoil heads, with a quatrefoil ope; another window, with two cinquefoil-headed lights; the central shaft is old, with the iron-tongues of the former frames remaining in it and the sides; the southern window has moulded sides, but the head is gone; a passage 3 feet wide leads through its southern jamb into the upper story of the building to the south of the hall.

¹ See p. 115, fig. 1. It is shown as restored.

The staircase is about 8 feet in diameter; it is spiral. Turning to the right, some twenty steps lead up to the hall, and are still accessible though broken; about twenty-five more steps led up to the roof. It was lit by slits; one opens into a recess in the outer side wall of the main building, and opposite the door into the hall is what seems to be a closed, pointed door.

THE UNDER STORY consists of five vaulted rooms or cellars; the two more northern are oblong, narrow vaults, 15 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 9 inches wide; the western is lighted by two slits to the north. There is room for a third vault to the east; but I could not find its entrance. The main vault measures 36 feet 4 inches by 32 feet, and is simply, but neatly, cross-vaulted over wicker. The vaultings spring from two piers in the centre to two piers at each side and the plain end walls. Tradition describes this place as "Desmond's Cellar, filled with the drink of the castle"; but it was more likely a vaulted kitchen or hall, to judge from the window-seats and other traces. South of it is a transverse room, plainly vaulted, 32 feet 5 inches long by 13 feet 8 inches, with a door to the court and a slit towards the river: near the west end doors open from it into the great cellar and an outer building. The latter is a defaced structure, projecting eastward beyond the line of the hall, and attached to its southern face. The little passage through the south-west window leads into its upper story; and there was a very large, pointed window to the east. Only half of the south wall remains, with so heavy a corbelling that I hesitate as to whether the lower story was not vaulted. It may have been the private chapel of the castle.

Fuller description of these interesting ruins I must leave to others who may be better authorities on castellated architecture, and better able to explore those lofty towers. This paper has far exceeded its intended limits by the incorporation of the second part. A better and larger plan of the castle is needed; for that given here is only enlarged from the O. S. map of 25 inches to the mile, with corrections and additions made by me on the spot. Sections of the hall would also be valuable. I cannot but feel how much has still to be done despite my many days of hard work on the ruins, and fear that many imperfections may be found which have escaped my notice; for these I can only hope for merciful comment till someone arises to complete or to supersede my work.¹

¹ I must here express my gratitude to those who, in various ways, especially helped me in this work. The late Mrs. Morgan, and her son, Col. Harrison Morgan, of Old Abbey; Capt. Charles Wardell, R.N., and his son, Mr. John Wardell (*Member*), who respectively assisted me in my first and latest examinations of the ruins. My late brother, Ralph Hugh Westropp (*Fellow*), who photographed the abbey for me in 1887. Dr. George Fogerty (*Member*), to whom I am indebted for the beautiful view of the cloister on p. 247, vol. xxxiii. Mr. Philip Hore (*Member*), who, unasked, most kindly lent me old engravings of Askeaton, and Rev. Samuel J. Hackett, Rector of Askeaton, who made me measurements of two parts of the abbey, necessitated by the conservation and opening up of the ruins. In the history, I am especially indebted to Mr. M. J. M'Enery, not only for personal help, but for interesting on my behalf the Rev. Thomas A. O'Reilly, Librarian of the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. To the labour

APPENDIX A. (See vol. xxxiii., p. 27, note 1, *supra*.)

INISKEFTY AND INISCATHAIG.—The statement that Iniscathaig, or Scatterry Island, formed part of the diocese of Limerick was generally received till it was contradicted on the grounds of resting on a sixteenth-century forgery in the Black Book of Limerick. For the forgery, we only have assertion and theoretical views on the impossibility of the facts. For the older view, we have the support of independent documents, some of which I here collect. The Inquisition of Meyler FitzHenry (1200–1201), an unassailed document, gives Iniscathidch as well as Inriasci; the latter follows Tomdeely, and is evidently meant for Inriasci(fti), or Askeaton, for which “Innise” is no uncommon contraction, *e.g.*, in Rental of O’Connyl, 1452, see below. The Plea Rolls (Ireland) No. 15 of xix. Ed. I. (mem. 13 cal., vol. iii., p. 60), also mems. 14–18 and 60 of same, mem. 11 and No. 16 of xxiii. Ed. I., mem. 4, record a lawsuit of Thomas le Chapeleyn, Guardian of the House of Senan of Iniscathy, against Benedict, Prior of St. Mary of Rathgel. This shows the lands held by the House of Rathkeale, in Scatterry. In the last-cited roll the place is called the house of “Sci Senani de Inscathy in Com Kerry,” showing that in 1290–1294 it formed no part of either the diocese of Killaloe or Kingdom of Thomond. Brady, “Episcopal Succession,” vol. ii., p. 53, gives an obligation of Nicholas Fitzmorris, Bishop of Ardferth, naming “Alanum Linsii custodem ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Iniscathy. Limericen: dioc.” in 1409. The ancient taxation of about the same time, copied by Rev. Jasper White, *circa* 1630 (Lenihan, “Limerick,” p. 563), gives both Iniscatha and Askeaton in the deanery of Rathkeale.

Perhaps the clue to this strange allocation of Scatterry to Limerick lies in the statement in the Life of St. Ita of Cluaineredhail (Killeedy), that she should be patron of the Hy Chonaill with St. Senan. If so, perhaps Scatterry may have been given to Rathkeale as chief rural decanate in Hy Chonaill, to prevent jealousy between Ardferth and Killaloe. The above documents sufficiently show that the elimination of all records possibly relating to Iniskefty still leaves the allocation of Iniscatha to Limerick well established, independently of the support of the controverted record in the Black Book. It may also be noted that even had Bishop Adams been capable of forgery, he (as Bishop of Killaloe as well as of Limerick) had no personal interest in proving Iniscatha to belong to the latter See.

APPENDIX B. (See vol. xxxiii., p. 35, *supra*.)

MANOR OF ASKEATON.—Several full surveys remain. We select the more instructive.

The Rental of O’Connyl, a return of the free tenants and farms on the estates of the Earl of Desmond, xxxi. Hen. VI., since the conquest (1452), in the Exchequer Collection. A well-preserved parchment:—

“Innyskefty.—Reddit lib. ten. ibidem—Rathmacandan, 2s.; Ballenekylle, 3s. 4½d.; Dromaspull, 5s.; Shendyrre, 8s.; Clonlogh, 4s.; Ballyhegh, 4s.; molendino de Ballyhegh, 5s.; Gortsyeclyñ, 4s. 3d.; Keppathlynmotyng, 2s. 6d.; Keppathlynloge, 3s. 1½d.; Calloun, 3d.; Incheroyrk, 3s. 1½d.; Dromermoyth, 7s.; Villata de Dronry (? Bronry), 20s.; Lysdowan, 16s. 8d.; magno quarto, 16s. 8d.; Villata de Innysk(efty), 46s. 8½d.; sum tocius redditus lib. ten de Innysk, £7 11s. 8½d.; Redditus totius de Innysk.—Ballydoweyerty, 2s. 10d.; Cathyr,¹ 6s. 8d.; Terra valens, 7s. 6d.; Kilsaynath,

of the latter I owe many helpful records, and the compilation of the lists of guardians from 1643 to 1871. Lastly (as in so many of my papers), I have also had frequent help from Mr. James Mills, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland, and Mr. Henry Berry.

¹ Perhaps the Cathyrdimathin given with Bronree and Ballycullen in Plea Rolls, xviii. Ed. I., Cal., vol. ii., p. 97.

6s. 8d.; Grage et Grageloge, . . . ; Moyany, £3 6s. 8d.; molendino de Innyskefty, 40s.; Gurgetibus ibide(m), 16s. 8d.; S(er)jandria ibide, 20s.;" also near end of Roll, "Regale Servicium de O'Conyll currit de castro de Innyskefty, 40s."

The great roll of Inquisition, taken by Commissioners in 1583 as to the estates of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, besides the account of Askeaton Castle with its buildings, and the church (already utilised in connexion with the existing ruins), gives the following lands as pertaining to the manor:—Kippaghelinloge and Kippaghlingmoling, Inshe-roorke, Moynerley, Kilbrahen, Ardnegan, Craigmole, Gragneshlongtherie, or Grage na broge in Asketton Parish. There were also other lands in the hands of the late Earl as the "Toghe or canthred of Asketon, namely"—Moyenirrla, *alias* Moyana; Ballylomen; Clonillogha; Ballynekilly; Ballemore; Léesseragh en lacye, late in tenancy of John Lacy; Lehesseraghlynarde, late in tenancy of Leonard Nasshe; Lehesseragh Idir da Bohir and Lehesseragh yrahin, also held by Nasshe; Lakeharwe meanagh (Lecarroo) by Nasshe and Robert offarrella. The lands of the said quarter were scattered (sparsim) about, and in the castle, and were more fertile than the rest, with arable lands, meadows, and pastures, and were worth £6 13s. per annum, in all 13½ quarters, worth £26 13s. 4d. The other lands were more sterile, and covered with some under-wood (subboscis), being 9½ quarters, valued at £4 13s. 4d., in all £54 6s. 8d. The castle and premises were valued in all at £94 13s. 4d. The water-mill, in ruins, and Gote's Island are then mentioned.

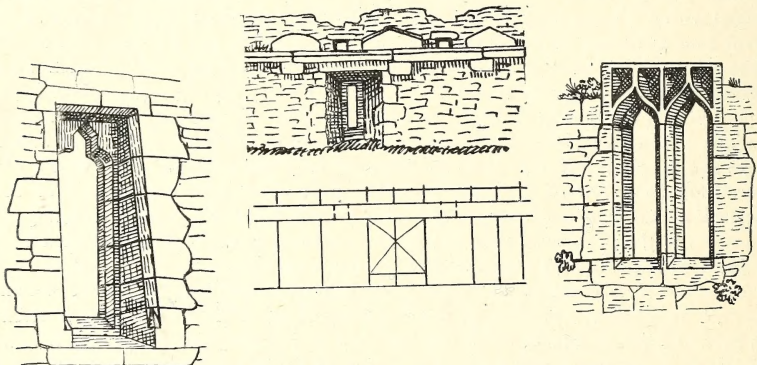
The Peyton Survey of 1586 is also a careful record of the escheated lands. It first gives under the "Manor of Askeaton" entries—"The force and strength the Earl of Desmond had of Conello at all times ready to his need," 25 quarters and 5 acres were charged with a "bonnybegg" of 24 galloglasses, "which were a company that never stirred from one place all the year long." Also 29 quarters and 6 acres were charged in the "bonnyburr" of "galloglass coming forth of any foreign country which were in one place but one quarter of the year," with meat for the galloglasses and boys, "and drink for the time at the country charge." The earl's freehold was not charged as above, but had a "rising" of footmen and 40 horsemen, each of the latter with 2 horses and 3 boys as often as the earl had need to employ them. The "chiefrye" returns for the manor of Asketten mention "the nine double quarters" of the "toghe" of Asketten and the fishery of the "Dyle," called the "cole ffysshinge." The castle is then described "*Scirus manerii et castri sive Castell de Asketten cum pertinenciis, qui edificatur super parvam peciam terre circumdita cum quadam rivola nuncupat the dyle et est parva insula super quam peciam terre edificatur castellum fortem.*" It had different buildings, and "stone-built walls" in the parish of Asketten, and covered 2 roods of land, being now or lately in the occupation of Captain Bartlett (Barkley). The lands and fisheries are given as Moynen en alorte, Moynerley, Kyl Rahen, Cappalinta, Cappalinmotinge, Ardenegan, Inchyorke, Gragneshlongtherie, Cragmoore, forming the earl's free land. The water-mill of Mollenmoore and Mollenbegg, with woods and underwoods on "the earl's chardgible lands." The fishery of Lyn Assa round the castle walls, and island. The various portions were called Lyn-en-assa, Lyn-en-monen, Lyn-en-allorte, and En pool ne cally. The weirs were Corre-en-Earl whynred,¹ the Earl's weir at the salmon leap under the bridge; Corren-numrare or the friar's weir, and Corr-eddy-oge-lacy, the weir of Edmond oge Lacy, next the Shannon. The sum of the manor was 6 quarters 2 acres 2 roods, and comprised Moynerly, Englandestowne,² Ballyquilly, Gortesehan, Ballytomen, Clonclough, Courtbrowne or Browne's court, Ballynasse, Shanedyrrey, Ballynecaheragh, and Ballymoore, in the toghe of Askeaton and Balloglasse, in the toghe of Nantenan.

¹ Whynred, *i.e.* Pá'nborceob—as pointed out to me by Mr. M'Enery.

² Now Castle Hewson, the residence of the Hewson or Hewitson family; the castle still remains.

The vicarage was held by Maurice oge McPerson, and had to supply "coynye and liverie" to the Earl of Desmond, and support 2 horses and 4 horse boys. The gift of this vicarage pertained to the Bishop of Limerick, that of the rectory to the late Monastery of Kensam. There was the religious house of the begging friars, and half an acre held by Captain "Bartlett," with the field called Clone numrare, or the friars' land, to the north. To it also belonged the water-mill of Mollin begg and the weir of Corranumrar and the "tythe ffysche." The Corren erle or Earl's weir paid tithes "pro piscibus captis in le tydes acciden: in una die et duabus noctibus in qualib septimanam viz inter xii horam die sabbathi et sextam vel septimam horam die lune prox: sequen." The "ffryerie" was then inhabited.¹

The Inquisition on the death of Sir Francis Berkeley in 1615 gives the lands as Mone early (Moaghnerlla, 1655); Kilbraghan; Ballymore (Ballyvoher, 1655); Leghessheragh Lacy; Bollyg . . . (lass); Insh . . . (iourke); Ardnegown; Ballyhomyn; Ballynorthy; Gortshoge (Gortshagan, north of Ballyengland, 1655); Ballynekilly; Clonemragher, *alias* the Abbey lands (Moig); Laghvane; Lyssvickyre; Tulloe; Inshymore; Cooltomy (n); Ballyloghane (in Rathkeale, 1655); Ballyan or Ballyshan; Ronahan; Ballinriddle (Riddlestown); ffarenkaragh (ffarenweye in Nantinan and on the Deel, 1655); Aghriys (Augbinish); ffawnmore; Carric; Ballynecaheraghe; Ballycollyn and Ballyellinane. Most of these places may be found on Sheets 10, 11, and 19 of the Ordnance Survey of County Limerick; but many, even by the time of the Civil Survey of 1655 of 1655, had been merged into "the English interest," and Ballyengland, and Moig.



ASKEATON ABBEY—WINDOWS IN CHAPTER ROOM, UPPER ROOM, ELEVATION AND PLAN EASTERN DORMITORY.

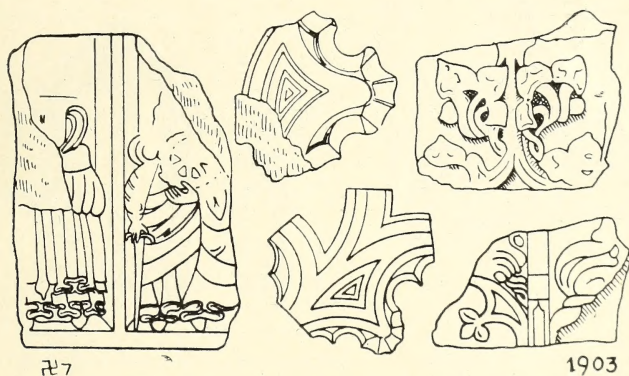
(See vol. xxxiii., pp. 249, 252, and 254.)

In 1655 the Civil Survey of Connelloe, p. 65, gives the following details about Askeaton. The "Deele" from Rathkeyle to Ashsketton, and from thence to the river of Shannon. Lord Brohill ($\frac{3}{4}$), and Anne Crofton ($\frac{1}{4}$) (English) hold Courtbrowne, Edward Nash (Irish) held Ballihomyne, p. 67. Lord Brohill held Asketton towne, manor, and lands, p. 68. John Tailour (English) held Ballenorth Balliny-kellir, and Gortshraghane. John MacRorye (Irish), upper Englandstown, p. 69. Lord Brohill held Ballynash with its castle, and Ballinicahirigh. Mrs. Crofton held Moaghan. Sir John Browne of Hospitall (English) held the hospitall land in Asketten.

¹ Much of this appears in other Inquisitions at the Record Office, which of themselves would afford a most valuable topographical paper on Desmond's estates.—Cal. No. 10, Ap. Killocia, 11th Sept., 26 Eliz.; No. 11, same date; No. 17, 11th Aug., 29 Eliz.; No. 54, Oct. 26th, &c.

APPENDIX C. (See vol. xxxiii., p. 170, *supra*.)

LATER GUARDIANS OF THE CONVENT.¹—1714, Francis Hickey. 1716, John Egan. 1717, Constantine Egan. 1719, Patrick Redden. 1720, Peter Junius, Lector Jubilatus. 1724, John Kennedy. 1727, Bonaventura Fitzgerald. 1729, Acts of Chapter lost. 1733, Thomas Hennessy. 1735, John Kennedy (re-elected, 1736, 1739, 1741, 1745, 1746, 1757). 1742–3, John MacNamara, S. T. L., Emeritus, Ex-Def. 1744, Anthony Hagheran. 1747, John Achoran. 1748–52, John Aherin. 1755, John Walsh (re-elected, 1760, 1663–5). 1761, James Dundon. 1766, Patrick Hickey. 1767–9, records lost. 1770, Prendergast. 1772, Patrick Burn. 1773, Anthony Hickey. 1776–7, N. Walsh. 1778, Thomas White. 1779–82, John Cahill. 1784–5, Thomas Burke, Lect. Em. 1786, no appointment. 1787–92, Patrick Clancy. 1793, Patrick Lunerigan. 1794–6, Bonaventure O'Donoghue, S. T. L. 1800–08, Anthony Laffan. 1809–15, no appointment. 1815, James Quin. 1819, Charles Dalton. 1822–24, Daniel Hourigan. 1825–7, Michael Malone. 1828–30, Edmund Sheehy. 1834–29, Daniel Healy, S. T. L., Ex-Def. 1840, J. Cuddihy. 1843–8, Daniel Hogan. 1849–51, no appointment. 1852–3, Francis McLoughlin. 1855, Michael Malone, Ex-custos. 1857, P. Keough. 1858, Dominic Kehoe. 1860–3, Augustine Hill. 1864, Augustine Power. 1866–9, Anthony O'Shea. 1870–2, Vincent Casey, last Guardian of Askeaton Convent.²



ASKEATON ABBEY—FRAGMENTS OF CANOPIED TOMB.

(See vol. xxxiii., pp. 39, 245.)

APPENDIX D. (See pp. 169, 243, *supra*.)

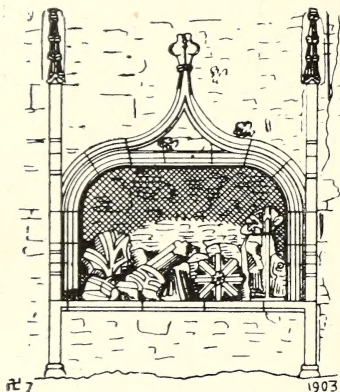
THE STEPHENSON FAMILY.³—A few notes on this prominent family may be

¹ Compiled for me by Rev. Thomas A. O'Reilly, O.S.F.

² Reeves MSS., T.C.D., No. 1613, gives "The names of Sundrie priests and Friars," in Limerick, as "Connor fitz Morrish, Anthony Mossen, Wm. Donogh, sd Franciscan friars, Thomas Gorman, a franciscan friar." There were therefore four in Limerick, while six are given as in Kerry, six in Clare, ten in Cork, and one in Tipperary. There were also two Dominicans in Limerick, and five Jesuits in Tipperary, circa 1612. For the records of the Irish Franciscans of Louvain, see Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix to 4th Report (1873), vol. xxxv., Part I., p. 599.

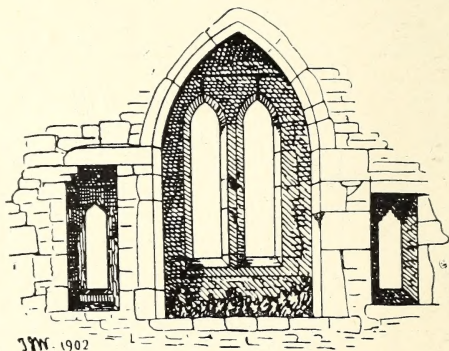
³ See Inquisitions now at Dublin, March, 1628; Sept., 1630; April, 1635; mortgages, 1628–1631. Funeral entries (Ulster's Office), vol. v., p. 38, February, 1636. Deeds of settlement, January, April, and July, 1611. Wills at Dublin, Richard S., of Whyddye Island, Cork, 1630, and Nicholas S., of Shauno, Limerick, 1631, L.A. For Richard Stephenson's lands in 1655, see Civil Survey of Connelloe, pp. 49, 52, 73, 74, 77, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 95. Oliver Stephenson defeated a claim of Bernard Adams, Bishop of Limerick, to "the Knight's Keppach (Cappagh)." See Vis. Reg. 1615, Ep. Limeric.

acceptable. It was founded in County Limerick by Oliver and Edward Stephenson; the former was granted Dunmoylin by Queen Elizabeth, 28th July, xxx. Eliz. He also held the manor of Castletown. He was sent by Sir George Carew to garrison Corrig Castle, near Foynes, in 1600,¹ and died 16th January, 1611, or April 29th or 30th, 1615 (according to variant Inquisitions). He married Una ny Mahony, who survived till 1630. They left issue, Richard, Edward (died *s. p. m.*, ante 1630), John, Thomas, Edmond, Nicholas, William, and Oliver (who died, 1635), also daughters Una, died 1630, and Elinor, wife of John, son of Maurice Hurley of Knocklong. Thomas of Ballywoghan, County Limerick, married Owey, daughter of John Crosby, Bishop of Ardfer, died March 20th, 1633 (*aliter*, 1639, but 1633 in Inquis. of 1635). He left a son Richard, aged 9, in April, 1633, and two daughters, Owey and Anne, as recorded in his funeral entry, dated February, 1636. Nicholas Stephenson, of Keilteerie, appears in a mortgage, 25th March, 1628, to John Stackepole, and Richard, in one dated 18th September, 1631, to N. Comyne. Richard was aged 27 at the death of his father. He had issue, Oliver and "Katherine," wife of Donough O'Brien, of Carrigogunnell. Richard was High Sheriff of County Limerick, and was



ASKEATON ABBEY.

SEDILE AND FRAGMENTS OF CANOPIED TOMB.



ASKEATON ABBEY.

WINDOW IN THE REFECTORY.

shot at Kilfinny, as recorded in the ill-spelled diary of the valiant Lady Dowdall, 1642. "The Thersday (Tuesday) before Aswnesday, the hi Sherulf Richard Stevenson came op in the front of the army with his droms and pipers, but I sent him a shot in the hed that mad him bed the world god night."² After the surrender of Askeaton and Kilfinny the other castles "were beaten down by paper bullets." The monument of Richard and his father, Oliver, is figured at p. 244, *supra*.

Oliver, like his father, fell in battle, at Liscarroll; he was then of Dunmoylan, and being ordered to charge on a small section of Lord Inchiquin's horse, met that nobleman, who was "on his pad nag without casque," and nearly shot him. He then charged, and as he raised his sword to strike Inchiquin, he was shot dead.³ The Civil Survey of Pubblebrian in 1655, mentions several lands "held by Margaret⁴ ny Brian, *alias* Stephenson, an Irish Papist," widow of O'Brien of Carrigogunnell, among them

¹ Carew MSS., vol. iii., 1600, p. 413.

² "History of the Irish Confederates" (J. T. Gilbert, 1882), vol. i., p. 71. From Sloane MSS.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-93.

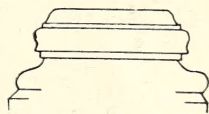
⁴ Called "Katherine" in Funeral Entry.

Kilcolman, Kilboy, and Gortshraghone, near Carrigoguinill Castle and Atyfloyne, Cahirnatanaha, and Caher Ipholoe (Attyffin,¹ Fortetna, and Jockey Hall) in Killonaghan.

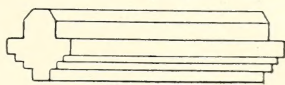
APPENDIX E. (See p. 171, note 2, *supra*.)

THE TAYLOR FAMILY was established near Askeaton by John Taylor before 1622, as appears by the Inquisition (Rolls Office, 2 Car. I.) on the deaths of Maurice Barclay, of Askeaton (died 8th Sept., xx. Jac. I.), 1622, and Henry, his brother and heir, who died 21st February, 1629, we find:—"et Insuper Juratores . . . dicunt quod Will. Cortney. Elizabetha Barkley *als.* Crofton, ffrancisca Barkley et Gartrud Barkley *als.* Taylor, sunt coheres pdic Henrici Barkley." . . . "Gartrud Barkley *als.* Tailor alia soror diet Henrici que fuit maritat Johñ Tailor gener." The Taylors, to judge from the following will, were of Somersetshire origin.

The will of ROBERT TAYLOR of Ballynete (*sic*) Co. Limerick (Extracts)—"I leave all estates in Ireland, including Ballynorte, to my brother William." "I leave no wife or issue behind me." "The manner or farm of Hatterle"² in Summersett to his relation, James Taylor. His cousin Barkley's children, including "my dear wives godson. My dear wife made it her request to me that I would be kind to them, and so do I to my brother." Legacies to the "poor of Askeaton and Mapperton³ in Summersett." Among numerous legacies we note "there is in my neveu's, Mr. Wm. Barkley of Pill,⁴ in the Co. Summersett, hands before I die £10." "To Henry Barkly a good shute of cloose, not as a servant but as a friend,⁵ because I made a vow I never would keep him as a servant." "Be kinde to all those servants that came over with my wife; also to my nurse and Richard Orsborne £4 during their life to keep them at bed and board." "A handsome burying place be made at Askeaton, and that there may be £60 laid out upon it, and to bury me handsomely, and that all my English neighbours of any quality may have scarves and gloves, also to my cozen, Thomas Crofton, scarves and rings if they be at my funerall." "To make all this good, there is the money you gave me which was paid by you to me which I refunded, and yr engagement to me I should be allowed for it which I should not dehmened, besides so much more you will find in my thronks and closett, and broad gold of which I desire 10 peeeces may be given to my sister, Gore, and two peeeces to my sister,



ASKEATON ABBEY.
BASE OF PILLAR.



FRAGMENT OF MONUMENT.

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xix., 1889, p. 234, and vol. xxiv., p. 74. Margaret Stephenson (it may be remembered) along with Elinora Browne, put up the monument in Askeaton Abbey, vol. xxxiii., 1642, p. 242, *supra*.

² Hatherley, in the parish of Maperton. See Rev. J. Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. ii., pp. 85, 86. (Ed. 1791). For Pylle, see *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 483. For Brewton and its grant to Sir Maurice Berkeley (father of Sir Francis, of Askeaton), in 1546, see *Somersetshire Archaeological Society Proc.*, vol. vii., p. 11. His monument and effigy remain.

³ See last note, Maperton Church is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.

⁴ I find traces of the existence of a Somersetshire family of Taylor, *inter alia*, the "dominus Joh Tayloyr Vicar of Ilmystr" in Somerset, 1615 (*Somersetshire and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, viii., p. 123). The monument of a John Taylor, 1711, is found in Bath Abbey. The notices are, however, but few, so perhaps the connexion with Somersetshire is not with the Limerick Taylors, but with Robert's wife, a Berkeley of Pylle.

⁵ A curious reminiscence of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon.

Westrop, with two peeces to my sister, Taylor," 23 Aug. 1693. "There is a white savior stone in a box in my thronk; my wife left it to her niece and goddaughter, Mrs. Margaret Bayley," Sep. 16, 1693. Proved same year at Limerick.

Of other wills of the family we find in Dublin that of Robert's brother, William Taylor, of Burton, County Cork, and Ballinort, County Limerick, Nov. 12th, 1712. Proved, 1713. Berkeley, eldest son of William, Oct. 29, 1732. Proved, 1736. Richard (his half-brother), Ballyglehane (Hollypark), Jan. 8, 1731. Proved, July 1, 1732. Edward (fourth son of Berkeley). 1761. Proved, 1765. The Ballinort line ended in the co-heiresses of William, eldest son of Berkeley Taylor. I have given the pedigree more fully in the *Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, vol. ii. (1902), p. 118.

High Sheriffs—Robert Taylour, 1670; Robert, of Ballinort, 1706; Richard, of Hollypark, 1716; Berkley, of Ballinort, 1724; Edward, 1727; Richard, of Hollypark, 1818.

I may note two letters of Robert Taylor—one, Aug. 20th, 1690, sending to King William in his camp before Limerick "all that this poor country can afford, and all that is left worth His Majesty's eating." Taylor and his wife sent—"1 veale, 10 fatte weathers, 12 chickinges, 2 dussen of fresh butter, a thick cheese, and a thinn one, 10 loaves of bread, a dussen and a half of pidgeons, 12 bottles of ale, halfe a barrell of small ale, some kidnie beanes."¹

¹ Lenihan's "Limerick," p. 250, from Catalogue of Southwell MSS., p. 513. See also Southwell MSS. relating to the reduction of Ireland, R.I.A., vol. vi., No. 3, Robert Taylor to Sir Robert Southwell, 15th August, 1690. It preserves Taylor's seal. The arms on it and seals on the wills of William Taylor, 1712, Richard, of Ballyglehan, 1731, and leases of the Westropp to 1745, show Arms, sable, a lion, passant argent, usually quartering Berkeley, a chevron between 10 crosses pattees.

ADDISON'S CONNEXION WITH IRELAND.

BY HERBERT WOOD, B.A. (Oxon.).

[Read NOVEMBER 24, 1903.]

THE Life of Addison has been written by Tickell, his friend and literary executor; by Dr. Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets"; by Miss Aikin, whose excellent biography furnished a *raison d'être* for the able essay of Macaulay; and by several others; whilst Bishop Hurd of Worcester has, in Bohn's edition, collected the works and many of the letters of Addison. In view, however, of the additional material which has come to light, and the great improvement in the treatment of historical subjects which has manifested itself in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there seems to be room for a more detailed account and a more critical study of the life of the great essayist. I have been induced to write this Paper in the hope of throwing some additional light on a portion of Addison's life which cannot but be of interest to us in Ireland. By taking a period in the life either of a nation or of an individual, and concentrating on that point all the scattered rays of information which can be gathered from all sources, a more vivid picture of that period is produced than would be possible when treating of the whole history of the nation or the individual. But, apart from the advantage of treating my subject in this way, I have been able, through the kindness of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, to peruse some letters of Addison in his custody, which I have reason to believe have never been published, and which seem to me to throw some light on the history of a life which is somewhat obscure. For, of the four men who by their literary attainments have rendered illustrious the first half of the eighteenth century, Pope and Swift, by the publication of their private letters, and Johnson, by the happy possession of an excellent biographer, have furnished us with details of their lives and an insight into their characters which we sadly miss in the case of Addison. True, we have plenty of his letters; but they are mostly the business letters of a courteous, cold, reserved nature, which never wore its heart on its sleeve. Addison is pre-eminently the polite letter-writer of that period; but his choice and dignified language, and his precision of thought, so well expressed in his handwriting, make one sigh for the *abandon* of a Steele and the candour of a Johnson.

If, however, we regret our inability to get at the heart of the man, we no less deplore the fact that his letters contain no sign of that genius, and no indication of that delicate humour, which have

given him a foremost place amongst essayists. We the more bitterly feel this loss when we are told by Mary Montague that she had known all the wits, and that Addison was the best company in the world; when Pope, who was not usually given to compliments, asserted that "Addison's conversation had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man"; and when his bosom friend, Steele, has recorded that "he was above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man possessed." Steele, above all, was qualified by his intimacy with Addison to have chronicled some of these flashes of humour. Indeed, Dr. Johnson tells us that "Steele once promised Congreve and the publick a complete description of his character; but the promises of authors are like the vows of lovers." However, as the indolence of Steele has defrauded us of a record of these brilliant utterances, we can only do our best, by a fuller investigation of Addison's life, to attempt to make clearer our views of his character and habits.

In the autumn of the year 1708, the Whigs, by somewhat discreditable tactics, succeeded in forcing Queen Anne to call Somers to her Ministry as President of the Council. He, amongst the fresh appointments made in consequence of such a change, chose Lord Wharton as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This post, though always filled by a politician of the same party as that in power for the time being, was usually considered as being one of "dignified retirement." After a few days, on December 6th, he appointed Joseph Addison to the post of Chief Secretary. The latter was fairly well known at that time both in the literary and political world. His poem of "The Campaign," and his "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy," had stamped him as a young man of promise; whilst the fact that already at this time he had held the posts of Commissioner of Appeals, and Under Secretary to Sir C. Hedges and the Earl of Sunderland, Secretaries of State, and had attended Lord Halifax on his embassy to Hanover, had brought him into prominence in the political arena. At the time of his appointment as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant he was Member of Parliament for Lostwithiel, for which he had been returned by the influence of Lord Wharton.

So notorious was the Earl of Wharton for his profligacy and general immorality that his choice of Addison as his Chief Secretary, and Addison's acceptance of the post, have appeared almost inexplicable to his biographers. Swift, in his pamphlet, "A Short Character of His Ex. T. E. of W., L. L. of I—," published in 1715, held up the character of Wharton to universal reprobation, and satirised him as "Verres" in the *Examiner*; but impartiality was the last virtue to be expected from that disappointed ecclesiastic. Macaulay has asserted that there was nothing

in common between them but Whiggism. "The Lord Lieutenant," he writes, "was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the Secretary's gentleness and delicacy"; while Swift wrote that Addison was "*le plus honnête homme du monde.*" There is no doubt that in his official dealings he showed a scrupulousness which was most unusual in those times; and his religious principles are sufficiently indicated by his writing a defence of the Christian religion.

Dr. Johnson felt it necessary to attempt some justification of Addison's conduct in accepting the Secretaryship to a man of Wharton's stamp. In his "Life of Addison," he writes: "Two men of personal characters more opposite than those of Wharton and Addison could not easily be brought together. Wharton was impious, profligate, and shameless, without regard, or appearance of regard, to right and wrong; whatever is contrary to this may be said of Addison; but as agents of a party they were connected, and how they adjusted their other sentiments we cannot know. Addison must, however, not be too hastily condemned. It is not necessary to refuse benefits from a bad man, when the acceptance implies no approbation of his crimes; nor has the subordinate officer any obligation to examine the opinions or conduct of those under whom he acts, except that he may not be made the instrument of wickedness. It is reasonable to suppose that Addison counteracted, as far as he was able, the malignant and blasting influence of the Lieutenant, and that at least by his intervention some good was done, and some mischief prevented." Such was the special pleading of Dr. Johnson. What Addison's private opinion of Wharton was we have no means of knowing, as he was far too cautious a man to commit any hostile sentiments to writing, except that Swift reported that Addison loved Wharton as little as he himself did.

The opinion about Addison which preceded him to Ireland was distinctly favourable. Joshua Dawson had been Under Secretary in the last administration, and was naturally anxious to retain the post under the new Secretary, and we have the correspondence of his friends at this, to him, critical period. As soon as Addison's appointment was announced, Gwynn wrote to Dawson: "Mr. Addyson is to goe our Sec^y to y^r L^d L^t, he is a civill good natured man." Three days after, Mr. Pulteney wrote from London: "But how good an opinion soever they may have of me, I cann't but think that when they are acquainted with Mr. Addison he will be as acceptable to them as anybody who cou'd have been chosen for that Employ^{mt}. I have already given you his caracter, yet must again say that I do not know a better temper'd obleidging & Ingenious Gentleman than he is, and you will be as easie under him as y^rself can wish, for he designs to continue you in y^r present station."¹

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 987.

Though Lord Wharton was appointed Lord Lieutenant in November, 1708, he did not appear in Ireland till the following spring. On March 8, 17th, Addison wrote from London to Dawson: "I am ordered by my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to desire you will move the Lords Justices of that Kingdome to give directions that the yacht be in a readiness in Chester-water by the last of this month, to take His Excellency on board, and that two of the men of war be ordered to High-lake and the third to lie off the Head, or in case there are but two men of war that one of them lie off the Head and the other at Hy-lake, and that their Lordships will be pleased to send the necessary orders as soon as possible." Such were the precautions necessary to ensure the safety of His Excellency. However, it was not till the 21st April that he arrived, with Addison in his train, in Ireland, and landed at Ringsend, where he was met by members of the Privy Council, on behalf of the Lords Justices, to congratulate him on his safe arrival. A fortnight later, on May 5th, Lord Wharton opened Parliament, to which, on the 13th of the same month, Addison was returned as Member for Cavan, thus being at the same time member for the Legislatures of both Great Britain and Ireland. In the Journals of the Irish House of Commons there are only six entries of his taking part in the proceedings during the years 1709-1710, three being mere communications of His Excellency's pleasure that the House do adjourn, two consisting of bringing down the Queen's answers to an address, and one being the bringing in of the Report of a Committee. But though we have no record of the occasions on which Addison took part in debates, if we are to believe the reports of his contemporaries, they must have been singularly few. His bashfulness was so overpowering that he seems to have been physically incapable of making a speech. His friends made it a grievance against him that he would sit silent on the bench whilst the time of the House was wasted by others with much less ability. Macaulay asserts, on what authority I know not, that Addison only rose once to speak in Parliament, but he was probably referring to the British House of Commons.

The condition of affairs at the opening of Parliament was very critical, and demanded great tact and management on the part of the Government. For some years the High Church party had been very powerful in the House of Lords, and had also a considerable number of adherents in the Commons. The bishops had only been induced to pass the Popery Bill of 1704 by the addition of a clause imposing the Test, which was aimed at the Dissenters. But no sooner had the Act passed than the bishops, whilst allowing considerable latitude in carrying out the clauses against the Roman Catholics, showed such astonishing alacrity in hounding down the Dissenters, that the English Government became alarmed for the safety of the Protestant interest. Lord Pembroke was sent over in 1707 to make the laws against the Roman Catholics more stringent, and to alleviate in some measure the disaffection of the

Dissenters. But the influence of the bishops was too strong to allow him to get his Bill against Popery passed.

Affairs were in this critical condition when Wharton came over with express injunctions to get the Test repealed. He found the High Church party still dominant in the Lords; but the Whigs had been greatly strengthened in the Commons by the fear produced by the recent anticipated descent of the Pretender on the coast of Ireland. Addison's opinion of the Whig party in Dublin was by no means complimentary. Swift wrote to Pope in 1721, that Addison, when he first came to Dublin, was extremely offended at the conduct and discourse of the chief managers there. "He told me," he writes, "they were a sort of people who seemed to think that the principles of a Whig consisted in nothing else but damning the Church, reviling the clergy, abetting the dissenters, and speaking contemptuously of revealed religion."

His Excellency, at the opening of Parliament, clearly stated his policy. "They must consider, therefore," he said, "whether bills were not wanting to confirm the law for the growth of Popery; and secondly, the evident necessity of cultivating and preserving, by some means or other, a good understanding among all denominations of Protestants." The ability with which he disarmed the hostility of the High Church party is well described in a letter which Addison wrote to Lord Halifax two days after the meeting of Parliament. "I am glad," he wrote, "of any occasion of paying my duty to your Lordship, and, therefore, cannot but lay hold of this, in transmitting to your Lordship our Lord Lieutenant's speech at the opening of the Parliament, with a couple of addresses from the House of Commons upon that occasion. Your Lordship will see by them that all parties here set out in good humour, which is entirely owing to his Excellency's conduct, who has addressed himself to all sorts of men, since his arrival here, with unspeakable application. They were under great apprehensions, at his first coming, that he would drive directly at repealing the test, and had formed themselves into a very strong body for its defence; but as their minds are at present pretty quiet upon that head, they appear willing to enter into all other measures that he would have them. Had he proceeded otherwise, it is easy to see that all things would have been thrown into the utmost confusion, and a stop put to all public business. His Excellency, however, gains ground daily, and I question not but in a new Parliament, where parties are not settled and confirmed, he will be able to lead them into anything that will be for their real interest and advantage." As the result of Lord Wharton's diplomacy, he was able to get the Popery Act passed in both Houses without opposition. But although he saw his inability to get the Test Act repealed, he declared, at the close of the Session, that it was Her Majesty's will that the Dissenters should not be persecuted or molested in the exercise of their religion.

To turn from the political to the social side of the administration,

Lord Wharton appears to have been determined to make the season a gay one. Miss Aikin, in her "Life of Addison," tells us that "his court was crowded also with people of quality, who came over from England either to enjoy the pleasures of the place and his society, or to push their interest with so powerful a patron." In the "Memoir of T., late Marquis of Wharton," which was published in 1715, after his death, we are told that "the Day for Council, the Night for Balls, Gaming Tables, and other Diversions"; and further that "never was there a Court at Dublin so accessible; never a lord lieutenant so easy to be approached. His Lordship then, as in England, divided the hours between business and pleasure. He took over Mr. Clayton, who composed "Asenoe," "Rosamund," and other operas, and had several entertainments of that kind in the castle, where the aldermen and chief citizens' wives came and were welcome, my lady Wharton receiving them with that humanity and easiness which adorn all the actions of her life." The opera of "Rosamund," alluded to above, was probably that for which Addison, a year or two before, had written the words. He had been so offended with the notion of an opera being sung in Italian before an English audience that he had decided to make the attempt to write one in his own tongue. At first it was not a success; but it afterwards succeeded, when joined to new music, which was composed by Dr. Arne. Charles Dering wrote to Mr. Dawson: "I dined with him (the L. L.) the other day, and he told me he had got a set of Players to go over into Ireland in May next, so what with Parliament at Chichester House, Balls in the Castle, and Comedys at the Theatre, I hope we shall pass our time well this summer in Dublin."

Addison found time, amidst his secretarial duties and social functions, to continue his literary labours. A few days before he left England for Dublin, the first number of the *Tatler* appeared, on the 12th April, 1709. It was not till he read the sixth number in Dublin that he recognised the hand of Steele. In this number of the *Tatler*, Steele remarked that the occasion of Æneas meeting Dido in the cave was the only time when Virgil did not apply to him the epithet "pius" or "pater." Addison immediately detected the authorship of the essay, as it was he who had communicated this fact to Steele. Taking into account the length of time which it would have taken for the *Tatler* to arrive in Dublin, and for Addison's letter to have reached Steele, the former must almost immediately have decided to become a contributor. His first essay, which was No. 18 in the series, appeared on the 21st May. In this he suggested that, in view of the fact that the number of soldiers reported in the newspapers as killed was always considerably higher than the number who actually fell in battle, these imaginative writers had as much right to be considered as combatants as the soldiers themselves, and that "an appendix be added to Chelsea Hospital for the relief of such decayed news-writers as have served their country in the wars." The only letter I can find relating to Addison's connexion with the

Tatler, is one he wrote the next autumn, on his return to London, to Dawson. It ran as follows: "I can not forbear telling you that by great chance I had lately a sight of a story about the L^t. Gener^l and the Irish Lucretia very archly told and designed for the *Tatler*, though it never came to his hands, but I took care to put a stop to it out of my respect to the General, but this I would not have known for a thousand Reasons."¹

A matter which this year engaged the serious attention of the Irish Government was the question of the Palatines. A number of Germans from the banks of the Rhine, tired of being continually harried in the Continental wars, had recently decided to come over to England, with the intention of proceeding to the American colonies. The Queen had given her consent, and orders were issued to allow 5000 Palatines to enter the country. But no preparations appear to have been made for their disposal, and the arrival of so large a number of foreigners in Kent produced a great disturbance, and seriously incommoded the English Government. On the 7th of July, the Council of Ireland (Joseph Addison among them) proposed that the Queen should send a number of them to Ireland, and a correspondence ensued on the subject between Secretary Boyle and Lord Wharton. As the result, a Commission was appointed in September to settle the Palatines "in such manner as they may not only be able to support themselves, but be rendered capable of advancing the wealth and encouraging the strength of the Protestant Interest of this Kingdome, the said Palatines being naturally of a strong and healthful constitution, inured to labour and Industry, and a great part of them to husbandry." Several large grants of money were authorised for their settlement, and a charitable collection was made in the country.

On the 5th of September a Queen's Letter was issued, recalling Lord Wharton to England, "to assist us with your counsel and advice during such time as we shall judge convenient;" so he, with Addison, returned to England.

It was the custom at this period for the Lord Lieutenant to reside in Ireland only during the Session of Parliament, and then to return to England. But though Lords Justices were appointed in his absence, he still continued to govern the country. Consequently, most of Addison's letters at this time were filled with official details. He took the opportunity of being in London to contribute more regularly to the *Tatler*, and, on its demise, to assist in starting the *Spectator*. There was in some quarters this autumn an opinion that the Government was likely to undergo a change—an opinion with which Addison did not coincide, for he wrote to Dawson on the 20th of October: "I believe you have had reports in Ireland, as we have had here, of a change in that Government; but you

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1172.

may assure yo^r self that y^e present L^d Lieu^t is better fixed than ever, and as we have often thought in our private discourse, I find it is y^e opinion here of those that are y^e best judges y^t he will be long-lived. This only to yourself w^{ch} I beg you to Burn." This opinion was fairly correct, as the change of Government did not take place for another year.

But Addison's attention at this period was not wholly taken up with his official duties and his literary labours. In November, 1708, he had been returned as Member of Parliament for Lostwithiel. But, as he had come out at the bottom of the poll, it was only by the grossest partiality of the returning officer that he had been chosen to represent that constituency. Evidently foreseeing that a petition was bound to be lodged against his return, he decided to obtain some post which would ensure his re-election. His choice amongst such posts in Ireland was limited, for, as Swift showed in his Fourth Drapier's Letter, even the very reversions of many positions had been already granted. He was reduced to the necessity of buying out some official, and made arrangements with Mr. Cusack Baldwin, Keeper of the Records in Bermingham Tower, for that purpose. It was there that the most ancient records of the Kingdom—amongst others, the Plea and Pipe Rolls—were deposited. (These records were, at the beginning of the last century, removed to the Wardrobe, or Record Tower, and Bermingham Tower is now used partly as a kitchen and partly as a supper-room.) Swift had a very poor opinion of the contents of this Tower, for, in the same Drapier's Letter, he said, "Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place called Keeper of the Records in Bermingham's Tower, of 10*l.* a year, and to get a salary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use."

But Lord Wharton and Addison held very different views as to the value of these records, as we shall presently see, in a petition preferred by the latter to Queen Anne, praying that his salary might be augmented. Addison had apparently commenced negotiations with Baldwin when in Ireland; but as the matter was not concluded before his departure in September, 1709, he made use of the good offices of Dawson to carry it on. On the 20th October he wrote to him from London: "I am sorry that I have heard nothing of Baldwin, and must desire you to send one to him on purpose, if he be not yet come to town, my friends here thinking I am a little Remisse in that affaire."¹ On the 29th of the same month he wrote again: "My Businesse, that I formerly spoke to you of, very much pressing, I intend at a venture to tell my L^d Lieuten^t that I am assured of Mr. Baldwin's consent, and get y^e Grant of y^e Keepership, not questioning but y^e present possessour will be willing to part with a thing y^t will be for his advantage as well as mine."² On this very day the

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1152.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1155.

Lord Lieutenant wrote to Addison: "The proposition of yo^r putting yo^r self under a necessity of being elected a-new, seems to be right; and I very readily consent to y^e method you propose for y^e doing of it; soe y^t you may get y^e patent prepar'd, as soon as you will. I am not sure, but y^t y^e may think y^e employ^t you have, as Secretary, enough w^{thin} y^e intent of y^e law, to send you to a new election."¹ On the 19th November Addison wrote urgently: "Let me beg you to send me Mr. Baldwin's surrender, and to comply with his terms, whatever they are."² The surrender must have soon been sent, for, on the 2nd December, Addison's Patent as Keeper of the Records was passed, and on the 20th of the same month, the English House of Commons set aside his election for Lostwithiel.

No sooner was he in possession of his patent, than he petitioned Queen Anne that his salary of £10 might be increased, setting forth "that he is in possession of the Office of Keeper of our Records in Bermingham Tower, within our Castle of Dublin, in that our Kingdome, which is of great consequence to the publick, being the proper Repository for the Records of that Kingdome, and that, to make the said office thoroughly usefull, it is necessary that the papers and Records there should be carefully examined, methodically digested, faithfully transcribed, and referred to in proper Catalogues, w^{ch} will require sev^l hands, and a diligent attendance, and, therefore, most humbly prays that a Sallary may be annexed to it suitable to the importance, expence, and trouble thereof." Lord Wharton, in his report on the above petition, certified that the said office, being the proper Repository of the Records of Ireland, "is of very great consequence to the publick as well in respect to the Rights of the Crowne as to the propertys of private Persons, and ought to be taken care of in the method the Petitioner has proposed, which cannot be done without employing sev^l hands, and being at an expence which the Petitioner is not able to supply out of his present Sallary"; and that the said Records, as he was informed, "for want of sufficient encouragement to the late Keeper thereof, are at this time out of order and indigested"; and recommended that a salary of 500 pounds per an. be attached to the post. However, the Queen would only grant him £400 per an. Soon after this Addison showed great anxiety, in his letter to Dawson, to get a copy of his Patent. "You could not, indeed, foresee," he writes, "the Inconvenience of my not having it by me; but you will find it will prove very much to my disadvantage." However, on the 11th March, he succeeded, probably through Wharton's influence, in getting elected for Malmesbury.

But though Addison had now obtained his Patent of the Keepership, some fresh difficulty arose about it, probably about the terms of payment for the surrender. He wrote on the 13th April, 1710, to Mr. Joseph

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1156.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1167.

Keally : " Let me beg you to sound Baldwin to the bottom, for I shall be pressed in point of time, and am afraid I must be forced to get my Lord Lieutenant to give him the grant anew, that it may be again restored to me, or to somebody in trust for me." And, again, on the 27th, " I am very much obliged to Mr. Campbell for his good offices with Baldwin, but could heartily wish that matter concluded before my arrival, because at the end of the next month his bond with Dawson will take place. If he is unreasonable, I will get my Lord Lieutenant to replace him in the Office, and immediately afterwards supersede him for somebody, whom I will name on trust." Evidently Mr. Baldwin did continue obdurate, for, on the 17th May, Addison resigned the post, which was re-granted to Baldwin. This seems to have brought matters to a head, for there is, among the Tickell papers, an agreement of the 29th of the same month, by which Addison paid Baldwin £230, and made him his Deputy, " with all fees due for making copies and certificates of y^e searches into such records as now are, or hereafter shall be, in s^d office, and all other business to be done therein." Though I have been unable to find any entry of a re-grant of this office to Addison, there is no doubt that he immediately entered into possession thereof.

But before this matter had reached its conclusion Addison had already put in an appearance in Dublin. He met the Lord Lieutenant at Chester in the beginning of May, 1710, and they travelled together to Dublin. It will probably be interesting to know the manner of their reception, as drawn up by Ulster King of Arms, and approved by the Lords Justices. It runs as follows :—" As soon as the Ships that attend his Excie are seen in the Bay, three of the Guns by Irish Towne are to Fire, then one at the Folley, then three on the Top of the Tower in the Castle, on which warning all Persons concerned are to be ready. The Regiments of Foot in Towne are to Line the Streets from the Castle Gate as far as they can well extend towards Lazyhill, and from thence the Lord Mayor is to order the Militia to Line the way as farr as they can well extend towards Ringsend ; as many of the Army horse as are in Towne are to march to Ringsend, and attend there till his Excie lands. Their Excies the Lords Justices, Privy Counsellors, Nobility, and Judges go to Receive him at landing: the Lord Mayor and Aldⁿ Receive his Excie at some Convenient place on Lazy Hill ; likewise the Guard of Battleax, and when his Excie is landed to proceed from Ringsend to the Castle after the following manner." Further on the Order runs : " But if his Excie Lands on the North side the streets are to be lined from the Castle Gate over Essex Bridge, and so toward the Red House Strand, and all that were to receive his Excie at Ringsend are to attend at some convenient place by Clontarf."¹

On the opening of Parliament, an Address was presented to the Queen,

¹ " Civil Affairs Book," vol. ix., p. 60.

and, upon receiving her reply, Addison and two others were appointed to prepare an Address of Thanks to Her Majesty for her most gracious answer. During this Session the Protestant section of the country was greatly scandalised by three college students, on the morning of the 26th June, stealing the truncheon of King William in College Green, and plastering his face with mud. A reward of 100*l.* was offered for the detection of the culprits, who excused the act as a boyish frolic. But the High Church party soon had their revenge. The Presbyterians ventured to trespass on the spiritual preserves of the Established Church, by preaching at Drogheda. They were arrested, and bound over before the Mayor to stand their trial at the next Assizes. They appealed to the Viceroy; and Wharton, whose sympathies had always been with the Dissenters, ordered the prosecution to be dropped. Thereupon the bishops complained to the Queen. The Dissenters, on the other hand, maintained that it could not be a crime to assist in the work of converting the Roman Catholics, and that they had created no disturbance. In the midst of this storm, either on account of it, or because the ministry was falling, Wharton was recalled, and both he and Addison left Ireland in August, 1710. The latter spent a few days in England in the country for the benefit of his eyes, which do not appear to have been strong at this period, and, on arriving in London, wrote to Dawson, on the 1st of September, hoping that the hurricane which was raised at the close of the last session had been laid. He immediately threw himself into the political fray, and defended the falling ministry in his *Whig Examiner*.

But his Secretaryship had not yet terminated. Lord Wharton, on arriving in England, had an audience with the Queen. When the news arrived in Ireland, the Lords Justices immediately concluded that Lord Wharton had resigned his Viceroyalty, and commenced to act independently of him from the 22nd September. Addison had written to Dawson telling him that, though his Lordship had expressed to the Queen his unwillingness to continue in office when all his friends were dismissed, he (Addison) did not believe that Wharton would be out of it for some months later. To this Dawson replied: "You might be assured that whatever you writ to me was lodged in a safe hand; but what you desired should not be taken notice of, came over hither by twenty letters in the same post; and the Whitehall letters from both secretaries' offices, which came hither by the same packet with yours, positively mention my Lord Lieutenant's resignation of his Government to Her Majesty on the 22nd of the last month; so that it is here no secret, and everybody says upon it that His Excellency cannot act any more on his commission, but that the Government is absolutely in the hands of the Lords Justices, till a new Governor is appointed." On the 17th October Addison wrote to Lord Wharton, informing him of the substance of Dawson's letter, and adding: "I will not take any notice of the receipt of this letter till I hear further from your Lordship; having by the last

post, and all along, written in the character of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Your Lordship is doubtless the best judge of this matter, how far the resignation went, and how far it was accepted; or whether it could be accepted effectually but by superseding your Lordship's commission. I shall only take notice that your Lordship's letters to the Secretary of State, and to the Lords Justices in Ireland—the first relating to the horses that are wanting there, and the other to the draughting of 250 dragoons for the embarkation of them—bear date Sept. 23. . . . Nobody here knows what to think of the present state of affairs. Those who got the last Parliament dissolved, are as much astonished, and they say troubled, for the glut of Tories that will be in the next as the Whigs themselves."

On the 21st Addison wrote to Dawson: "I have this morning received your letter, wherein you tell me that it was the opinion in Ireland that the L^{ds} Justices act in that Kingdome from the 22nd of the last month independently upon my L^a Wharton. This letter was unfortunately sent after me to Malmesbury where it lay in the hands of a Burgher that brought it up to town with him and did not deliver it into my hands till yesterday. You know what I writt to you was *en confidence* and I believe you do not think it any extraordinary thing that the newspapers should turn out my L^a Lieutenant when they had such a ground for it as the Conference I mentioned to you between y^e Q. and his L^{dp}, when they displace people every day upon much less Authority. However His L^{dp} was so far from Resigning his office at that time that when he desired to be dismissed H.M. laid Her Commands upon him to continue and take no notice of what he had said to her, till she had time to consider who should succeed him, and should signifie her further pleasure. My lord Wharton has since that time received H. Majestie's commands upon matters relating to the Government of Ireland and has done several Acts encumbent upon him by vertue of his Commission as L^a Lieutenant and with submission I think it as Ridiculous for the L^{ds} Justices to act otherwise than under that Commission (unlesse Her Majesty had been pleased to send them a new one) as it would have been for any other to have taken upon him the Government without any Commission at all. It has happened very often in England that persons have refused to serve in a Commission, as particularly in that of Trade, and have absented themselves purposely from the Board, but still have been reputed and paid as Commissioners till superceded by a new Commission w^{ch} has perhaps been signed several months after their refusing to serve. But you know my L^a Wharton's case dos by no means come up to this and has nothing of a Resignation in it. Besides that it is a received maxime here that nothing can supersede a great seal but a Great Seal. This however I write only as my private thoughts to yourself. . . ." The contest between Lord Wharton

and the Lords Justices was settled by the passing of Lord Ormond's patent as Lord Lieutenant on the 26th October; and Addison ceased for a time to be Secretary.

Whatever the political success of Lord Wharton's Government had been during these two years, its moral tone had left much to be desired. Several of his appointments had been scandalous; and we have the authority of Swift for the story that on one occasion, in recommending one of his boon companions to a bishop for ecclesiastical preferment, he said: "My Lord, Mr. — is a very honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a little too immoral." Hearne tells us in his "Collectanea" that Lord Wharton had gained "by his government of Ireland under two year five and forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation." There seems to have been a wish in some quarters to impeach him. Addison rather scouted the idea, but, all the same, made preparations to meet it. Writing to Dawson on the 14th December, he said: "In your Last you told me that y^e Bp of Killaloo had bin at your office for a copy of L^d Wharton's Letter relating to Flemming. I wish you could intimate to me the use that will be made of it, or any other particulars y^t may be of service in case the Impeachm^t goes on w^{ch} we are still threatned with. All that I can learn by whisper and com^{on} fame is that H. L^dp will be accused for vacating Mr. Probys Grant, Borguards Commission, constituting a Govern^r of Wicklow, and receiving exorbitant sums from the Queen towards his Reg^t of Dragoons with several other frivolous points. For my own part, tho perhaps I was not the most obliged person y^t was near His Lordship, I shall think myself bound in Honour to do him what Right I can in case he should be attacked, and therefore should be glad if you w^d help me to any papers precedents or Answers that might be of use in this particular, for doubtlesse you may hear more of the intended accusation than I can do. All that I have yet heard is I think impartially speaking very insignificant and Trifling. I am affraid if this matter comes on it will be necessary to have copys of the Office Books during His L^dps Administration, and if such may be made I'll not only pay the price of y^e Copying but send one over on purpose to receive them."¹ On the 12th of January following he wrote again to Dawson—"I hear no more of the impeachm^t. I fancy y^e scurrilous little Book you have seen woud never have been written had any such thing been intended. I have not yet heard any article w^{ch} I think I am not able to give an answer to. As for my counter-signing any unjustifiable order were it so there can be no pretence of a fault in it, but y^e supposicon being groundlesse it does not deserve a consideration. However I thank you for your kind Intimation in that particular."² On the 25th of the same month he writes: "I do not hear anything more of the Impeachment;"³ and the matter was evidently dropped. The

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1422.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1443.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1447.

scurrilous little book referred to above was the work of Dean Swift. It was entitled "A Short Character of His Ex: T. E. of W. L. L. of I——, 1711, with an Account of some smaller Facts, during His Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment." This book contains many serious charges against Wharton; but we can hardly expect an impartial account from Swift, who had been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant for preferment, but had been ignored by him.

Addison's letters in the autumn of 1710 disclose an incident which appears to have escaped the notice of his biographers. We all know him as a poet, dramatist, and essayist; but we have to view him in a new light as a trader. Fortunately his commercial venture was a failure, or literature might have been obliged to yield to the counting-house. He writes to Dawson on the 1st September: "The last [letter] brings me the Ill news of my shooes being damaged. . . . I hope your friendship and Mr. Watson's good offices will disappoint the malice of a couple of storms that have discouraged me from ever sending any more ventures to sea."¹ On the 21st of the same month he writes: "I have just now received yours of the 14th Instant, and am very much obliged to you for your care of the shoes w^{ch} is a Commodity I am resolved never to deal in again."² On the 22nd October he writes: "I hope you have been so kind as to sell the shooes according to an Intimation in a former letter from you." This is all we know about his speculation, except a letter a few days afterwards to Dawson asking for the proceeds of the sale.

Although, by the change of Government, Addison had lost his Secretaryship, he still retained his post of Keeper of the Records in the Bermingham Tower. He seems to have been very apprehensive that he would lose that position also, though he received most satisfactory assurances from the Duke of Ormond; and both Mr. Southwell, who had succeeded him, and Joshua Dawson, had promised to stand by him. Swift also added his encouragement, for he wrote to him: "I am convinced that whatever government come over, you will find all marks of kindness, from any Parliament here with respect to your employment; the Tories contending with the Whigs which should speak best of you." Addison wrote to Mr. Keally on the 21st December about his fears: "I am prepared for all changes; but if I continue in my Irish post, as I have reason to hope from what his Grace was pleased to say to me of his own accord, I intend to visit my friends in that Kingdom next summer"; and in another letter to the same friend on the same topic, he writes: "I have had incredible losses since I saw you last; but this only I communicate to yourself, for I know the most likely way to keep a place is to appear not to want it." And, referring to the weakness of his eyes, he added: "It is to this indisposition that I have desired Mr. Southwell and Dawson to attribute my not coming to my post so soon as

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1344.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1356.

I should have otherwise done." By his incredible losses, he was referring to the fact of his having just lost an estate of £14,000 in the West Indies. He evidently changed his mind about coming over to Ireland, for in a letter to Mr. Wortley, dated 21st July, 1711, he wrote, "I believe I shall not go for Ireland this summer. . . I find they are going to take away my Irish place from me too." Again, on 28th February, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$, he wrote to Dawson, "I hope to kisse your hands next summer in Ireland, that I may look after my place in person. In the meanwhile I shou'd be obliged to you if you would let me know how far my Licence of absence reaches."¹ However, it does not appear that he carried out his intention of again visiting Ireland, probably finding the pursuit of his literary labours, and the production of "*Cato*," more congenial than performing his official duties as Keeper of the State Papers.

On the death of Queen Anne, and the accession of George I. to the throne, a Whig ministry was formed, and Lord Sunderland was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He chose Addison to be his Secretary—a post he had formerly filled to Lord Sunderland when the latter was a Secretary of State. Addison was again appointed a Privy Councillor of Ireland, in September, 1714; and he made Eustace Budgell, his kinsman, his Under-Secretary. On the 23rd December his Patent of Keeper of the State Papers was renewed. Lord Sunderland during the year of his Viceroyalty never came over to Ireland. His absence was probably caused by his ill-health, though various rumours were current as to the nature of his illness. Addison thought it right to contradict these rumours, for, on the 28th April, 1715, he wrote to the Duke of Grafton, one of the Lords Justices: "I can only acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's last letters, without being able to return any satisfactory answer to them, my Lord Lieutenant not being yet well enough recovered to give any directions in public business. He has not found the desired effects from the country air and remedies which he has taken, so that he is at length prevailed upon to go to the Bath, which we hope will set him right, if we may believe the assurances given him by his physicians. Your Grace has, doubtless, heard many idle reports which have been industriously spread abroad with relation to his distemper, which is nothing else but the cholic occasioned by a too frequent use of vomits, to which the physicians add the drinking of small beer in too great quantities, when he has found himself a little heated." And again, on the 2nd July, he writes to Archbishop King: "My Lord Sunderl^d, tho' perfectly cured of his cholic pains, has frequent returns of his palpitations, which last a day or two together, and are very uneasy to him." The state of the Lord Lieutenant's health seems to have afforded a very good reason for Addison stopping in London,

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1638

instead of coming over to Ireland, for while His Excellency was going about England in search of health, it was necessary for his Secretary to be in London to receive communications from the Lords Justices.

But Miss Aikin, in her *Life of Addison*, and other biographers, with startling unanimity, affirm that Addison came over to Ireland in 1715. Miss Aikin gives two reasons. The first is that Tickell, in his *Life of Addison*, mentions that Addison took him over to Dublin this year (1715), to initiate him in public business; and secondly, the following anecdote that Addison came over at the time when Swift was at the height of his unpopularity. He had been advised not to show the smallest civility to the Dean of St. Patrick's, but had answered to such advice, that "it might be necessary for men whose fidelity to their party was suspected to hold no intercourse with political opponents; but that one who had been a steady Whig in the worst times might venture, when the good cause was triumphant, to shake hands with an old friend who was one of the vanquished Tories." Now, I think that this anecdote, as it is not given on any authority, may be dismissed when considering the question of Addison's presence in Ireland in 1715, at least during his Secretaryship; but Miss Aikin's statement, on the authority of Tickell, requires more attention. I have carefully read through Tickell's *Life of Addison*, but can find nothing to substantiate Miss Aikin's assertion. It must be remembered that in former times the Chief Secretary came over with the Lord Lieutenant, and left the country with him, and their places were taken by the Lords Justices and their Clerk. As Lord Sunderland was roaming about England in search of health, it was most necessary that his Secretary should be in London to receive communications from the Lords Justices. In fact, during the period of his second Secretaryship, almost all his letters are dated from London. It is very likely that he gave Tickell some position under him there; but I do not think that Tickell came over to Ireland at this period. On the contrary, this was the very time when his translation of "*The Iliad*" was being brought out in London, and when his presence in the capital would be very necessary.

There are in existence two letters of Addison's, written in October, 1715, to Archbishop King, which would appear to conclusively settle the matter. On the 4th of that month he wrote, "I am not without hopes of paying my duty to your Grace in person very suddenly"¹; and again, on the 6th, "During the late ministry, I was under apprehensions every day of being removed, not having deserved the indulgence at their hands which they were pleased to show me. This hindered me from settling the office I have so long enjoy'd in the method prescribed me by the grant. This, with the obligation I am under to take the oaths, will, I hope, give me the honour of waiting on your Grace in Ireland."²

¹ Appendix to Second Report of Historical MSS. Commissioners, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Addison could hardly have written these letters if he had been over in Ireland previously in the year; and as, at the time he did write them, he had already lost his Secretaryship by the resignation of Lord Sunderland, the story of his bringing Tickell over to Ireland to instruct him in his official duties may be regarded, I think, as a fiction. Even after writing the second letter, he does not appear to have revisited Ireland, as I can find no signature of his on the Rolls of Oaths in the Hanaper collection to show that he did take the oaths at this time, which he would assuredly have done had he come over, though there are some stanzas by Nicholas Rowe to Lady Warwick, on Mr. Addison's going to Ireland.

In this year, 1715, the Jacobite tendency manifested in Trinity College gave some anxiety to the Government. On May 30th Budgell wrote from Dublin Castle to Addison, that the feeling of disaffection to His Majesty's Government, manifested by many members of Trinity College, did not receive "that discouragement from the governing part of the College which might be expected," and that Chief Justice Whitshed recommended the King to issue a letter, putting off the election of Fellows and Scholars until his further pleasure was known. Addison wrote to Archbishop King on the 5th June: "Upon the receipt of Mr. Budgell's letter yesterday in the afternoon, I very much pressed the Secretary to get an order for that post to put off the election at Dublin College, but he told me it could not possibly be done before this day, when a Cabinet Council is to meet. I then gave into his hands some other memorandums relating to the dispersion of libels, &c., that they might be laid before the Cabinet at the same time, which he promised me to do. I have ordered an expresse to be in readinesse upon occasion; since a very short delay or a contrary wind may render an order ineffectual, and it will be now more than two days before the departure of the ordinary post."¹ Accordingly, next day, the 6th, a King's Letter was written to the Provost and Fellows, stating that, "We have informed that of late there have hapned several Tumults and Disputes in Trinity College near Dublin, to the great Disturbance of the Quiet thereof, and to the preventing of the Students from preparing themselves for their several Examinations in order to the ensuing Election of Fellows and Scholars of the said College, do judge it highly necessary for our Service, and the advantage of the said College, that the said Election should be put off untill these abuses are enquired into and redressed."

The letter of Addison's quoted above also contains a reference to the Palatines, and shows that the difficulty of extracting money from the Treasury was experienced by our ancestors, two hundred years ago, as well as by the present generation. He writes: "I have several times solicited the Treasury, both by letter and word of mouth, upon the affaire of the Palatines, and find the Comm'rs and secretaries of that office can

¹ Appendix to Second Report of Historical MSS. Commissioners, p. 251.

very difficultly persuade themselves of the reasonableness of what is proposed in the report on that subject; but yesterday I pressed them so far in it that they called for the papers, and gave an order to draw up such a warrant as is desired, w^{ch} I hope to transmitt some time next week. I am bound in justice, on this occasion, to acquaint your Grace that Hintz, the agent of the Palatines, has been an indefatigable solicitor, both at the Treasury and with my L^d Lieutenant." About the month of July, Addison memorialised His Majesty for an increase of salary as Keeper of the State Papers. He submitted, "That your memorialist's profits as Secretary under my Lord Sunderland have fallen very much short of what might have been expected from that office, and (contrary to the profits of other the like offices in this first happy year of your Majesty's reign) have amounted to no more than they usually are in any common year, by reason of his Lordship's absence from that kingdom, and his not being qualified to give out military commissions." The result was that George I., by his warrant dated 4th October, 1715, not only increased the salary to £500 a year, but also granted him the office for life, instead of during pleasure, as it had formerly been held. But before this warrant was signed, Addison had lost his post of Secretary, as Lord Sunderland resigned his Lord Lieutenancy on the 28th August. Addison, however, was very soon afterwards appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade.

We hear no more about Addison in connexion with Ireland till the year 1717, when, upon his appointment as Secretary for State, he received a letter of congratulation from the Lords Justices of Ireland. To this he replied on the 23rd April: "I am highly sensible of the honour your Excellencies do me by your kind letter of congratulation upon my coming into a troublesome post. I shall take a great deal of pleasure in it if it qualifies me to perform anything that may be agreeable to your Excellencies, because I know everything that is so will be for his Majesty's service. As many of the affairs of Ireland are to pass through my hands, I shall give them all the despatch possible, and be always glad of receiving any commands from your Excellencies." Consequently we may conclude that he had some influence in obtaining the additional grant of £5000 for building the library in Trinity College, Dublin, which was made in November, 1717. The former grant of £5000 had been made in 1711.

The state of Addison's health, however, did not allow him to hold his secretaryship long, and on the 14th March, 171 $\frac{7}{8}$, he resigned the post. On the 19th of the same month he was granted a pension of £1600 a year on the Irish Establishment—a reward which he said "never proceeded from any request or intimation of my own," but was a "mark of His Ma^{ties} acceptance of my poor services." Writing on the 22nd inst. to Archbishop King, he said: "The affairs of Ireland being now entirely passed from my hands into those of others, I can only

thank your Grace for the honour of your last letter"; and asked his Grace's good offices in giving the proper orders for getting the warrant for his pension properly executed. He continued to hold his post of Keeper of the Records till the next year, when, on the 15th June, 1719, he surrendered that office, which he had held for nearly ten years. He died two days afterwards of asthma and dropsy.

There are some questions in connexion with Addison's life in Ireland which can be answered, though only to a small extent, by his letters. And one of the first subjects which arouse our curiosity is that of his friendships here. In this respect Dean Swift shines out pre-eminently. The esteem and affection which these two great men felt for one another was so great as to be able to withstand, though naturally not without some loss, the shock of political apostacy. In writing to Swift, Addison put an unusual warmth into his correspondence, and makes us feel that his sentiments of admiration were no empty compliments. Their friendship probably began soon after the appearance of Addison's poem of "The Campaign," which brought him into note. In the flyleaf of a copy of his "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy," which he presented to Swift, he wrote: "To Dr. Jonathan Swift, the most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest Genius of his age, This Book is presented by his most humble Servant the Author." When Addison was about to come over to Ireland as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Swift wrote to Col. Hunter: "Mr. Addison is hurrying away for Ireland, and I pray too much business may not spoil *le plus honnête homme du monde*, for it is certain which of a man's good talents he employs on business must be detracted from his conversation." To Archbishop King he wrote: "Mr. Addison, who goes over our first secretary, is a most excellent person, and being my intimate friend I shall use my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things. I will say nothing further of his character to your Grace at present, because he has half persuaded me to have some thoughts of returning to Ireland, and then it will be time enough; but if it happens otherwise, I presume to recommend him to your Grace as a person you will think worth your acquaintance."

Addison was not backward in reciprocating Swift's feelings. In July, 1709, he wrote to Swift: "I think it very hard I should be in the same kingdom with Dr. Swift, and not have the happiness of his company once in three days. The B. of Clogher intends to call on you this morning, as will your humble servant on my return from Chapel-Izzard, whither I am just now going." Again, on the 11th April, 1710, he writes from London: "I hope to have the happiness of waiting on you very suddenly at Dublin, and do not at all regret the leaving of England, while I am going to a place where I shall have the satisfaction and honour of Dr. Swift's conversation." That these expressions were sincere and not mere empty compliments is clearly shown in the following letter which

Addison addressed to Swift on the 3rd June in the same year: "I am just now come from Finglass where I have been drinking your health, and talking of you, with one who loves and admires you better than any man in the world, except your humble servant. We both agree in a request that you will set out for Dublin as soon as possible. To tell you truly, I find the place disagreeable, and cannot imagine why it should appear so now more than it did last year. You know I look upon everything that is like a compliment as a breach of friendship, and therefore shall only tell you that I long to see you; without assuring you that I love your company and value your conversation more than any man's, or that I am, with the most inviolable sincerity and esteem, dear sir, Your most faithful, most humble and most obedient servant, J. ADDISON."

Upon Addison's leaving Ireland in 1710, Swift wrote to him that he need have no fear about losing his post of Keeper of the Records, as he was esteemed by both political parties: "In short, if you will come over again when you are at leisure, we will raise an army and make you king of Ireland. Can you think so meanly of a kingdom as not to be pleased that every creature in it who hath one grain of worth, has a veneration for you? I know there is nothing in this to make you add any value to yourself; but it ought to convince you that they are not an undistinguishing people." But the bond of affection was to undergo a severe strain. Upon the fall of the Whig ministry, Swift went over to London, and was so won over by the polite attentions of the Tories that he threw the weight of his unrivalled powers into the scale against his old friends. This Addison found it hard to forgive. Swift wrote to Stella in December, 1710: "Mr. Addison and I are as different as black and white, and I believe our friendship will go off by this d—— business of party. He cannot bear seeing me fall in so with the Ministry; but I love him still as much as ever, though we seldom meet." The man who, when Swift was in Dublin, had been almost his only associate except Stella, and her "club of Deans and Stoytes," was now become a mere acquaintance. "All our friendship and dearness are off," he wrote to Stella; "we are civil acquaintance, talk words of course, of when we shall meet, and that's all. Is it not odd?" And again: "I went to Mr. Addison's, and dined with him at his lodgings: I had not seen him these 3 weeks; we are grown common acquaintance. . . . I have represented Addison himself so to the ministry, that they think and talk in his favour, though they hated him before. Well, he is now in my debt, and there's an end; and I never had the least obligation to him, and there's another end." The acquaintance, however, continued, though never quite on the old lines. Addison wrote to Swift on 20th March, 171 $\frac{1}{4}$: "Shall we never again talk together in laconic? Whenever you see England, your company will be the most acceptable in the world at Holland House."

Another friend of Addison's was Joseph Keally, of Keally Mount, Kilkenny. He was M.P. for Doneraile, 1703-1713, Recorder of

Kilkenny, and Attorney-General of the Palatinate of Tipperary. Addison must have made his acquaintance in England, for when his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship was made known, Steele sent a letter to Mr. Keally in Ireland, telling him of the happiness his old acquaintance (Addison) proposed to himself in his friendship and conversation. Addison, in one of his letters to him, writes: "As for my own part, I look upon one of the greatest benefits of my place in Ireland to have been the opportunity it gave me of making so valuable a man my friend, and could heartily wish that it might ever be in my power to deserve it by anything further than the most sincere esteem and hearty good wishes." On another occasion he wrote: "Lady Wharton was speaking to me, two mornings ago, with great esteem of you, and tells me that my Lord is fully determined to put you into the Appeals when in Ireland, which I did not think fit to make the least doubt of." His Lordship's determination ended there, for Mr. Keally was not put into the Appeals. Addison also appears to have been on intimate terms with Robert FitzGerald and Charles Monck, brothers-in-law of Joseph Keally.

Addison was the means of bringing over his kinsman, Eustace Budgell, to Ireland. It is said that he wrote the famous epilogue to "The Distressed Mother," and got it ascribed to Budgell, to further the interests of the latter in getting an appointment. On the 4th December, 1709, he wrote to Dawson: "If my lodgings are empty, I desire you will put them into the possession of my Kinsman, the Bearer, who will make a very regular and quiet neighbour for you." He procured him a position in his office, which Budgell evidently continued to hold after Addison had lost his Secretaryship, as we find him writing to Dawson on the 22nd October, 1710: "I beg leave to recommend my Kinsman, the Bearer, to the continuance of your favour." Many of the papers in the *Spectator* were contributed by him. When Addison was again appointed Chief Secretary in 1714, he appointed Budgell to act as his deputy at the solicitation of Irish gentlemen, and by particular direction of the Lord Lieutenant. Besides this post, he was also made Chief Secretary to the Lords Justices, Deputy Clerk of the Council, and Member of Parliament. On the change of government in 1715, Stanhope recommended the Lords Justices to continue Budgell in his post of Chief Clerk "under the Secretaries." In 1717 Addison procured for him the place of Accountant-General, with £400 a-year. Next year a vacancy occurred in this office, to which Budgell wished to appoint his brother. Mr. Webster, the Chief Secretary, desired that a Mr. Maddocks should be appointed. The dispute ended in Budgell losing his post. He sided with Steele in his dispute with Addison, after whose death he gradually descended lower and lower, till in 1737 he terminated his career by suicide.

Swift tells us, in his "Character of Mrs. Johnson," that she admired Addison's practice of agreeing with people who were "very warm in a wrong opinion"; but I am afraid one is hardly justified in drawing the

conclusion from this that he and Mrs. Johnson were friends, though Swift does say that at one period of his life in Ireland he associated with nobody but Addison, Stella, "and your club of Deans and Stoytes."

With respect to the financial advantages which Addison obtained from the position he held in Ireland, we know that he received first £400 and afterwards £500 a year from his Keepership of the Records. The rest of his emoluments came from the drawing up of orders of reference for reports, making out warrants, and especially from issuing military commissions. The profit on such work was considerable. Addison wrote in 1711 to a friend that he had lost a place worth £2000, which could only refer to his Secretaryship, which he had shortly before been obliged to give up through the resignation of Lord Wharton. This sum did not include his salary as Keeper of the Records, of which, at the time he wrote and for some years after, he still retained possession. But Addison was a man with a grievance. His letters are full of references to the unfair way in which he considered he was treated.

In one respect his complaints seem to have had some grounds. It was the custom of the Chief Secretary to get the benefit of the fees not only from the renewal of commissions in Ireland, but also for the issuing of new commissions when the levy money for regiments for Ireland (though raised in England) was issued out of the revenues of Ireland, as the commissions were signed by the Lord Lieutenant, and the fees of the said commissions paid to his Secretary. But as Sunderland, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, never resided there or took the oaths, he could not sign the commissions, and consequently his Secretary could not get the fees. He petitioned Lord Townshend, on the 31st May, 1715, that he "would be pleased to grant the same indulgence to the Irish Secretary in the passing of these commissions as in the renewal of the other military commissions for that Kingdom"; and added that "without the indulgence you have already been pleased to show me, my place under the Lord Lieutenant would have been worth very little to me, and indeed much less than I thought it would have been." In a Memorial to George I. in the same year he asserted "that your memorialist's profits as Secretary under my Lord Sunderland have fallen very much short of what might have been expected from that office, and (contrary to the profits of other the like offices in this first happy year of your Majesty's reign) have amounted to no more than they usually are in any common year, by reason of his Lordship's absence from that Kingdom, and his not being qualified to give out military commissions." Apparently, Addison did not succeed in getting his request granted, for in a letter of 22nd August in the same year, to Archbishop King, he wrote: "As the Secretaries of State here have drawn from me about a thousand pounds by the commissions which they have given out, so if I lose the benefit of the two quarters

succeeding the Queen's death, my place will be quite starved by my L^d L^{ts} absence from the Government."

But apart from this injustice, Addison, not being an absolutely perfect man, found his better nature at times at variance with his besetting weakness. His temperament was so conscientious and scrupulous that he found himself utterly unable to increase his wealth by taking an unfair advantage of his political position, whilst, on the other hand, not only did he exact every farthing he was legitimately entitled to, but the sight of other men, with fewer scruples, passing him in the race for wealth, produced a querulousness which found expression in many of his letters. As regards his conscientiousness and his opinion of the way a public official should behave, we get a very clear idea in one of the numbers of the *Spectator*. Writing on the subject of the corrupt official, he says: "Such an one is the man who, upon any pretence whatsoever, receives more than what is the stated and unquestioned fee of his office. Gratifications, tokens of thankfulness, despatch money, and the like specious terms, are the pretences under which corruption very frequently shelters itself. An honest man will, however, look on all these methods as unjustifiable, and will enjoy himself better on a moderate fortune that is gained with honour and reputation, than on an overgrown estate that is cankered with the acquisitions of rapine and exaction. Were all our offices discharged with such an inflexible integrity, we should not see men in all ages, who grow up to exorbitant wealth, with the abilities which are to be met with in an ordinary mechanic." In a letter to Hon. Major Dunbar he wrote: "And now, sir, believe me, when I assure you I never did nor ever will, on any pretence whatsoever, take more than the stated and customary fees of my office. I might keep the contrary practice concealed from the world, were I capable of it, but I could not from myself." He also informed Archbishop King that he did not follow his predecessors in taking fees for recommendatory letters or any business done in England.

A good instance of the monetary advantages which the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary could reap is recorded by Dean Swift. He had been promised the deanery of Derry by the Lord Lieutenant. When the vacancy occurred, he went to His Excellency to remind him of his promise. He, however, expressed his deep regret that his Secretary had promised the post to another. When Swift interviewed the Secretary on the matter, he was coolly informed that he had received £1000 from the other, but that if he (Swift) would lay down the money, he should have the preference.

Addison's sense of injustice comes out particularly strong in a letter he wrote to Lord Halifax on the 30th November, 1714. "If I am offered less than a thousand pounds, I shall beg leave not to accept it, since it will look more like a clerk's wage than a mark of His Majesty's favour. I verily believe that His Majesty may think that I had fees and

perquisites belonging to me under the Lords Justices, but though I was offered a present by the South Sea Company, I never took that nor anything else for what I did, as knowing I had no right to it. Were I of another temper, my present place in Ireland might be as profitable to me as some have represented it."

But though Addison was morally incapable of taking what was not justly his due, he exhibited no fastidiousness in exacting the utmost farthing to which he was lawfully entitled. He told Swift that, when he was appointed Keeper of the Records, he resolved not to remit the regular fees in civility to friends. "I may," said he, "have a hundred friends, and if my fee be two guineas, I shall, by relinquishing my right, lose 200 guineas, and no friend gain more than two. The evil suffered, therefore, exceeds, beyond all proportion, the benefit done." On one occasion he wrote to Dawson: "I must desire you to make y^m (the Deputy Com^{rs} of the Musters) pay the Fees that are usual on this occasion as well as all Q^{utly} fees for the future: and I am sure nobody can be so unreasonable as to think I do amisse in taking what is my due when I take nothing but w^t is so."¹

I am afraid that the foregoing extracts do not exhibit Addison in an amiable light. While we must admire the rectitude of his conduct, we can only regret that his love of money marred the peace of mind which should have attended it.

There seems to be a somewhat general impression that Addison lived at or was in some way connected with Glasnevin. Recently, in an evening newspaper, I came across a letter from a gentleman who wrote about that locality as being full of historic associations, and recalling romantic memories of the poet Parnell, of Addison, of Tickell, and of Swift; while a terrace of houses in that locality has been glorified with the name of Addison Terrace. But I believe this impression has no valid foundation to rest upon. It is true that the house at present tenanted by the Curator of the Botanic Gardens was once inhabited by Tickell; but he did not reside there till some years after Addison's death. It is probably through the connexion of these two men that the error arose. Addison resided, when in Dublin, in the official house of the Secretary in Dublin Castle. On the 22nd March, 170⁸/₉, John Pratt wrote to Addison: "Yo^r Lodgings in the Castle are in a good forwardness, and I believe will pretty well serve yo^r occasions during your stay here; if you want any Room when you come, you may command what you please in my Lodgings, which as Constable of the Castle I have next doore to yours."²

In the same month Addison, in writing to Dawson, was most particular to ask him to "give orders for anything that may be necessary to make my Lodgings Inhabitable." In December, 1709, when he was in London,

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1215.

² Miscellaneous Documents (Record Tower).

he sent Budgell over to Dublin, and wrote to Dawson in these terms: "If my Lodgings are empty, I desire you will put them into the possession of my Kinsman, the Bearer, who will make a very regular and quiet neighbour for you. I remember we talked of making a Cellar under the office, which this Gentleman may supervise if you think fit to mention it to Mr. Burgh."¹ The Secretary's Lodgings stood on the same side of the Upper Castle Yard as the present Chief Secretary's Office; and I am informed that there are still some rooms there which go by his name. There is a description of the Secretary's Lodgings, as written by Dawson to Southwell, when the latter was about to occupy them a few years before, from which we learn that there was on the ground-floor an office for the Secretary, with a large chamber as a waiting-room, a small room with a chimney, and a convenient closet and alphabet for papers, with rooms for the Under-Secretary and his clerks. Above were "a very good Lodgeing Roome, Dressing Roome, and Drawing Roome," with two good garrets on top. There was also a stable, with room for nine or ten horses, and a loft over it for hay, with bins and a settle-bed for servants. The lodging-room and dressing-room were wainscoted and painted; but the drawing-room was hung with some material. I can find no reference to Addison having resided anywhere else when in Dublin.

Addison's great failing, and one which all his biographers lay stress upon, was a fondness for the bottle. It has been suggested, in extenuation of this fault, that it was only by drinking wine that he was able to overcome his excessive shyness and taciturnity. Indeed, Macaulay goes so far as to suppose that it was his wine-drinking habits that made him so beloved, as such a moral lapse showed that, with all his perfections, he was only mortal after all. However that may be, with such tastes, his position in Ireland must have been very acceptable to him, since, as Privy Councillor, he was allowed a large quantity of wine duty free. But this would hardly account for his frequent references to wine when writing from England, since, as late as 1744¹, he was in doubt whether he was entitled to such a privilege when not resident in Ireland. He frequently wrote thanking Dawson for sending wine over to him, and also suggested that he might ingratiate himself with the Lord Lieutenant by making him a like present. It would appear that French wine in Ireland was much cheaper and better than could be procured in England. Southwell, writing to Dawson in February, 1748, asked him to assist a man whom Lord Buckley was sending over to Ireland to buy some very good French wine; while about the same time Rochester wrote to Dawson thanking him for a present of wine which he designed to make him, adding that wine out of Ireland was a very valuable thing. But there appears to have been great difficulty in getting it into England. Rochester asked Dawson to call it Portuguese wine. Addison, too, felt

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1176.

no compunction in cheating the Customs. He wrote to Dawson: "I wish you could contrive any way to send me over a Hogshead of Irish wine. Might not it be done in Boxes, and connived at by the Commissioners of the Revenue, or at least in single Hampers? I shall take it as a great favour if you can do me this piece of Friendship without losse of time."¹ On another occasion Addison's secretary writes to Dawson: "He thanks you for your kind offer in relation to the Hogshead of wine you would (if you had any conveniency) send to him, and would be extreamly glad if you could contrive any method for that purpose; he thinks it may be feasible to be sent after the same manner his Ex^{cie} had some come: viz. by informing The Com^{rs} of your side of it, who might send it by Parcells, and assign it to him, by the name of other wines. However, he leaves it to your management as you shall approve of it."²

Whether it was the effect of excessive wine-drinking or not, I cannot say; but Addison suffered a great deal with his eyes. He frequently apologises for writing by the hand of his secretary, on the ground that his eyes are so bad, that writing by candle-light would hurt them. On one occasion he mentions that he was going to Bath, in the hope of alleviating his indisposition.

There remains but one more point to notice in connexion with these letters of Addison, and that is his extreme caution. He writes to Dawson: "This is only to yourself, which I beg you to burn." Again: "If you please, burn this scrap of a letter." On another occasion he writes: "You would do well for the future to write on a separate paper anything that may regard yourself or me"; while, in regard to the incident about the Irish Lucretia mentioned above, he writes: "This I would not have known for a thousand Reasons."

Addison's career in Ireland was very brief, and we know very little about it. But anything in connexion with an English classical writer must prove interesting; and it is in such a belief that I have collected the foregoing details.³

¹ Brit. Dep. Corresp., No. 1162.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1170.

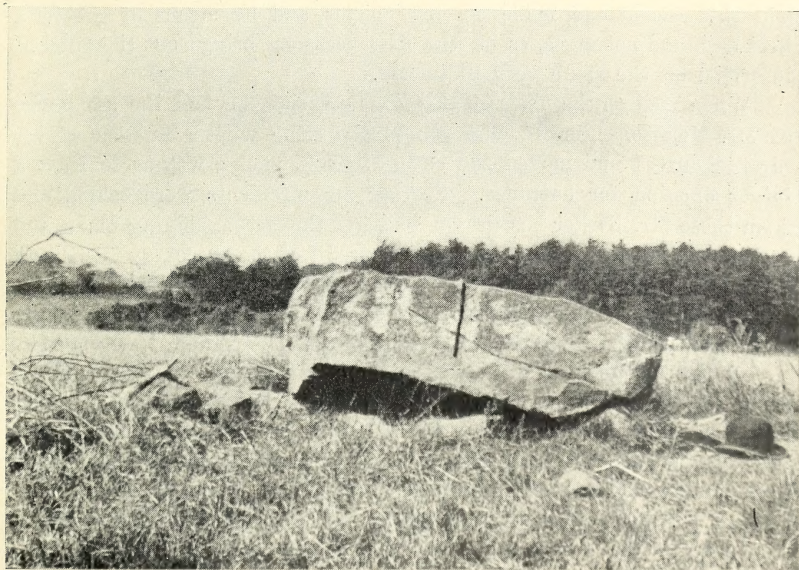
³ The British Departmental Correspondence and Civil Affairs Book referred to in the notes are to be found in the Public Record Office, Ireland.

“ THE DAFF STONE,” MONEYDIG, COUNTY DERRY.

BY THE LATE REV. GEORGE R. BUICK, A.M., LL.D., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read MARCH 29, 1904.]

THE above is the name popularly given to a large stone which lies on a low mound of earth in a field close to the Moneydig cross-roads. It is roughly diamond-shaped, the longer diagonal measuring about 7 feet, and the shorter about 4 feet. The average thickness is from 1 foot 9 inches to 2 feet. The field in which it lies belongs to



THE DAFF STONE CROMLECH, MONEYDIG, COUNTY DERRY.

(View from E. S. E.)

Mr. Morrison, of Fort Cottage, and is on the left hand of anyone coming from Garvagh. On the east it is bounded by the road which leads past the Presbyterian Church.

Recently, Mr. S. K. Kirker, c.e., and myself, happened to be driving past the place. Noticing the stone, we stopped to have a closer look at it. To our astonishment we discovered that it was the cover-stone of a sepulchral chamber. Clearing away some dead thorn-bushes which were

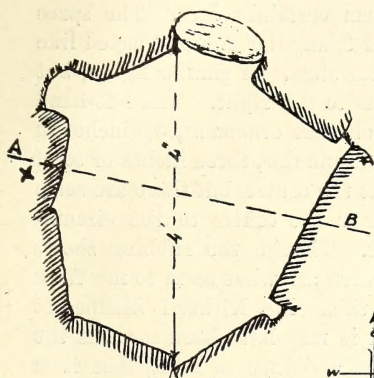
about, we found that the stone did not quite cover the chamber at one particular spot. We were afterwards told that the bushes were designed to prevent some young lambs, which were in the field, from falling through the opening thus formed. Making his way, with much difficulty, into the chamber by this "open door," Mr. Kirker, after taking some measurements, made a further discovery. He reported that one of the upright stones forming the chamber had some curious markings or scribings upon it. I immediately secured some paper from a neighbouring shop, and he made me a rubbing, which, though not very satisfactory, showed at least that the stone was rudely decorated. This rubbing I shortly afterwards took to Dublin, and submitted to Mr. Coffey for examination; but, on my return home, it somehow got mislaid, and I have not seen it since. I therefore asked Mr. Kirker, in case he happened to be in the neighbourhood of Moneydig again, to try and procure me another, and, if possible, a better one. This he kindly did; and this second one, made on good paper, and by means of cobbler's heel-ball, and not grass, as on the first occasion, brings out the pattern inscribed on the stone very distinctly.

When visiting the place on this later occasion, he had the assistance of Mr. Morrison himself, who generously came with a number of his farm-labourers, and moved the cover-stone in such a way as to leave a larger opening for entrance. Further measurements were taken, and from these Mr. Kirker has drawn to scale the accompanying plans and section. And here I may say that the credit of the discovery is entirely due to him, though he has left it to me to put it on record, as I chanced to be with him on the first visit, and to have taken some notes of what then came under our observation.

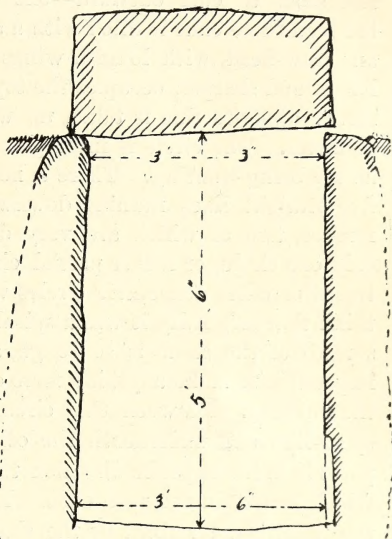
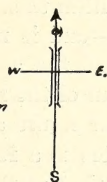
Of the chamber or cist itself little need be said. A glance at the plans will do more than words to give a correct idea of its character. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and about 4 feet in breadth, is roughly circular on the ground-plan, is constructed of large slabs of basalt, and shows no sign of ever having had a regular pavement. We saw no traces of bones or pottery, but no excavations were made. It is quite possible that if the floor were carefully dug, some traces of interment, as also of pavement, would be found.

The word 'Daff' means in Irish 'a vat or tub'; and certainly the appearance which the chamber presents to anyone looking in justifies the name. Seven large stones form the staves of the 'cask,' if I may so put it, and the cover-stone furnishes the lid. In two instances at least the interstices between the upright stones are filled in with smaller ones. So far, however, as I now remember, only one of these smaller 'staves' reaches the top or cover-stone.

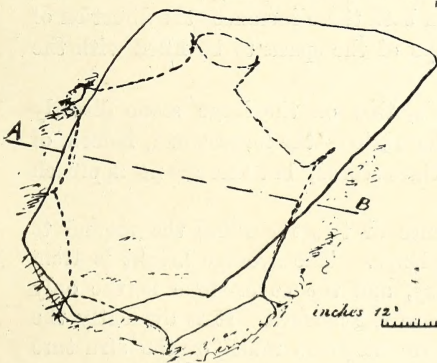
The stone marked X on the plan is the one which carries the scribings. They occur at about one-third of the height from the bottom as exposed, and cover a space 1 foot 7 inches broad by 1 foot high. On an average



Sectional Plan at bottom



Vertical Section on line A.B.



Plan at top

— Scale —

inches 12 9 1 2 3 4 feet

SNK
27.5.4

THE DAFF STONE, MONEYDIG, COUNTY DERRY.

they are one-tenth of an inch in width. They are made up of five figures; the largest is a spear-shaped one, and runs almost across the entire space occupied. It also occurs below the other four. The edges of the blade are formed by a series of scorings, at least five or six on the upper edge, and ten or twelve on the under one. The ends are open, and seem to curl outward—one of them certainly does. The space between these ends is filled with a smaller triangular figure, shaped like an arrow-head, with longish wings and no stem. A similar figure, but longer and sharper, occupies the top corner to the right. The left-hand corner opposite this is taken up with a circular ornament, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The circle is incomplete, or penannular, three inches or so of an arc being wanting. There is no cup at the centre, but there are some five straight lines running downward from the centre to the circumference, two of which are very distinct. Though the rubbing shows only one circle, or rather partial circle, there are what seem to me faint traces of other concentric circles within this. Mr. Kirker is inclined to think that originally it was a spiral—and it may have been so; but the surface of the stone is so rough, and the scribings so faint, that it is impossible to make anything more out of the figure than what appears on the rubbing. Between this circular figure and the point of the large spear-like one underneath the others is a fourth 'broad arrow.' Its point is in the opposite direction to that of the 'spear,' and also of that which is within the open ends. In both these instances the direction of the point is determined by the shape of the space to be filled with the ornamentation.

I may add, before I leave this, that on the large stone directly opposite to the one bearing the decoration—the largest one, indeed, of all the uprights—there are a few lines scored, but there is no approach to a pattern.

It only remains to add a sentence or two regarding the mound to which this sepulchral chamber belongs. The average height is from 3 to 4 feet; it is composed of clay, and the cover-stone is the only portion of the cist which shows above the surface. It is evidently the remnant of a large tumulus. In recent years much of the structure was carted away. Several of the older residents in the neighbourhood remember when it was much larger. Round part of what remains there are evidences that the original mound was faced with stones at the bottom. A few of these still remain.

Of its age one can only form a guess. Judging from the size of the chamber, and from the ornamentation, it certainly belongs to the Bronze Age, and probably to the latest rather than to the earliest part of this period. Farther than this I am not prepared to go.

A DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK CASTLE, 1642.

BY M. J. McENERY, B.A., M.R.I.A.

[Read FEBRUARY 23, 1904.]

THE Board of Trinity College, Dublin, has kindly permitted me to bring before the Society a copy of the manuscript preserved in their library entitled "A Relation or Dyary of y^e siege of y^e castle of Limerick by y^e Irish from May 18 until June 23, 1642."

It furnishes an account of the siege, day by day, and was kept by one of the besieged royalists. He does not give his name, and makes very few references to himself specially; but there are three entries which would show that he was a person of importance. In the entry for 23rd May he says: "This day all y^e horses we had in y^e castle (but two of mine) were turned out at y^e water port." The entry for 4th June states that "Adam Darling . . . chanced to light upon certaine letters . . . one from the right Ho^{ble} the Earle of Corke to Cap. Courtney, the other from my brother Oliver unto myselfe." And in the entry for 23rd June he states that Oliver Stevenson, one of the enemy's chief commanders, was a kind acquaintance of his.

The manuscript consists of eight pages, very closely written, and is bound, with other documents relating to the period, into a quarto volume classed F. 4. 16. So far as I have been able to discover, it has never been published; and I have found no allusion to it in any history of the period.

It records how a most important royal castle was defended against a strong force of Irish who had risen in rebellion, the sufferings of the garrison, the circumstances which obliged them to capitulate, and the methods of attack adopted by the besiegers.

Startling stories of cruelty have been levelled against the insurgents of this great civil war; but the pen of an enemy herein testifies to the contrary in the strongest manner, and proves that even at that early period of the war the Southern Irish had adopted, and were enforcing, usages which would do credit to the most civilized and humane warfare at the present day.

The castle was defended by Captain George Courtenay, a younger son of Sir William Courtenay, head of the famous house of Courtenay, Earls of Devon; and the garrison consisted of sixty men of his company, twenty-eight warders, and others to the number of two hundred men.

The principal men among the besiegers were General Gerald Barry, Patrick Pursell of Croagh, County Limerick, lord Roche, lord Muskerry,

lord Castleconnell, Oliver Stephenson, Sir Ed. Fitz Harris, and Dominick Fanning, mayor of Limerick.

It was a strange sight to behold men of the highest rank and wealth in arms against the authorities representing their sovereign; but it was the necessary consequence of a train of circumstances of which I give the barest outline.

Henry VIII. commenced a series of changes destined to fundamentally affect the people, customs, and laws of Ireland.

When he began to reign, a small district around Dublin known as the Pale was inhabited by people of English descent, governed by laws evolved from the feudal and Saxon systems, and with a legislature and procedure very similar to England.

The remainder of the country was inhabited almost entirely by Celtic tribes or powerful Anglo-Irish families. The Celtic tribes, with their own congenial customs, were devotedly attached to their chiefs, who governed them by the Brehon laws. The Anglo-Irish families, sometimes described as "degenerate English," intermarried with the Celts, used their laws and customs to a great extent in preference to the English, were in close alliance and sympathy with the Celts, and far from friendly to the orthodox English.

Less than a hundred years changed all this. The Celtic tribal system was broken up, the Brehon laws abolished, the country formed into counties, with sheriffs, judges on circuit administering law practically English, and the entire machinery of law and government framed on English lines. The Protestant religion was by law established; there was a considerable number of Protestants in the country; and the times had dealt severely with the anti-English Celt and his Anglo-Irish friend. Two great questions then, as at other times, were considered of paramount importance—viz., the ownership of land, and religion.

Henry VIII. was resolved to pursue the policy of anglicising the Irish nation. He endeavoured to substitute English laws, customs, and social life for those existing in Ireland outside the Pale; and he was equally determined to carry out his views on religion.

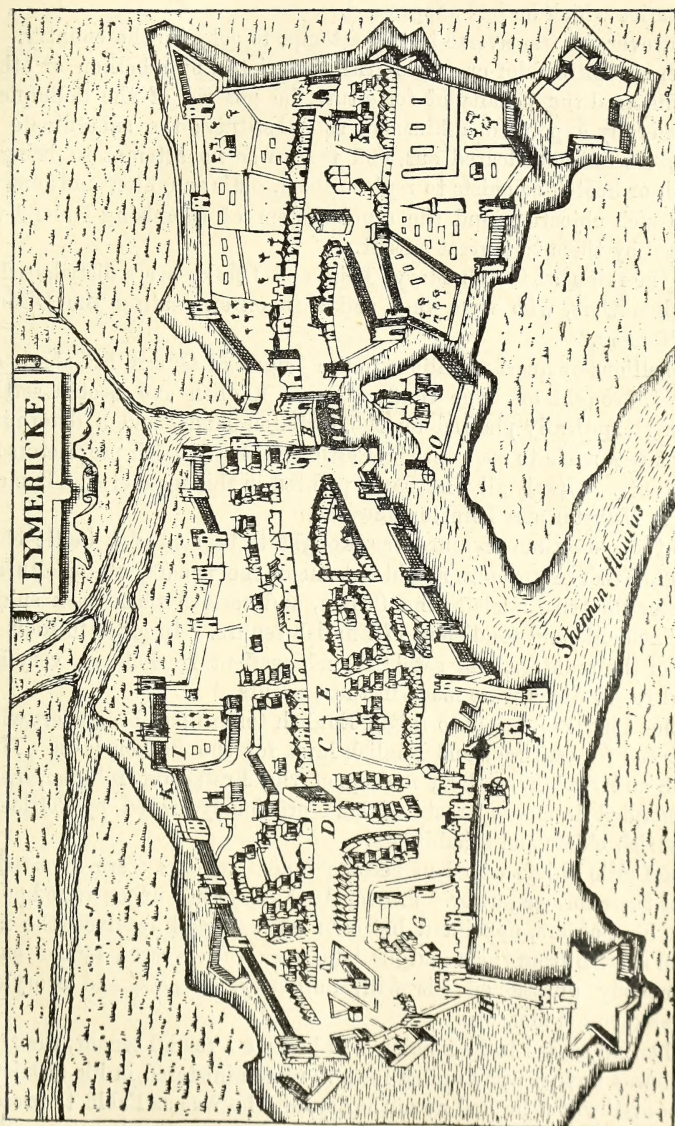
In order to accomplish this, he commenced by granting titles to the principal Celtic and Anglo-Irish chiefs; and many of them received grants of the tribal lands on consenting to hold them according to the

REFERENCES TO OPPOSITE PAGE.

†Facsimile of Map of Limerick taken from Speed's Map of Munster, 1610; reproduced in *Pacata Hibernia*, Dublin, 1810. The following are the references:—

- A. St. John's Streete and Gate.
- B. The Thye Bridge.
- C. The Maine Streete of the City.
- D. New Gate.
- E. Our Ladies' Church.
- F. The Key.
- G. The King's Castle.

- H. Thomond Bridge.
- I. St. Frances' Abbey.
- K. St. Peter's.
- L. St. Dominick's Abbey.
- M. The Bishop's House.
- N. St. Monshin's Church.
- O. St. Michael's Church.



LYMERICK.
(From a Facsimile of Speed's Map, 1610.)

conditions and incidents of English tenure. He also granted them on like tenure some of the lands which had previously belonged to the monasteries which he had suppressed.

However, he was averse to any attempt to colonise the country. If a powerful Celtic chief or Anglo-Irish proprietor, by rebellion or otherwise, incurred the penalty of forfeiture, he got rid of the delinquent, and generally appointed a kinsman as substitute; the subordinate inhabitants were not cleared out, and there was no attempt to bring in English or Scotch colonists to replace them. His daughters and James I. had no such objection, and the cruel system of colonising Ireland was practised by them to a great extent.

In the reign of Queen Mary, Leix and Offaley were distributed to English settlers, who were very active in exterminating the O'Mores and O'Conors.

Rebellions or quasi-rebellions in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I. brought on huge confiscations. English and Scotch settlers were systematically planted on the forfeited lands, and a determined attempt was made to root out the Celtic and Anglo-Irish proprietors and inhabitants. Nearly all Ulster was planted in this manner, and immense tracts in Munster and Leinster likewise.

At the same time pressure was brought to bear on such Celtic chiefs or Anglo-Irish proprietors as did not incur the penalty of forfeiture to surrender the tribe lands to the Crown, and receive them back subject to the incidents and conditions of English tenure. In order to limit the power of the grantees, and establish independent freeholders, very substantial reservations were made in these grants.

When Charles I. began to reign, English tenure had been everywhere substituted for tanistry, and English laws for the Brehon laws. Many English and Scotch settlers, mainly of the Protestant religion, owned and occupied immense tracts of land previously owned by Celtic and Anglo-Irish chiefs and inhabitants.

The Celtic chiefs who had become feudal tenants were divested of most of their former power. Previously the chief had uncontrolled power within his borders, appointed his own officers, and received the most devoted service from them and his tribesmen. Venerated by the entire clan, nobody questioned his will, authority, or acts, and everybody ministered to his pleasure.

When he ceased to be a chief, and became a feudal tenant, the tribal system was broken up, English laws were administered in his district by officers over whom he had no authority, and he was as liable to prosecution for breach of these laws as the meanest man in the locality. Freeholders, practically independent, were set up around him; over a great portion of the tribe lands he was merely a rent-charger; he was liable to taxes, feudal impositions, and legal duties previously unknown, and his influence was sadly diminished. Naturally, he was full of regrets.

Early in the reign of Charles I. the Catholics, by advice of the Viceroy, made an offer of £120,000 to the king for certain concessions known as the "graces." They referred to security of title in land, free trade, and the substitution of the oath of allegiance for that of supremacy. The king granted them by proclamation, and they understood the Irish Parliament would confirm them, and make them valid. This was not done. They were similarly duped by Strafford.

Strafford's arbitrary measures to raise money, and his bold attempts to quash the titles of the vast number of landed proprietors in order to legally rob them, spread dismay and discontent in all directions. His attempts to "settle" titles were rightly looked on as dishonest methods of extracting money from the grantees, and imposing higher rents. The landed proprietors, whether Celt, Anglo-Irish, or Colonist, Catholic, Protestant, or Presbyterian, all became uneasy and discontented, and were apprehensive of the future. Religious disabilities were a further source of extreme annoyance to the Catholics and Presbyterians.

This hundred years had been a bad time for the Celts. Many of them had gone down in the struggle, and those who emerged best from the turmoil and disasters had come off badly. Their ancestors had an existence perfectly congenial. Their chiefs, like the heads of the clans in Scotland, were petty kings, whose followers served them with a love the most powerful English noble could never command. Their occupations were mainly connected with war or the chase; rude plenty flowed in from the clansmen, and bards and shanachies ministered to their amusement and pride.

A few of the descendants of those powerful chiefs succeeded in retaining the tribe lands; others possessed only a fraction of them, while the great number, through forfeiture or neglect, had completely lost them. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and scores of others were gone, and the colonists filled their places.

A like fate had fallen on the Anglo-Irish, who had been more Irish than the Irish themselves. Desmond, Eustace, and kindred nobles and gentlemen had found an unhappy destiny.

Furthermore, both Celt and Anglo-Irish had found the executive very irritating, the new social system extremely distasteful; and, to make matters worse, King James and King Charles I. allowed the Irish to take service with the continental powers, especially Spain, and licences were issued to recruit large bodies of men for foreign service.

Several members of the best families emigrated in this way, displayed military talent, and rose to eminence. Many returned home that were trained soldiers, and, naturally hostile to the existing system, were a source of grave danger in any popular movement.

Rory O'More, whose warlike ancestors had long bravely struggled to hold their territory of Leix, first conceived the idea of a rebellion. He was much impressed by the terms the Scots had obtained from

Charles I. English and Scotch politics foreshadowed a period of trouble, during which Ireland would have to shift for herself without aid or interference from the predominant partner.

The Irish Government was extremely weak and unpopular, and the army of 8000 foot and 1000 horse collected at Carrickfergus, on their way to aid the king's troops in crushing the Covenanters, were to be disbanded.

O'More's affairs were in a desperate condition, and he thought that the weakness of the king and the Irish Government should be turned to account. On every side he saw the descendants of powerful chiefs and captains possessing fragments only of the lands owned by their ancestors, while British undertakers and servitors enjoyed the vast bulk of the remainder. Nearly all Ulster had been planted, and there were plantations on a smaller scale in Cork, Kerry, Leitrim, Limerick, Longford, Wexford, Wicklow, &c. The undertakers had been several years in lawful possession, and nothing but a revolution could dislodge them.

Many were drawn to his views by the hopes of recovering their ancient estates and grandeur; several were inflamed by the idea that their religion was to be extirpated by Scotch Covenanters and English Puritans.

He held out substantial hopes of success. The king and Irish Government were both weak. A great portion of the army to be disbanded would join them and instruct them. A great number of Irishmen, or men of Irish descent, who had acquired great military experience in the service of Spain and France, would flock to their standard; he had been in correspondence with the Earl of Tyrone and others, and had every assurance of men and arms from abroad. Cardinal Richelieu would aid any considerable movement.

The old Irish Catholics in Ulster were first approached with the greatest secrecy. A vast number was drawn into a conspiracy, which culminated in a revolt on the 23rd October, 1641, and within a week all Ulster, except a few fortresses, was in the hands of the insurgents.

The army had been disbanded during the summer, and the country was full of the disbanded soldiers.¹ In the previous May it was resolved to pay off this army, disband it, putting eight several captains each over 1000 men, and licence their departure for foreign parts, so that Ireland would be relieved of them. Subsequently the Irish Parliament put obstacles in the way. Eight officers petitioned the king that orders should be sent to the Council and Parliament directing that the men should be allowed to embark. The king was anxious to grant their petition, and actually sent directions to the Lords Justices to instruct

¹ The "Calendars of State Papers," Ireland, Addenda, 1625-1660, p. 228, and for the years 1633-1647, pp. 210, 281, 330, 331, 350, 357, give full information concerning the disbanded soldiers.

the officers of the Irish ports to permit 4000 men to be exported. Nothing came of it, and many of them joined the insurgents.

The next defection was the Lords of the Pale. There was the greatest antipathy between them and the Ulster Irish. Their ancestors had been bitterly opposed in wars and depredations from the time of the Conquest to the Plantation of Ulster, and the animosity so begotten still survived. The Lords Justices ought to have profited by this well-known feeling, but by a strange perversity they drove the Lords of the Pale to unite with the Ulster insurgents.

The Lords Justices were animated by the most extreme puritanical principles, and had no sympathy with the Lords of the Pale. On the outbreak of the rebellion several of the chief families offered their services, but the Lords Justices did not accept them. This put a stop to similar offers, and the men who came to Dublin to risk their lives for the State were actually ordered by proclamation to return home as soon as the Lords Justices had assurance of substantial support from the English House of Commons.

This forced them to return to districts adjoining the localities where the rebellion raged, and they were thus obliged to have perpetual intercourse with the rebels, to support them by contributions, and sometimes to unite with them, to avert cruelty.

Their position was very critical; circumstances altogether unavoidable had made them liable to a charge of high treason. They knew the Lords Justices heartily disliked them; the proclamation excluding them from Dublin had deprived them of refuge, and driven them into association with the rebels, their persons and possessions being defenceless.

At the beginning of December strange rumours were industriously circulated throughout the kingdom. The violent proceedings of the English Parliament caused the Roman Catholics generally to apprehend the design of extirpating them, and the action of the Lords Justices confirmed this view; the wealthy and powerful had reason to fear that their estates would be forfeited and planted with English adventurers.

The forces of the Lords Justices were defeated at Gillianstown Bridge, near Julianstown, on the 29th November; and in a few days the forces of the rebels between Drogheda and Dublin amounted to 20,000 men. The Lords Justices were alarmed, as no aid had yet arrived from England, and on the 3rd December they summoned the gentlemen of the Pale to Dublin to confer with them. The latter, fearing that a trap was laid for them, refused to attend, and after some fruitless correspondence openly united with the rebels in the course of the month.

They did not join the standard of the Ulster rebels, but remained under the guidance of Lord Gormanstown. They professed to take arms only in self-defence, and solicited a speedy accommodation. By their declaration of loyalty, and zeal for the redress of grievances, they made a

powerful impression on all the Roman Catholics. Their manifestoes, sent into Munster and Connaught, affirmed a most dangerous union between the Lords Justices and the English puritanical party, who were reported to have resolved to extirpate them, and the flame of insurrection was kindled everywhere. It spread from South Leinster to Munster; and Connaught, with the exception of Clanrickard's country, was all affected.

Munster was free at first from all disaffection, and many of the gentlemen there tendered their services to the Government; amongst them was lord Muskerry. The President, Sir William St. Leger, had only a single troop for the defence of the entire province, scarce sufficient to repress common robbers in time of peace, but the gentry, Irish as well as English, aided him to prevent disorder, and the province was orderly and quiet. Some petty robberies there were; but the President repressed them very vigorously, and executed any robbers captured, without mercy. In one of these excursions he was accompanied by a brother of lord Roche.

It was the middle of December before any gentleman in Munster appeared to favour the rebellion. The manifesto of the Lords of the Pale had now reached them, and must have greatly influenced them. Disaffection began to grow, the barbarous severity of St. Leger became intolerable, and several of the chief nobility and gentry waited on his lordship to complain of his cruelty. Among them were James Butler, lord of Dunboyne, and other gentlemen of great position and influence. The President dismissed them with disdain, and they retired offended.

Several gentlemen began to levy forces now, and to form troops and companies.

Lord Mountgarret seized the city of Kilkenny, Waterford was yielded to his son, Tipperary rose in rebellion, and so did several gentlemen in Cork, Limerick, and Clare. Lord Mountgarret, invited to the command of all these forces, advanced into Tipperary, where he was joined by the forces of lord Ikerrin, lord Castleconnell, and lord Bourke of Brittas. He intended to besiege Limerick, but turned from Kilmallock into the county of Cork, where his forces were further increased.

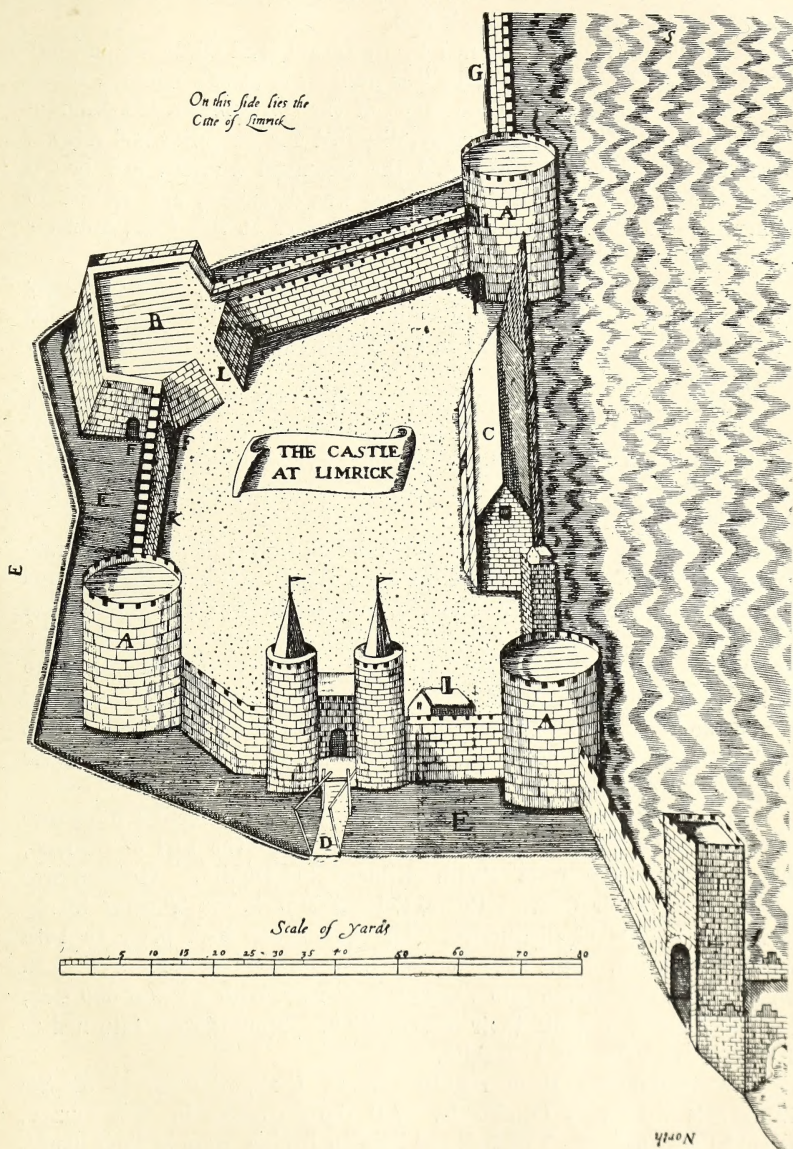
REFERENCES TO OPPOSITE PAGE.

Facsimile of Plan of Limerick Castle, circa 1611, from *Pacata Hibernia*, Dublin, 1810. The following are the references :—

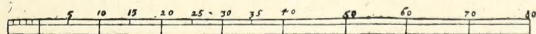
- A. Three Round Towers that beare Ordinance.
- B. The new Bulwark capable of five or six great peeces.
- C. The Store House.
- D. The Drawbridge.
- E. The Ditche.
- F. A Sally Porte.

- G. Parte of the Towne Wall.
- H. The Bridge ouer into Towmond.
- I. Dores into the Tower.
- K. An ascent by staires to the foot-path on y^e wall.
- L. A slope ascent to y^e platforme on y^e bulwark.

On this side lies the
City of Limerick



Scale of yards



North

PLAN OF LIMERICK CASTLE.
(Circa 1611.)

The President was posted on the way near Ballyhoura Mountain, but did not deem it prudent to attack him.

Mountgarret marched thence to Buttevant and Mallow, and all Munster seemed in his power; he was anxious to attack Kinsale, Cork, and Youghal, which were in the hands of the Government, but Maurice Roche, viscount Roche and Fermoy, disputed his authority and refused to serve under him. He expected the command himself, and had a powerful following. Lord Mountgarret was disgusted, and retired to Kilkenny. If the insurgents had acted together at this time, Munster was undoubtedly in their power.

The nobility of Munster, left to their own disunion, gave St. Leger time to save the province. He collected and disciplined the English settlers, and was able to appear in the field with a considerable army in the spring.

The insurgents entered Mallow on the 11th February, about a week after lord Mountgarret retired, and several competitors claiming the leadership, General Barry, who had served in the Spanish army, assumed the command as a compromise. Lord Muskerry joined the insurgents early in March.

Instead of reducing the fortresses in detail, they split up into separate bodies, and attacked them all at the same time. Cork in its turn was attacked, and the Lord President, who was ill, was assisted by lord Inchiquin, and Sir Charles Vavasour. It was invested on the south by General Barry and lord Muskerry; they expected lord Roche to besiege it on the north. Lord Inchiquin and Sir Charles Vavasour sallied out on the 13th April, pursued a detachment of the rebels to the camp at Rochfortstown, three miles off, put the army to flight, and took their baggage and carriages.

Lord Mountgarret, after his return to Leinster, mustered a numerous but ill-armed force, and endeavoured to intercept the earl of Ormond, who was marching from South Kildare to Dublin. Ormond was accompanied by Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Monck, Sir Thomas Lucas, and other officers of distinction. An engagement took place on 16th April, at Kilrush, about twenty miles from Dublin; Mountgarret's men were routed and driven into a bog at their rear, with a loss of 600 men, twenty colours, and all their ammunition. Mountgarret returned to Kilkenny, and Ormond to Dublin.

Notwithstanding their repulse before Cork, the forces of the insurgents were very formidable. All the fortresses in that county, except Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, and Bandon Bridge, were in their hands, and scattered bands of insurgents came close to the walls of these towns.

Numerous bands united to form a large army, and turning from the county of Cork to north Munster, they resolved to attack Limerick city. The citizens opened the gates to receive them, and the garrison retired into Limerick Castle.

This castle, originally built in the reign of King John, was a place of great strength. During the Tudor period it had become almost a ruin. In the State Papers of Queen Elizabeth, and the early part of the reign of James I., there are many references to its bad condition. Early in the reign of James I. it was resolved to strengthen and repair various forts and castles; various works were begun, and on 12th April, 1608, directions were given to finish certain forts begun by the Lord Deputy, the earl of Devon.

The work was entrusted not to Samuel Molyneux, the Clerk of Works, but to Sir Josias Bodley.

In his report to Lord Carew in 1611, Sir Josias says¹ :—

“ Upon my last receipt of that small sum which was remaining of the moneys demanded, and granted for the forts in Munster and Galway, I presently resumed the care of that business, surveyed diligently those several places, gave directions for perfecting the works, and supplied them with sufficient means for the same as far as my allowance would extend, that by this time the most part of them, and by all-hallowtide, they will be thoroughly finished. That you may be the better satisfied concerning the present state and strength of each plan, I have thought good to signify how I found them, and how they are left.

“ At the King’s Castle at Limerick, the foundation of the round towers was so undermined with the continual beating of the river against them, that in divers places a cart might have passed under them, the half towers at the gate, and the rest of the wall being in like manner ruined, all which I caused substantially to be repaired, as also the munition house and other parts of the castle. And as that whole fabric consisting in manner of a square had only three towers, at three corners thereof, and the corner lying towards the town altogether unfortified, having neither ditch nor other outwork to hinder the approach of an enemy to the very foot of the wall I thought fit to cast out a bulwark at that unfortified corner of hewed stone, equal in height to the former wall, and capable of five or six pieces of ordnance, also to draw a ditch about the whole work, and cut off all access to the same, except by a drawbridge, which I also caused to be framed, and I laid new planks upon the round towers, providing the like for the new bulwark, setting up divers roofs where they were needful, and flooring certain rooms in the towers. There is yet wanting a convenient house for the constable, and some lodgings for the warders, which it may please you to consider.”

This description agrees perfectly with plan of the castle, as shown at page 171.

¹ “ Calendar of State Papers,” Ireland, Carew, 1603–1624, pp. 214, 216.

It was a place of great strength, and situated in a most advantageous position. On inspecting the facsimile of Speed's map at p. 165, and the Elizabethan map at p. 177, it will be seen that it was situated near Thomond Bridge, in the part of Limerick called Englishtown, which was situated in the King's Island, formerly known as Inis-Sibtonn.

This island was connected with the north side of the Shannon by Thomond Bridge; Ball's Bridge, formerly known as the Thye, or Tyde Bridge, joined it to the part of Limerick called Irishtown. The Abbey River and the Shannon surrounded the island.

Thomond Bridge had a gate-tower at either end to defend it, and Ball's Bridge had also a fortified gate. If these defences were not strong enough to protect the bridges, both could be broken down, and the King's Island, with its town and castle, would still be extremely difficult to take.

The townsmen were all hostile to the royal forces; but there were ships of war in the river, and speedy help was expected from them.

Strong as the town was, Captain Courtenay saw that he had not sufficient men to defend it. He made no attempt to hold the gate towers on Thomond Bridge. Putting all his hopes in the castle, he retired into it about one o'clock on Wednesday, the 18th day of May, 1642; and, within three hours after, muskets were fired at the castle from the town. The shooting continued on the next three days, more or less fiercely; on the 19th a bullet rebounded into a boy's mouth without doing any mischief, and most of the firing on that day took place from the adjoining castle.

A royal pinnacle came up the river on the 22nd, but did not come near the town. They fired from it on the steeple of St. Mary's Church, where the insurgents had set up a flag of defiance; and they also fired at a bulwark, newly erected on the Thomond side, from whence the insurgents galled them. The pinnacle could not approach the town, owing to the state of the wind and tide.

It is stated in other accounts of the siege that the insurgents commenced their attack by stretching a boom across the river opposite Mockbeggar Mear, within musket-shot of the castle, and that this boom was made of long aspen trees, fastened with iron links to two mill-stones on the Thomond side, and to the tower of the quay on the other. It is also stated that it was completed after several attempts, notwithstanding the guns of the castle, and that Sir Henry Stradling, who commanded some ships on the Shannon, was thereby prevented from throwing any supplies into the castle by the water-gate. This diary makes no mention of such a boom; ships there were in the Shannon, no doubt, but they lay at anchor from the 22nd May to the 16th June without approaching the city, notwithstanding the distress of the garrison; and in some attempts then made to relieve them it will be seen that the commanders feared to come close to the town. Wind, tide, and the guns of the Irish

always appear to be the obstacles; but the diary has no entry whatsoever concerning a boom.

From the 23rd to the 25th the firing was severe, and on the latter day preparations for mining were heard in one of the houses on the east side of the castle. An attempt was made to fire it on the following day, but failed; and a great gun and a *Sacre* fired at the bridge castle also failed.

On the 27th the firing was severe, and there was some shooting from the church steeple, where a gun had been planted by order of lord Muskerry. Shooting and mining went on to the 30th, when the garrison began to countermine. Beeche, the gunner of the castle, killed himself and three others next day, and hurt six more—all very skilful gunners. Treachery was strongly suspected.

The insurgents began to mine in St. Nicholas' churchyard on the 1st June, protected by a wall. It was full moon on the following day, and the garrison was very despondent, for the ships had not moved, although the tides had been full, and the wind fair, for three days.

Letters were received on the 4th which gave some comfort. On the 7th came an answer to Mr. Lillis' letter, evading his request to get medicine for his illness, but allowing him to return to his house in the town. The incident shows that extremely bitter feelings did not exist between the contending parties. The shooting now slackened, but mining and countermining went on vigorously.

A letter was received from the insurgents on the 9th, asking the captain to deliver the castle, offering honourable terms, and denouncing puritanism and roundheads: this was the first time the garrison heard that name. No answer was sent until the 11th, when Captain Courtenay declined to yield up the castle until he had further orders from the king.

On the 12th, a great ship coming up the river, and casting anchor at Bunratty, kindled hope afresh. Three other ships came and anchored beside it on the following day; but all lay there until the 16th, when one of them advanced within a mile and a half of the town.

She came closer on the following day, but the insurgents planted some small guns on the Thomond side, and shot at her. A great crack was seen in the bulwark of the castle this day. Two ships and a pinnace joined the other in the afternoon, and the expectations of the garrison were very great, although their condition was now desperate.

The ships lay still on the 18th and 19th; the insurgents conveyed their two best brass cannons to the Thomond side, and compelled the big ship to slip anchor on the following day. The mines were very troublesome on the 20th, and the shot came furiously from the castle on Thomond bridge. The wall of the bulwark fell down on the 21st, and the mines were now so formidable that Captain Courtenay, after several letters had passed, was obliged to submit terms in nine articles. No answer was received that evening; but a brass falcon was conveyed into

one Smith's house to batter down the gate. The garrison dreaded assault and destruction during the night, but the insurgents made no attack.

There was no shooting on the following day, and, after some debate, the besieged got quarter for life and goods, were to have accommodation for houses and necessaries during their abode in the town, and horses and carriages to convey them to Cork on payment for what they took. The Bishop of Limerick died this day, and was buried in St. Munchin's Church on the 23rd. It has been stated that this bishop, Dr. George Webb, was seized and died a prisoner in Limerick Castle; but if he died in the castle during the siege, as implied by the diary, he could not have been a prisoner.

The castle was delivered up the same day; the besieged removed with their goods to houses assigned them in the town, and they received most friendly treatment while dwelling there. One of his kind friends informed the writer of the diary that if they went overland to Cork, they should be robbed of their goods, and most probably lose their lives; this seemed highly probable, as the country was beset with robbers, their being nobody to maintain order.

The narrator requested a kind acquaintance, Oliver Stevenson, one of the insurgent chiefs, to have the clause in the capitulation which dealt with this matter altered, and, notwithstanding the opposition of Lieut.-General Patrick Pursell, he obtained permission for them to go by boat to the shipping then in the river. They had a convoy to the ships; but one of their number was shot in the hand by a rebel from the shore, and they sailed for Cork about the 1st July.

This was the most important place, or advantage, yet gained by the insurgents, and it is said the Lord President, who had been ailing, died of grief on hearing of the fall of this splendid castle. The cannon and ammunition obtained there did good service to the insurgents; one cannon was a 32-pounder, and by means of it they reduced all the castles in the county of Limerick, except Lough Gur and Askeaton.

REFERENCES TO OPPOSITE PAGE.

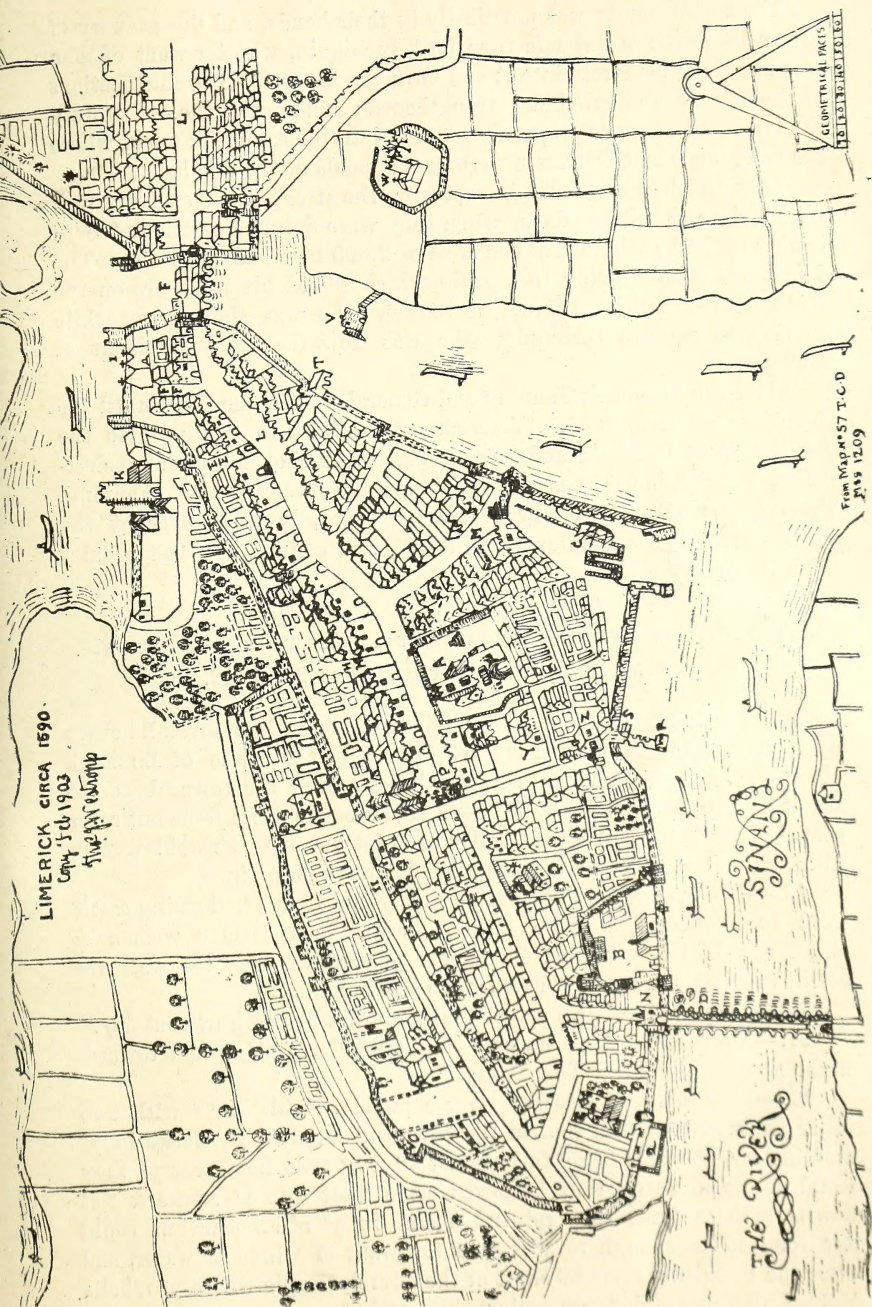
Facsimile of portion of Map of Limerick, *circa* 1590, from Mr. T. J. Westropp's copy of Map of Limerick in Library of Trinity College. (No. 57 of vol. 1209 in MSS. Catalogue.) The following are the references:—

A. St. Marie's Church.	Q. The Bishop's House.
B. The Queene's Castel.	R. Thomas Arthur's Mil.
C. The Kaye.	S. The Queene's Mil.
D. Thomond Bridge.	T. Nicholas Arthur's Mil.
E. St. Moghin.	V. The Comon Mil.
F. Tide Bridge.	W. St. Michael's Church.
G. St. Nicholas.	X. St. Peter's Nunerye.
H. St. Dominick's.	Y. The Old Colledg.
I. St. Mary House.	Z. The Dean's House.
K. St. Francis.	EE. Tolseil-lane.
L. The High Streete.	FF. Hemlin-lane.
M. The Kaye-lane.	II. The Abbeye-lane.
N. Thomond Gate.	KK. St. John's Port.
O. The Island Gate.	LL. St. Michael's Port.
P. Newgate.	

LIMERICK CIRCA 1590

Copy Feb 1903

Handwritten



LIMERICK.

(Circa 1590.)

The entire county was practically in their hands, and the granary of the entire province was safe from lord Inchiquin, who for want of men was unable to penetrate into it and burn the harvest. The fortifications of the city were repaired and strengthened; and towards the end of July the insurgent generals prepared to march into the county of Cork, where the most important fortresses were in the hands of the royalists.

They had just succeeded in capturing the strong castle of Liscarroll, after a siege of thirteen days, when they were defeated on the 3rd September by lord Inchiquin at the head of 2,000 foot and 400 horse. The defeat was mainly owing to a panic which seized his followers on the death of the gallant Oliver Stevenson, who was shot down while striving to capture Inchiquin, who was now the Lord President of Munster.

Alderman Dominick Fanning and General Pursell survived until the siege by Ireton in 1651. Limerick was obliged to capitulate to the Parliamentary General; and twenty persons, including several ecclesiastics, were excluded by name from the articles of capitulation. Fanning, Pursell, and others, tried by a military board, presided over by the gloomy Ireton, were sentenced to death, and suffered the last penalty without mercy.

A RELATION OR DYARY OF Y^E SIEGE OF Y^E CASTLE OF LIMERICK BY
Y^E IRISH FROM MAY 18 UNTIL JUNE 23, 1642.

May 18, 1642.—After long & tedious watching in ô severall houses upon Wednesday May 18 1642 we came into the castle of Limerick about one of y^e clocke where within 3 howers after the towne began to lay at us with ther muskets that none of the castle durst issue out after that. None of the castle hurt y^t day or night but one poore old woman killd without y^e castle halfe an howre after our coming in.

19.—The enemie layd at us more fiercly and from y^e adioyning castle killd John Skegge, a little girle & boy & hurt some 3 women & children, a bullet shot from the enemy rebounding from the wall was catcht in a boy's mouth wthout hurt the boy laughing.

20.—They shot not alltogether soe much, did us noe hurt that day.

21.—They tooke more stations shot (as before) at us and towards night accidentally killd Tho. Yong.

22.—Ther came up into the river a pinnace of his Ma^{ties} with two other ships even within shot of the towne about 8 of y^e clocke in y^e morning but y^e winde being full against y^m & y^e tyde not great y^t they could not come neare, they bestowed some shott into y^e towne & fell downe with y^e tyde, they returnd againe in y^e afternoone but could not come neere enough to y^e towne for want of winde & water, and after the bestowing some 60 shott at the church steeple where y^e rebels had set up a flag of defiance against them and at a new erected bulwarke

on Thomond's side from whence y^e enemy offered to gall y^e pinnace & boates, they fell downe againe with the tyde and that night perceiving y^e winde full against them and y^t the waters would be too lowe to doe service they fell downe towards Bunratty wher they might safely Anchor till better winde & tyde as we thought, but returnd not as we hoped, this day 6 or 7 great pieces were shot off from the castle which did some damage to y^e towne we had noe hurt of man woman or child with us.

23.—They tooke more stations and by times shot at us from 15 seuerall places round about us, but none hurt with us, this day all y^e horses we had in y^e castle (but two of mine) were turnd out at y^e water port.

24.—They continued as before against us, one woman dangerously shot in y^e arme and a boy in y^e hand but noe more hurt y^t day.

25.—They shot not soe much as before till y^e afternoone and then fiercely, yet none killd that day or hurt, on the same night was heard some digging hamering and sawing in one of y^e row of houses on y^e east side of y^e castle betweene 12 and 1 of y^e clocke.

26.—In y^e morning we attempted the firing of y^e house but to noe purpose for by the unskilfullnesse of y^e gunner the fire tooke soe slightly y^t it tooke noe effect but was easily put out, a great gun was alsoe shot of and a Sacre at y^e bridg castle, but both (as he used to doe) missed, great shooting all y^t day on both sydes but none killd or hurt of ours, thos workemen in y^e houses, went on still as we could heare them but could not hinder them. ffrom the time we came in to this day were burid amongst us of sicke weake & poore y^t dyed ther 21 besides y^e 5 y^t were killd.

27.—We could heare y^e workemen still at worke in y^e houses but we could not hinder them. towards night they shot more nimbly and from y^e steeple slew one woman, that night 2 boys were put out at y^e port holes of y^e gate they fyred some houses on y^e north end of y^e castle which burnt downe to y^e ground, 4 other boys & men were let downe to fire y^e houses on y^e east side, but missed y^e full purpose, for y^e fire tooke not effectually and y^t which was fairest burning was put out doe w^t we could, it being at y^e end farthest from y^e winde all boys & men came in safe againe.

May 28.—They shot not soe fearely as before, nor was ther any hurt amongst us, but still we could heare y^e workemen, at night some 4 were let downe by y^e walls againe and set fire in 3 three places of y^e houses but to noe purpose, being put out by them within the houses and some other helpe without mauger our muskitiers which playd hard upon them and as we heard afterwards killd some & amongst them one Captaine Brien.

29.—They shot but litle at us all day long but still we could heare them going on with y^e worke yet could not guesse whether they labourd

to undermine us or goe on with a trench which we could not discover by reason of thos houses which we could not fire, at night a boy belonging to one Mr. Clare a minister was let out at y^e port-hole of the gate for discoury.

30.—Our counter-mines began on y^e east side of y^e castle 1 slope an other downe right for meeting & discovering ther workes whether it were for blowing up by gunpowder or for sinking y^e walls, that afternoone was againe attempted the firing of the houses yet could not be brought to passe we had none hurt y^t day, our workes went on, at y^e evening the enemye bent something harder at us with ther musketts & stones but we slept not in ther debt.

31.—Before or about 6 of y^e clocke in y^e morning Beeche the gunner of y^e castle got up some and calld for more of them y^t were supposed to haue most skile in gunnery, & remouing a gun upon the water platforme to charge it with case shot and to turne it for clearing the south end of y^e castle, violently throwing in y^e shot into y^e gun fired it, killd himselfe and 3 others in y^e place and hurt 6 more whether this was done by ignorance or mischance, or else wilfully desperat I know not but many thought y^e later, because he had soe shamefully performed his duty before, & indeed was abhorred of all as alsoe y^t y^e day before a boy was let into y^e castle w^{ch} was suspected to bring some letters, torments could not make y^e boy to confesse it, but upon kind usage and promise of reward he avered y^t he had brought a letter to y^e s^d Beech of a sheete of paper. besydes this great mischance, we had but one man hurt in y^e arme y^t day of this Beech much more was said even by all but nothing good.

June 1, 1642.—Ther was not much shooting of either side, noe hurt at all on ours, we could heare the worke goe on still without, and our counter-mines went on within, this night was heard some at worke in St. Nicholas' churchyard but we could not discover w^t they did, by reason of a wall that sheltered them our musketieres could not come at them this was against y^e south end of y^e castle.

2.—Ther was small shooting of either side none hurt of ours, this evening was the moone at the full, but she was not fuller of light then our hearts were of heauinesse feare & sorrow, in y^t the tydes and y^e windes had beene now 3 dayes full & faire for us and yet noe ships appeared, noe helpe noe comfort noe newes came to us, hunger sicknes and weaknesse increased and our enemyes still girt us round about more strictly from Thursday last to this thursday night were buried 38 besides 4 y^t were killed with y^e great gun, one woman by y^e enemy and a boy y^t was wounded y^e weeke before in all 44. soe that from May 19 to this 2^d June were buried 70.

3.—In y^e morning was killd a boy and a woman shot in y^e shoulder as she lay in a hutch, not much more shooting y^t day nor any further hurt on our side, y^e woman died 3 days after.

4.—Ther was not much shooting from either side, in y^e afternoone of

the same day one Adam Darling going about to mend some blindings on the street platforme in removing a wool pack ther chanced to light upon certaine letters which were tyed to a stone which 20 to one they had not fallen backe againe outwards, one from the right Ho^{ble} the Earle of Corke to Cap. Courtney the other from my brother Oliver unto myselfe which were throwne up by a well wishing hand, they bore date May 16 & 19, 1642 this was y^e first title of any newes y^t we could heare of anything done abroad since we were shutt up and y^e first hope of comfort y^t we had although y^t alsoe were far off, this day was discovered a kinde of skreene which y^e enemies had made to couer the worke y^t they were about in S^t Nicholas' churchyard.

June 5.—Ther was litle stir of either side, almost at night an old man of 72 years old (Joh. Sanders) coming downe from the mill platforme fell downe & presently dyed.

6.—Little or noe stir was of either side, the mines went on, both of y^r sides and ours & could heare one an other worke as we assuredly conceied.

7.—This day was litle shooting on either side, and noe hurt to us, this afternoone after calling from Stretches-castle to ours upon the street-platforme was a letter in answer to one before sent to y^e maior of y^e towne by m^r Rob. Lillis who being sickely had desired some fresh meate and Phisicke from y^e Apothecaryes but y^e substance of y^e answer was a slight put of, to y^e petitioning of ther Generall & Counsell of war, as alsoe his liberty of safe returning to his house in y^e towne upon such petition & some traitorous and false discourse of his majesty of England, y^e Parliament and other actions ther the letter was subscribed Dominick ffanning not naming himself Maior, this euening was discovered a small breach in the earth neere the wing of y^e bullwarke y^t lookes north by w^{ch} was perceiued ther mining to y^e sally port in y^t Bullwarke which Port was covered under earth y^t was throwne up in y^e first making of our outward trench but our men did soe plye y^t breach with powring downe store of water y^t made the breach greater and put them to a stand and trouble in y^e prosecution of it and being soe warned we were in small feare of y^t part.

8.—Ther was small shooting of either side the working in y^e mines went on of ô side and seurally on thers as our men could heare them.

9.—They were more busie in shooting at us ther severall days before but in y^e afternoone upon sound of a drumme from Stretches Castle they sent a letter unto our Captaine which was brought in by a dumbe wench which we had in y^e castle for then we would trust none other out, the substance of w^{ch} letter was a perswasion to Capt Courney to yeild up y^e castle in to ther hands and for many fair cloathed reasons full of treason boldness and falsehood mentioning ho^{blic} tearmes of deliuering and sparing y^e effusion of C^btian blood the advancement of ther religion the suppression of puritanisme as they tearmed it, and round heads (this was y^e

first time we heard y^t name) It was subscribed Gerald Barry, Patrick Pursell, Dominick ffanning major, De rupe & fformoy ats Lo. Roch, Muskery, Castleconell, Ed: fitz-Harris I remember no more within an howre after an answer was called for in hast but none at that time sent, from thursday last to this evening dyed with the 2 y^t were killed 40. soe y^t in all y^r were burid 110.

10.—In y^e morning about 6 of y^e clocke a shaft of our mine falling soe close upon one of theires y^t some earth falling downe by an unskilfull boy y^e alarme was raisd but y^e bustle was such y^t we came to discouery of each other, and as we heard our men killd Michael White a friar, who was in y^e mine, all y^t day they fought under ground & the night following, but noe man of ours hurt then fell they to powring in of water upon us, as we had done before upon them, but our men cleered it there and went on in an other drift to crosse them elsewhere.

June 11.—They wrought on of both sides under ground, and skuffled as before, at night they fell againe to ther water which by reason that our mine was lower than theirs did drowne a great part of ours and hindered ther owne proceedings in y^t place, this afternoone was sent out an answer to y^e besiegers of y^e letter y^t they had formerly written to ô Capt wherein he denyed y^e yielding up of y^e castle till he had further order from his Ma^{tie} of England. This euening was discovered an other mine on y^e south end of y^e castle leading from an old house of y^e Archdeacons to y^e mill platforme, which they droue so shallow y^t y^e earth breaking ouer them discovered them. This euening by trechery of one Richardson contrary to comand a great stone was diged downe which was betweene y^e enemies mine and ours and soe a way was made for our enemy to enter ours we were driuen to quitt it and labour to fill it with water which y^e enemy having many hands laboured to lade and pompe away and we had as much and more will to supply it.

12.—Ther was still labouring on both sides and some part of y^e day the enemy shot hard at us but we had none of our men hurt either aboue or under ground this afternoone was descried a great ship under saile coming up y^e river w^{ch} cast Anchor about Bunratty which began to stir in us some little sparke of hope of reliefe.

13.—Early this morning one Robert Viuian a mason stole out of y^e castle by y^e bucked rope that drew water which was much discontent unto us, this forenoone we descried 3 other ships which came up and cast anchor by the first which did somew^t encrease our hopes but tler they lay and aduanced not towards us, our enemyes incroched still upon us by ther mynes and took an other station against us in one Smith's house ouer against our gate on y^e north end of y^e castle, and shot at us from thence and from y^e B^{ps} house. At night some of ours were againe sent out to fire the houses on the east side, but failed (though they had well kindled it) the enemye being soe many and soe ready to quench it notwithstanding our constant shooting.

14.—The ships lay still in our sight at anchor litle to our comforts considering y^e great distresse we were in, our enemyes being busie on all sides round about us, both ouer and under us (this night some of ours went out againe but being discouered performed nothing.

15.—This morning about one of y^e clock Viuian y^t before had stolne forth came to y^e watergate, called and was let in, auerred y^t he had beene with y^e Earle of Thomond and had made relation of our estate and that the earle replied (after some doubt of his fidelity) that y^e Lo. President with an army would be shortly with us for our ayde and y^t 3 of y^e ships should meete him ther and y^t himselfe alsoe with 300 foot and competent horse would come to y^e assistance of them, but whateuer was y^e truth y^e man was much doubted whether he had been ther or noe. This night we set out our Cresset light upon our highest platforme that they of the fleet might see some token of our distresse and y^t we were not as yet taken for we had noe meanes to certifie them of our estate, They shot dangerously at us on all sides but hurt none of ours this day.

16.—In y^e afternoone we descried one of y^e ships mouing and aduancing towards us, she anchored about a mile and a halfe from us and sent up a long boate towards y^e towne who vewed about and returnd to y^e ship againe, some few shots were made at a fort y^t y^e enemye had made not far from the towne on Munsters side, and at some other straglers that waited to trouble them on Thomonde side, that night was let downe a man who undertooke to swime to y^e ship to make our state knowne unto them of whom we had hope y^t he reached to them, this night alsoe some 16 of our men went out thinking to spoile some of their mynes which indeed they had done to good purpose had they been backed with some helpe, or stood all to it lustily themselues, but both wanting, not doeing much, but discovering what they could not helpe they came all in againe 2 of our men wounded, one of w^{ch} namely Will: Mannering dyed within 3 dayes, if they had had helpe they might haue brought away 2 small iron pieces y^t they found mounted in y^e myne a good way from y^e castle and bent into y^e water for hindering y^e long boate or pinnace y^t we expected to bring us powder, one of thes they shot of the other they cloyed and brake y^e carriages but could not bring them with them nor throw them into y^e river for want of helpe y^e enemy coming in soe fast upon them.

June 17.—This morning the ship advanced somew^t neerer to y^e towne but made noe shot at it, some shots were spent at some others without y^e towne that sought to anoy them the other ships kept still below much to our discomfort the winde and tyde being now fitt, and the more was our discomfort that this morning was perceiued a great cracke in the bulwarke of our castle from the top to y^e bottome which before we doubted to be undermined which forced us to draw backe one of ye best pieces we had in y^e castle which (with a minion) was ther planted as y^e strongest and most important

place of y^e whole castle not long after the tyde being out y^e rebells foreseeing or then perceiuing y^t y^e ship had not water enough to ride ther brought out of y^e towne a couple of small guns and planted them in a place of some advantage on Thomond side and shot some 6 or 8 shots at her, and others with muskets from ye bushes and ditches on both sides y^e riuer played upon her, about 2 of y^e clock in y^e afternoone shee floated againe and made them satisfaction and quietly kept her station, about 4 of y^e clocke we descried two other ships and a pinnace making up towards us which rekindled comfort and hope in us and presently upon ther approach towards the first ship we alsoe descried some land forces on Thomond side in seuerall companies to y^e number (as we guessed) of 300 foot & horse w^{ch} increased our hopes thinking y^e Earle of Thomond had conducted them (as we were formerly tould) but ioy was quickly turned to a cold blast to our distressed hearts for we could perceiue some of y^e rebells to goe unto them (as very rebells as themselves) and people y^t began to run away with y^e catle and goods to returne & stay and diuers boates from the towne to fetch diuers of them ouer the Shanon, but out of our reaches yet we ventured many a shot at them (And to increase our woe we discovered an other drift of our enemyes myne which was run within y^e wall of our castle at least 20 foote this was found by boaring w^{ch} for the present was plyed with water as long as we could make it run, but presently after we could heare them working in severall other places, all which we were not able to preuent soe y^t great was our feare sorrow and care our enemye being soe numerous fully supplied and fed, and we in want of implements and timber for our workes and mynes, our men weake sicke and overwatch'd; diseases amongst the poore men women and children, bread and drinke scarce to be had and that not altogether soe much for want of corne and malt as for want of quernes to grinde it and worse for want of fuell to dresse it, the miserable croud of poore men, especially women & children helping to spend out w^t they had y^t had prouision, was cause y^t many starued & dyed & euen all wanted for when the best in the castle for loue or money could not procure phisicke, cordials, comfortable or scarce ordinary good food, how could it be with the poore that wanted almost all these things and had bad lodgings with all, and that which grieved y^e hearts of many and did them small comfort in y^t litle they had was y^e woeful yelling of ye many miserable sicke staruing and dying for want of w^t they were not able to supply them with, soe that now to see halfe a score carkeses together stretched out, meanly shrouded, lying on y^e ground ready to be inter'd was a lesse discomfort (a thing hard and horred to a tender nature) then to see and heare y^e woefull wailes and wants of a foure fould number round about halfe liuing and halfe dead (and that neither the full nor wanting may rejoyce an iminnent feare of death every houre hanging over all such was our present state of misery yet y^e lord in mercy did preserue a remnant for w^{ch} for euer blessed be his name.

June 18.—This morning was killd a lusty old soldier of ours Henry Hoare upon y^e bridg platforme, the shipping kept neere together a litle lower and lay still all y^t day except 20 or 30 great shot y^t they spent and some muskets at some routs of stragling rebels y^t rambled up and downe y^e bushes and ditches to trouble them, but still our comfort y^e lesse because we saw them not labour to relieue us, w^{ch} we thought they might haue done (in spight of y^e enemye) with the pinnace & y^e long boate the winde being faire and y^e tyde soe high as then it was able to bring them to our castle watergate but how to send to them we knew not nor they to us and we heard y^t our messenger y^t was y^e first night sent was surprised by y^e way, the enemye shot hard at us this day but did noe more hurt then what was in the morning.

19.—The ships lay still, our enemye plyed ther worke, wound about us still under ground, our danger still increased, an other cracke perceived in our bullwarke and for supply or helpe in this case, our materials and hands were skant and weake, this afternoone they of y^e towne carried over two brasse pieces y^e best they then had which they planted y^t euening upon Thomond side to beate upon y^e shippes where they lay, which y^e next morning they did, we heard not aboue 3 shot sent from y^e shippes y^t day, they beate upon our castle and into it that day not as formerly, but as God would have it hurt none of us.

20.—This morning early they began to beate upon y^e ships with the aforesaid 2 pieces, and when they thought they made a good shot great was ther joy and shoutes, but surely they shot soe dangerously at the great ship that she was forc'd to slip ther cable and leave a good anchor behinde them which was to y^e enemye y^e occasion of many a brag.

This was done before 8 in y^e morning, which noe sooner ended, but presently an other accident happned of a litle comfort to us for a myne y^t had beene sunke middle of y^e east curtaine by one Robert Pope which had not been much accounted of, nor the man cherished or assisted in it, as he deserved, yet he carefully followed it on, and this morning it fell just with a myne of the enemyes, and himselfe being diligent in it, was present and discouered the approach, and after calling for helpe which came but thinly to him at first he himselfe first made in to y^e enemyes myne, and presently after some others followed, soe that he cleard the myne of thes few that then were in it, pulld downe all ther timber and brought it into the castle, and presently began a new drift to meete with an other myne w^{ch} we conceiued to run southward towards our bullwarke all this was done without hurt to any of ours, most part of this day the enemye shot sharply at us from the castle at Thomond bridg and which did much over top us, yet hurt neither man woman or childe, but killd 2 coves that were in the castle yard but y^e ioy of our good speede in the myne lasted us but a litle while, and was but (as is said) a lightning before death, for presently the houses on y^e east side of y^e castle were filled with men, y^t we could not fire them as

we attempted, and at evening were cleaving hewing and breaking of wood and sticks which gave cause of feare y^t they intended the firing of some other mynes neere or under y^e bullwarke which was too true as afterwards appeared for.

June 21.—About one of y^e clock in y^e morning the upper part of y^e wall of y^e bullwarke fell downe almost as low as y^e sally port dore, but this was not soe great signe of the fire underneth as y^t which followed the same day, this breach caused a generall alarme amongst us, but y^e enemy (as God would have it) bet not on, or then scarce perceiued it, but not long after we perceiued y^t ther was fire below under y^e easterne curtaine, by y^e smell and smoke y^t brake out in some cabins y^t were built within the castle against y^e wall, as alsoe by some smoke y^t brake up by y^e side of y^e trench without soe y^t then we saw y^t we were in imminent danger, the increasing whereof we could not prevent, but must goe on to an impossibility of our subsisting which I suppose was sufficient cause which moued ô Cap^t to write to y^e Generall of y^e rebels &c. concerning one point of y^r letter formerly written to him, which was what ho^{ble} tearmes they meant upon which they would haue him to yield up the castle unto them, they answered his letter presently desiring him to come forth to parley and they would send in hostages for his safety, to that he replied y^t he might not goe forth of y^e castle himselfe, but y^t he would (if they pleased) send forth two other unto them naming Alderman Lellis an Alderman of y^e city and A. J. w^{ch} they refused but wrote to y^e captaine to propose his demands which not long after was done and set downe in 9 articles which together with a letter from ô Cap^t was sent unto them, but it was somewhat toward evening and noe answer returned that night and we conjectured and probable it was that they stayed to see the euent of y^r fire under our walls which soe continued to y^e encreasing of our sorrow y^t we feared y^e falling of a great part of our easterne curtaine before y^e next day, and this evening was a brasse ffalcon to be conveyed into one Smith's house for y^e battering of our gate.

Euery houre begat us new cause of feares and we doubted to be assaulted before the next morning, which if they had done, such was our case y^t without speciall providence we had beene undone from thursday June 9 to this tuesday y^e 21 were buried 113. soe y^t since we were shut up the number was 223.

June 22.—This day ther was noe shooting from either side as if ther had beene a formall cessation. In y^e afternoone the B^p of Limerick dyed, and in the evening y^e enemy sent to our Cap^t that they would accept of the two aforenam'd to treat with them and accordingly they went out and after much debate got quarter for life and goods we were to haue accomodation for houses and necessaries during our aboad in the towne & horses and carriages to convey us to Corke we paying for what we tooke.

23.—This day we yeilded the castle and carried the B^p to his graue & buried him in St. Munchin's Church, and then euery one of us began to carry out our goods out of y^e castle too houses assigned us, we had ciuill usage from y^e souldiery, and our former acquaintance in the towne gaue kindly visits. One of them imparted to me y^t if we went by land to Corke our liues would be in great hazard, but assuredly our baggage whereupon I went to a kinde acquaintance of mine (and indeed soe after I founde him to be) one Mr. Oliuer Stevenson one of y^e enemyes chiefe comandars, and did acquaint him here-with desiring him to gett the latter clause of our quarter altered, namely y^t we might goe by boate to y^e shipping w^{ch} were then in y^e riuier he presently upon my request undertooke y^e matter and although he was mightily opposed herein by Patrick Pursell (ther L. Generall as they then called him) yet he carried it on our behalfes, soe y^t after a weekes time or somew^t more, we tooke boate and although we had a convoy yet we were shot at by y^e rebells from the shore but they were soone dispersd and we all got safe into y^e ships but one man who receiud a shot in his hand, ther dyed of our company the smale time we stayd in y^e towne 57. we did impute the cause of this mortality to our change of dyet, &c. so y^t y^e number of our dead did in this short time amount to 280.

Miscellanea.

Congress of Archæological Societies, 1903.—The Fourteenth Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries was held on Wednesday, July 8th, 1903, at Burlington House, London. Viscount Dillon being prevented from attending, the Chair was taken by Sir John Evans, K.C.B.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A.) explained that no Congress had been held in 1902 owing to the pre-occupations of the Coronation.

The Report of the Standing Committee and the Statement of Accounts were read and approved of.

EARTHWORKS COMMITTEE.—Mr. I. Chalkley Gould presented the Report of the Committee appointed to prepare a Scheme for Recording Earthworks.

Professor Windle, F.R.S., F.S.A., in further explaining the Report, suggested that the Committee might well be strengthened, and especially by the addition of military members. He deprecated any attempt to attribute age independently of excavation, and drew attention to the number of moated enclosures in Warwickshire, obviously of mediæval date, especially in the Forest of Arden; these, he thought, it would be well to include.

Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., suggested that Lieut.-Colonel Attree, R.E., F.S.A., would be a useful member of the Committee, as he had promised assistance in scheduling the camps of Sussex. He pointed out the dangers that sometimes arose to the walls of camps from the action of rabbits, and approved the inclusion of moated sites in the Schedules.

The Rev. E. H. Goddard pointed out that camps in Wilts had been greatly damaged to provide exercise grounds for racehorses; Mr. A. R. Goddard instanced Ravensbury Castle, in Bedfordshire, as having been much injured by the plantation of young larches; Mr. C. J. Williams thought that the planting of trees sometimes tended to preserve the camps; and other members thought it doubtful if advantage or disadvantage predominated.

Sir John Evans alluded to the great loss Archæology had sustained by the loss of General Pitt-Rivers, and the fact that no other Inspector of Ancient Monuments had been appointed for England. He stated that moated enclosures should certainly be recorded, as they were often of far earlier date than the houses that were found in them. He also suggested that the County Societies should be invited to send copies to

the Central Committee of any Schedules they may form, and this was agreed to.

The Hon. Secretary recommended that copies of the Scheme should be supplied to Societies for issue to all their members, and this was agreed to.¹

THE ADOPTION OF ENGLISH SURNAMES BY ALIENS.—The Hon. Secretary drew attention to the grave difficulties that were arising from the indiscriminate adoption of English surnames by undesirable aliens; this inflicted a definite injury on those lawfully entitled to such names.

It was stated that there had never been any law to prevent the adoption of surnames, and that it seemed hopeless to expect that one should be framed. A delegate pointed out, however, that foreign countries had found it necessary to impose restrictions that were at present unknown to the common law of this country.

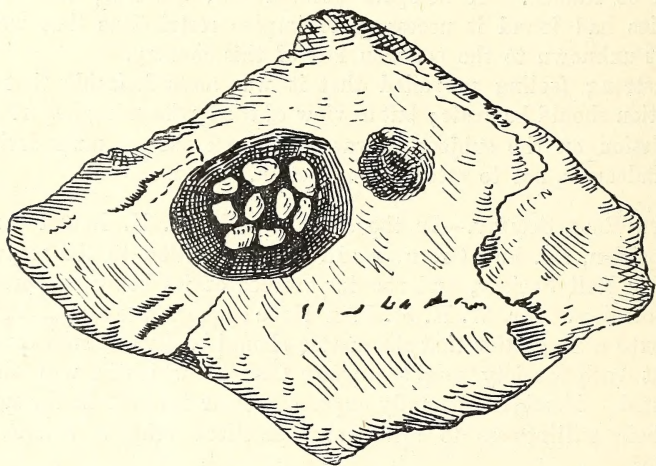
A strong feeling prevailed that it was most desirable that some regulation should be made; but in view of the forthcoming Report of the Commission on the subject, it was agreed, on the recommendation of Lord Balcarras, not to attempt any action.

PIPE ROLL SOCIETY.—In the absence of Mr. J. H. Round through indisposition, Mr. Em. Green, F.S.A., drew attention to the revival of the Pipe Roll Society, and the importance of its being supported by Archæologists. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope spoke to the same effect, and mentioned a suggestion that the matter should be divided into counties, so that each Society might support that in which it was directly interested. Members generally expressed their interest in the revival, and their willingness to bring any practical scheme before their Societies.

An Irish Parish Register Society.—Cannot a Society be formed on similar lines to the many now existing in England, to print our Irish Registers, and, by so doing, not only save them from all risks of being lost, but also preserve records which give help in making the history of our nation? I would suggest a Society somewhat on the lines of that for Preserving the Memorials of the Deád, with each County as a Sub-section; or if one Society for all Ireland is too unwieldy, why not one for each province? Surely there are many who would willingly help in one way or another, not only here, but amongst the many Irishmen resident in England.—KATE J. REYNOLDS.

¹ The Hon. Secretary of the Congress has furnished 1,450 copies of the Report of the Committee for recording Ancient Earthworks, free of cost, for the use of members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a copy of which was issued to each member with Part I. of the *Journal* for 1904 in April last.

"Doughnambraher Font," Kyleane, County Clare.—The "Wart Stone," or "Font," appears on the Ordnance Survey Map, No. 26, as "Doughnambraher Font." Thinking it very unlikely that there should be a font without a church, I came to the conclusion that there might be a bullaun at the spot marked. It is about three-quarters of a mile from Drummeen, or Barrycarroll Castle, and there is a sort of road all the way to it. We turned aside to visit the Castle, and so had to cross the fields to get to the bullaun. We made inquiries once or twice from the inhabitants, and found out that the name of the place was Kyleane (three syllables), Killian on map; and that there was a stone there which would cure warts. When we reached the place they pointed out, we soon



BULLAUN, KYLEANE, COUNTY CLARE.

found a large bullaun, of which I send a sketch. My friends thought it lay in a sort of fort, or enclosure, but I am not so sure. It is a large, flat sandstone, with one large basin in it, and something which looks like the beginning of a second. There are nine round stones in it which make part of the charm against warts: I suppose to turn them round like the Killeany stones. We measured it as carefully as we could. The length of the stone is about 5 feet 7 inches, the width 3 feet 4 inches, while the basin is 1 foot 8 inches long, and 1 foot 3 inches wide. I hear there is another wartstone, the socket of an ancient cross, at Kilvoydan graveyard, near the lake north of Corofin. I also found a fine bullaun 17 inches in diameter, at Kilquane, near Inch, and another near the south shore of Killone Lake.—G. C. STACPOOLE.

Bullaun Stones in County Clare.—I may add to Miss G. C. Staepoole's note a list of some bullauns in the same county, as a step towards a more complete list :—

BURREN.—Cappaghkennedy, five in a block at the dolmen. Ballyganner, small ones in top slab of dolmen.

INCHQUIN.—Tullycommane, in limestone near a fort. Leanna, three in a slab, one in another slab, and two small ones in a boulder at Teachnambrawher. Kinallia, in earth-fast rock near the church.

ISLANDS.—Kilquane, in conglomerate, in a "killeen." Clare Abbey, in a block of pink gritstone now in the nave. Killone Lake (south-east corner), in sandstone.

BUNRATTY UPPER.—Magh Adhair, two in conglomerate boulder near the Mound of Inauguration. Fiaghmore, two in blocks. Ballyvergin, small one in a block. Fomerla, in a block in "killeen." Kyleane, or "Doughnambrawher" (described above). Rathelooney, two small ones in gritstone.

BUNRATTY LOWER.—Tomfinlough, holy well at church, cut in native rock.

TULLA UPPER.—Tyredagh, near "killeen" and pillar. Newgrove, in sandstone block at dolmen. Bodyke Hill, in sandstone block near a rath. Moynoe, in the graveyard of the church.

TULLA LOWER.—Kiltinanlea church, in native rock.

I have no reason to regard this list as approaching completion. There are several basins in the crags of the Burren, often near forts and dolmens, but I believe them to be natural.—T. J. WESTROPP.

The Place whence Dermot Mac Murrough embarked in 1166 (*Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 418).—I cannot at all agree with Mr. Goddard Orpen as to his identification of 'Korkeran' with 'Gort Corcoran' or 'Corkeorgraine,' near Youghal, County Cork. The natural place whence Dermot most likely set sail ought to be sought in County Wexford only, in my opinion. I should locate the 'Korkeran' of the *Song of Dermot* (line 221) as 'Corkerry,' near New Ross. Between the years 1245 and 1295 many entries point to the importance of the "Ferry at Colkerry," at the Great Island, near New Ross, County Wexford; and in the Carew MSS., the ferry is named 'Korkerry.' Therefore, it is far more probable that when King Dermot was "banished by the men of Erin," he took shipping from the then famous ferry of 'Korkerry,' in his own territory of County Wexford.

Again, I cannot agree with the suggested equation of the name of Dermot's companion, 'Awelaf Okinad,' with 'O'Cunny,' a family name in the Youghal district. The name is an Anglicised attempt for O'Kenny, *i.e.* Olaf O'Kenny—most probably a Danish retainer of Mac Murrough. In the Irish Annals there is frequent mention of

Ua Cinaedha, or O'Kenny; and persons of that name were in County Wexford in the twelfth century, and onwards to the present day.

Finally, as regards Kileoran, Mr. Orpen mentions that Elizabeth Spenser "had, by the poet, at least two children, besides *the one burnt at Kilcolman, namely, Peregrine Spenser.*" As a matter of fact, Spenser had three sons—Sylvanus, Laurence, and Peregrine, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Peregrine was not burned at Kilcolman, in October, 1598, but lived to become Rector of Brinny, County Cork.—WM. H. GRATTAN-FLOOD.

I have had an opportunity of reading the above criticism of Mr. W. H. Grattan-Flood on my identification of the place of Dermot's embarkation, but I fear I remain impenitent. How Mr. Flood equates the name Colkerry, or even Corkerry, with Corkeran puzzles me; whereas the townland of Gort Corcoran in Imokilly preserves the precise phonetic equivalent. The rhythm of the lines in the *Song of Dermot*, where the name occurs three times, shows that the stress was laid on the first and last syllables—Córkerán, thus accounting for the neutral *e* instead of the more usual *o* as representing the *ua* in Cop Cuapám, and, I think, finally disposing of an equation with such a name as Corkerry or Corkery (as I find it spelled), which, whatever it may mean, could hardly be so stressed. Again, why should we suppose the ferry of Colkery, which seems to have been somewhere between the Great Island, parish of Kilmokea, and the Kilkenny bank of the river, as a likely place for Dermot to find shipping for Bristol? Some small receipts from the ferry of Colkery are mentioned in the Earl of Norfolk's accounts, transcribed and translated by Mr. Philip Hore, but I am not aware that the ferry was otherwise "famous" or is even otherwise known, and Mr. Flood does not enlighten us. The reference to the Carew MSS., which Mr. Hore also gives, does not help us, as it is only a note as to the Marshal's lands in Ireland, mentioning *inter alia* "the wear of Corkery" (Car. Cal. Misc., p. 441), and is probably drawn from some of the documents that Mr. Hore has ransacked. It bears out, however, Mr. Hore's suggestion that the name is connected with the Irish Copað, 'a fishing-weir.' The name would then, I suppose, represent Cúil Copað or Cop Copað, and the stress would fall on the penultimate.

But is it probable that Dermot could get the necessary shipping in his own country at all? We are told with detail and iteration in the *Song of Dermot*, that it was "his own people" drove him out; that he could not even travel through Hy Kinsella except disguised as a monk; and this agrees substantially with the accounts of Gerald de Barri and the Four Masters. There seems to me nothing improbable in the supposition that Dermot could not obtain shipping or safely embark for Bristol nearer than Youghal. Wexford and Waterford were, we may be sure, closed to him.

Mr. Flood apparently adopts my equation of O'Kinad (Dermot's companion in exile), with Ua Cinaedha (O'Kenny), though he seems to give it as his own. But, surely, the finding of this name *located* about the time in Imokilly is no slight confirmation of my identification, and even suggests a motive for Dermot's selection of that district for his flight. He had a friend in the port. Whether I am right in further supposing that the name O'Cunny in the "Extent of the vill of Youghal," A.D. 1288, is another Anglicised form of the same name, may, perhaps, be doubted, though I don't know why; but it is really immaterial, as the name Ua Cinaedha in the district is otherwise well attested. Awelaf is clearly Amhlaeibh, a name in the twelfth century by no means confined to the Danes; but, indeed, how an O'Kenny could be a Dane, as Mr. Flood suggests, is one of the puzzles which Mr. Flood raises without explaining. In my former note, so far, I see nothing to change, except to suggest that Corcoran represents not Copca Cuapáin, but simply Cop Cuapáin, the round hill of Coran; *cor* being a topographical term meaning 'a round hill,' or something of that sort, and occurring as the first syllable of more than 1,000 townlands in Ireland (Joyce, 5th ed., vol. i., p. 397).

As to Peregrine Spenser, I certainly never meant to suggest that he was burnt at Kilcolman. He is frequently mentioned in the Lismore Papers, whence my remarks are derived. My words have got misplaced in the printing, and make nonsense. What I wrote, or intended to write, was—"She [Elizabeth Boyle] had at least two children—besides the one burnt at Kilcolman—namely, Peregrine Spenser by the poet, and Richard Seckerstone by her second husband."—GODDARD H. ORPEN.

Proceedings.

(FIFTY-SIXTH YEARLY SESSION.)

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 19th of April, 1904, at 8.15 o'clock, p.m. :

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*,
in the Chair.

Also present at the Meeting :—

Vice-Presidents.—Richard O'Shaughnessy, C.B., M.V.O.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A.

Hon. General Secretary.—Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer.—Henry J. Stokes.

Fellows.—Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart., M.A., J.P., D.L.; George Coffey; John Cooke, M.A.; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald; S. A. O. Fitz Patrick; Rev. Canon French; Andrew Gibson; George A. P. Kelly, M.A.; Hubert T. Knox; Thomas J. Mellon; John R. O'Connell, M.A., LL.D.; P. J. O'Reilly; Andrew Robinson, C.E.

Members.—Mrs. Allen; Mrs. Bennet; Robert Bestick; Joseph Bewley; Mrs. S. Bewley; James Brenan, R.H.A.; Rev. T. R. Brunskill, M.A.; Mrs. W. L. Byrne; George O. Carolin; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A.; George Duncan; Miss Fottrell; Frederick Franklin; Mrs. Gough; P. J. Griffith; Henry Hitchins; Edmund W. Kelly; Richard J. Kelly; Miss Annie Lloyd; Mrs. Long; T. J. Mac Inerney; Francis M'Bride; Rev. R. S. Maffett, B.A.; Joseph H. Moore, M.A.; John Morton; Patrick O'Leary; George Peyton; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; John F. Small; E. W. Smyth; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; William Swanston; Henry Vereker; Richard D. Walshe; John Mackey Wilson, M.A.; Rev. George Otway Woodward, B.A.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellow and Members were elected :—

FELLOW.

Strangways, Leonard Richard, M.A., M.R.I.A., Merton, Cullenswood, Co. Dublin: proposed by W. C. Stubbs, M.A., *Vice-President*.

MEMBERS.

Beary, Michael, Borough Surveyor, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford: proposed by Spencer Harty, M. INST. C.E.I.

Caldwell, Charles Henry Bulwer, J.P., Antylstown, Navan; and The Cedars, Wyndlesham: proposed by Thomas C. Townshend.

- Crawford, Henry Saxton, C.E., 113, Donore-terrace, South Circular-road, Dublin : proposed by Thomas H. Longfield, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.
- Farrington, Thomas Edward (retired Collector of Inland Revenue), Baythorpe, Holywood, Co. Down : proposed by S. K. Kirker, *Fellow*.
- Fottrell, Miss Mary Josephine, 1, The Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin : proposed by Mrs. W. J. Byrne.
- Galway, William Berkeley, M.A., Solicitor, Scottish Provincial Buildings, Donegall-square, W., Belfast : proposed by E. W. Pim.
- Irvine, Rev. David D., Church-hill, Clones, Co. Monaghan : proposed by Dr. S. A. D'Arcy.
- Little, E. A., M.A., LL.D., 35, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin : proposed by John Wardell, B.A., M.R.I.A.
- Maguire, Connor J. O'K., M.D., Claremorris, Co. Mayo : proposed by Joseph M. M'Bride, J.P.
- Stacpoole, Miss Gwendoline Clare, Edenvale, Ennis, Co. Clare : proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., *Vice-President*.
- Stacpoole, Guildford William Jack, c/o Messrs. Milward Jones & Cameron, Solicitors, 6, Dawson-street, Dublin : proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A.
- Ussher, Beverley Grant, H. M. Inspector of Schools, Meole Brace, Shrewsbury : proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A.
- Walker, Richard Crampton, Solicitor, Fonthill Abbey, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin : proposed by Trevor T. L. Overend, LL.B.

The Report of the Auditors of Hon. Treasurer's Accounts for the year 1903 was received and adopted. (See p. 197.)

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

“Clonliffe,” by Brother Dillon Cosgrave, o.c.c.

“The Macrath Tomb in Lismore Cathedral” (Illustrated by Lantern Slides), by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *President*.

A Bronze Mould, a Copper Celt, and Seal of the Abbey of Newtown, Trim, were exhibited.

KILKENNY MEETING.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held at Kilkenny on Monday, the 30th of May, 1904, at 8 o'clock, the REV. CANON FFRENCH., M.R.I.A., in the Chair.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

“The Manor of Erlestown, County Kilkenny,” by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., *Fellow*.

“Clonegal,” by the Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

On Monday, May 30th, 1904, the Hon. Local Secretary arranged and carried out the following Excursions :—

At 2 p.m. the members visited Kilkenny Castle and Picture Gallery, by kind permission of the Marquis of Ormonde, and afterwards

St. Mary's Church, St. John's Church, Black Abbey, the Museum in Rothe's House, and other places of interest.

At 4 p.m. the party visited St. Canice's Cathedral, where the Church Plate, Records, &c., were shown by the Right Rev. Bishop Crozier and Dean Lyons, and subsequently the members were entertained to tea by Dr. and Mrs. Crozier at the Palace. The Abbey of St. Francis was afterwards visited.

On Tuesday, May 31st, 1904, the party drove in brakes to Gowran Church, where they were received by the Rev. Canon Hewson, who pointed out and described the features of interest in the ruined church.

At Ullard Church and Cross, Mr. O'Leary read a Paper descriptive of these Antiquities.

At 1 p.m. Graiguenamanagh was reached, and the members and friends were entertained at lunch at the Rectory by the Rev. Richard Burnett, M.A.; afterwards the Cistercian Abbey, Graiguenamanagh, was visited, and Mr. O'Leary read a Paper, and described the Abbey.

At 3 p.m. the party left in a barge on the canal for St. Mullin's, and, after exploring the remains there, returned to the Rectory for afternoon tea, and at 7 p.m. left for the return journey to Kilkenny. A cordial vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to the Rev. Mr. Burnett for the kindness and hospitality shown to the members and friends.

ACCOUNTS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1903.

CHARGE.

1903.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1. To Balance from 1902,	128	0	0
Dec. 31. " Subscriptions for 1903—Fellows,	443	18	0
" " " Members,			
" " Entrance Fees for 1903—Fellows,	13	0	0
" " " Members,	34	10	0
" " Life Compositions—Members,			
" " Arrears paid in 1903—Fellows,	6	0	0
" " " Members,	20	0	0
" " Subscriptions in Advance in 1903 :—			
" " Fellows,	4	0	0
" " Members,	24	6	0
" " Sale of Publications,			
" " Interest on Consols,	26	15	9
" " " Bank Account,	1	11	6
" " Letting of Hall, 6, St. Stephen's-			
" " green,			
" " Donation,			

Total,

£943 6 2

DISCHARGE.

1903.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31. By Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account for Printing and Binding Four Quarterly Parts of <i>Journal</i> ,	276	19	2
" " Postage of <i>Journal</i> ,	67	7	10
" " Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account for Printing Illustrated Guide and Programme, Youghal Meeting, and Miscellaneous Printing Accounts,			
" " Ponsonby & Gibbs for Printing Parts II. and III. of Index (Extra Volume),	103	5	6
" " Illustrations for Quarterly <i>Journal</i> ,	106	14	6
" " Purchase of Books, Subscriptions, and Bookbinding,	25	11	8
" " Photographic Account,	12	1	0
" " Stationery Account,	0	9	4
" " Postage and incidental Expenses,	4	6	3
" " Salary of Clerk (three quarters),	30	15	1
" " Furniture and Fittings,	37	10	0
" " Tea at Evening Meetings,	1	14	0
" " Lantern Slides at Evening Meetings,	7	8	6
" " Caretaker's Wages,	6	6	1
" " Rent of 6, St. Stephen's-green,	17	17	6
" " Lighting Account (Gas and Electric Light),	85	0	0
" " John Love, for Prints, &c.,	14	19	2
" " Address to His Majesty,	3	0	0
" " Miscellaneous,	6	7	6
" " Investments in Consols,	3	11	4
" " Balance,	100	0	0
" " Total,	911	4	5
	32	1	9
	£943	6	2

(Signed) H. J. STOKES, HON. TREASURER.

We have examined this Account with the Vouchers and Books, and find it correct, there being in the Provincial Bank the sum of £63 10s. 1d., and in hands of Hon. Treasurer, £3—in all, £66 10s. 1d., less outstanding Drafts, £34 8s. 4d.—net Balance on 31st December, 1903, £32 1s. 9d. The sum of £100 has been invested in Consols in the names of the Trustees, the Capital Account now being £1,107 10s. 6d.

April 15th, 1904.

(Signed) JOHN COOKE,
SAMUEL A. O. FITZPATRICK, } *Auditors.*

Accounts Passed at General Meeting of Society of this date—JOHN R. GARSTIN, PRESIDENT, April 19th, 1904.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1904.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III., VOL. XXXIV.

Papers.

“BARNAGLITTY”: IDENTIFICATION OF THE LOCALITY
WHICH WAS THE SCENE OF THE FIGHT KNOWN AS
“THE PASS OF THE PLUMES,” 17TH MAY, 1599.

BY LORD WALTER FITZ GERALD.

[Read JANUARY 26, 1904.]

WHEN lately investigating the antiquarian remains in the Queen's County Barony of Portnahinch, and comparing their situation on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey Maps, I noticed that on Sheet 9 the words “Pass of the Plumes” were printed in Gothic letters at the cross-roads where the village of Ballybrittas (New) now stands. Locating the scene of the fighting from which the Pass of the Plumes takes its name here, nine statute miles to the north-east of Maryborough, is quite wrong, as the real locality of the fight is in the present townland of Pass, which lies between Ballyknockan and Ballyroan, in the Queen's County, and about five English miles south of Maryborough. (See Map, p. 209.)

The date of the fighting at “the Pass of the Plumes” (or the Pass of Cashel, as it was called at that time) was the 17th of May, 1599. Though not mentioned by name, the fighting that took place here is alluded to in the “Annals of the Four Masters” under that year, wherein

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it is stated that the O'Mores, the Kavanaghs, the O'Connors-Faly, and the O'Byrnes "made fierce and desperate assaults, and furious, irresistible onsets, on the Earl of Essex and his troops, in intricate ways and narrow passes, in which both parties came in collision with each other, so that great numbers of the Earl's people were cut off by them; the Earl, however, in spite of all the difficulties which he met, at last arrived in the country of the Butlers."

In a note to the above extract O'Donovan adds:—

"The English writers make no mention of this attack by O'More, but O'Sullivan-Beare, in his 'Hist. Cathol. Iber. Compend.,' says that five hundred of Essex's army were killed by Owny O'More in a defile called 'Bearna-na-gCleti,' i.e. the Gap of the Feathers. *This name is now obsolete, nor has any evidence yet been discovered to prove the exact situation of the place.*"

Since O'Donovan wrote that last sentence two volumes of Calendars of Irish State Papers have been published, which contain documents referring to Essex's campaign in Leinster, by means of which the Pass of the Plumes can be definitely located at the place mentioned above.

The years 1597 and 1598 were disastrous ones for the English arms in Ulster, where Hugh Roe O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill were having it all their own way; and when, on the 14th of August, 1598, the English suffered a crushing defeat in the battle of Bellanaboy, or the Yellow Ford, near Armagh, Queen Elizabeth became so exasperated, that she wrote letters roundly censuring the Council in Dublin for mismanaging her affairs in Ireland, and appointed an experienced and so far successful soldier—Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex—as Lord Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland, in succession to Thomas, Lord Borough, recently slain in action.

On the 13th of April, 1599, Essex landed in Dublin. An army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse was placed at his disposal, and his instructions were, first and foremost, to bring Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, to subjection. Owing to some unforeseen difficulties, Essex decided to postpone the Ulster campaign, and instead to leave garrisons in Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wicklow, and Naas, while he marched through Leinster to Munster in order to punish the Geraldines of Desmond, then in rebellion.

The successes of the Irish forces in Ulster had encouraged the Leinster chiefs to take up arms; so that when Essex left Dublin for the South, he found Leinster in a blaze of revolt. Among the few native chiefs who remained loyal to the Government were Sir Terence O'Dempsey, chief of Clanmalieri, and Fineen mac Brian Mac Gilla Patrick, chief of Upper Ossory.¹

¹ It was often the practice for the head of the sept to remain outwardly loyal while the junior branches rose in revolt.

According to the Annals and State Papers, the leaders of the Leinster revolt at this particular time were :—

Of the Kavanaghs :—

Donnell ‘Spaniagh’ Kavanagh, of Clonmullen, County Wexford, son of Donough, son of Cahir ‘carrach’ (the scabbed). He was called Spaniagh “because, when a boy, he had attended on Stuckley in Spain.”

Morgan mac Brian Kavanagh, of Polmonty, County Wexford.

Brian mac Donough Kavanagh, of Ballyloughan, County Carlow.

Of the Mac Coghlan :—

The Mac Coghlan, *i.e.* Shane oge, son of Shane, son of Art, son of Cormac, chief of Delvin Eathra, in the King’s County.

Of the Mac Donnells :—

Edmund mac Maelmurru Mac Donnell, of Rahin-Derry, Queen’s County.

Walter mac Edmund ballagh (the freckled) Mac Donnell, of Ballyboy, *alias* Baltiboys, County Wicklow; he was known as “the Galloglass of the Mountain.”

Callogh mac Walter, “brother’s son to Hugh boy (the yellow-haired) mac Callogh” Mac Donnell, of Tinnakill, Queen’s County; he is described as “the most stirring and bloody rebel in Leinster,” and, as a leader, only second to Owny mac Rory O’More.

Of the Mac Gilla Patricks (Fitz Patricks) :—

Teige mac Fineen, son of the Baron of Upper Ossory.

Dermot Mac Gilla Patrick.

Of the O’Byrnes :—

The sons of Feagh mac Hugh O’Byrne, of Ballinacor, in Glenmalur, County Wicklow, *viz.* Felim (the wolf of the mountain), Redmond, and Turlough O’Byrne.

Of the O’Carrolls :—

The O’Carroll, *i.e.* Calvagh, son of William ‘odhar’ (*i.e.* the pale), son of Ferganainm, son of Maclrony, chief of Ely-O’Carroll, in the King’s County.

Teige oge mac Teige O’Carroll, of Cooladowen, King’s County.

Oghny mac William O’Carroll, of Clomaghill, King’s County.

Of the O’Connors-Faly :—

The sons of Brian mac Cahir, chief of Offaly, in the King’s County, *viz.* : Rory, Calvagh, and Cormac O’Connor.

Terence mac Teige mac Cahill O’Connor, of Ballyrain, King’s County.

Of the O'Dempseys :—

Lisagh mac Dermot O'Dempsey, of Cloneyhurke, King's County, brother of Sir Terence, afterwards created Viscount Clanmalier (a sub-district of Offaly).

Glasny (? mac Teige mac Owny) O'Dempsey, of Ballyricard, *alias* Richardstown, in the King's County.

Felim mac Garrett O'Dempsey, of Cooltedery (where Portarlinton now stands), Queen's County.

Of the O'Dunnes :—

Cormac O'Dunne (? of Lisnarode, Queen's County).

Of the O'Molloys :—

The O'Molloy, *i.e.* Calvagh, son of Connell, son of Cahir, chief of Fircall, in the King's County.

Rory oge mac Rory O'Molloy, of Pallas, King's County.

Turlough mac Brian O'Molloy, of Ballintolchan, King's County.

Of the O'Mores :—

The O'More, *i.e.* Owny, son of Rory oge (the younger), son of Rory caech (the one-eyed), son of Connall, son of Melaghlin, chief of Leix.

Lisagh mac Murtagh O'More, of Cremorgan, Queen's County.

Shane mac Kedagh O'More, of Dunaree, Queen's County.

Donnell mac Neill O'More.

Of the O'Tooles :—

Felim mac Feagh O'Toole, of Castlekevin, in Vartry, County Wicklow.

Among the Anglo-Irish who took part in this rebellion, and were active commanders in Leinster, are mentioned :—

Of the Butlers :—

Pierce and James, sons of Sir Edmund Butler, Knt., of Clogrennan, in the County Carlow.

The fourth Baron of Cahir, *i.e.* Thomas, son of Theobald, son of Pierce, son of Edmund Butler; and his brother James.

The second Viscount Mountgarrett, *i.e.* Edmund, son of Richard, son of Pierce Earl of Ormonde; and his nephews Richard, James, and Edward.

Of the Burkes :—

Redmond Burke, son of John of the Shamrocks, son of James, son of Richard 'Saxonagh' (the Englishman), son of Ulick 'na ceann' (of the heads, who was created Earl of Clanricard in 1543).

Of the Eustaces :—

James fitz John Eustace, of Newland, County Kildare.

Of the Fitz Gerald's :—

Gerald fitz Garrett oge Fitz Gerald, of Castletown Moylagh, County Meath.

Sir James fitz Pierce Fitz Gerald, Knt., of Ballyshannon, County Kildare, Sheriff of the County.

Gerald Fitz Gerald, of Morett, in the Queen's County, and his brother Edward, illegitimate sons of the eleventh Earl of Kildare.

Thomas Fitz Gerald, another bastard son.

Of the Keatings :—

Redmond fitz John Keating, of Ballymoyleran, Queen's County.

Pierce fitz Edmund Keating, of Coolnarian, Queen's County.

Of the Lees :—

Captain Thomas Lee, of Castlemartin, County Kildare ; at one time an officer under the Government, and later on "a great favourer of the Earl of Tyrone." He was executed in 1601.

Of the Nettervilles :—

Richard Netterville (? of Corballis, County Meath ; second son of Luke Netterville, of Dowth, County Meath).

Of the Nugents :—

William Nugent, of Ross, County Meath, brother of Sir Christopher, fourteenth Baron of Delvin.

Richard Nugent, second son of Sir Thomas, of Carlanstown, County Westmeath.

Captain Nugent, "one of Tyrone's best Captains," hanged at the Fort of Maryborough in May, 1599.

Of the Tyrrells :—

Captain Tyrrell, *i.e.* Richard, son of Thomas oge, son of Richard, of Fertullagh, County Westmeath (*cir.* 1624).

Captain William Tyrrell.

Several of the above-named leaders were slain in this rebellion ; others became outlaws ; and some, having made their submission, received pardons on the payment of heavy fines.

From a "Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's journey into Leinster,"¹ we will now trace the march which led to the fighting at the Pass of

¹ Atkinson's "Calendar of State Papers," Ireland, 1599-1600.

the Plumes. Essex, as mentioned before, having made up his mind to punish the southern Geraldines, started from Dublin on the 9th of May, 1599, with a force of 3,000 foot and 260 horse, and arrived at Naas, where he encamped. On the following day he made a short march Kileullen; and, on the 11th, he reached Kilrush, from whence he proceeded next day to encamp at Tullaghgorey (now Geraldine), two miles north-east of Athy, which latter town was in the hands of the rebels, under Sir James fitz Pierce Fitz Gerald, Knt. While at Tullaghgorey, Essex was joined by the Earl of Ormonde from Carlow, with a force of 700 foot and 200 horse. He also brought with him two prisoners of note—the Lords Mountgarrett and Caher—who submitted themselves for pardon, and were consigned to the care of the Provost-Marshal. On the 12th the attack on Athy commenced. The houses on the east side of the Barrow were captured, and occupied by the vanguard, while the main body crossed the Barrow, either at Ardreigh or Grangemellon, with the object of attacking the White Castle, which guarded the bridge of Athy, from both sides of the Barrow. But when Sir James perceived that his defence would be hopeless, he delivered up the White Castle, and surrendered himself to the mercy of Essex, who consigned him, too, to the care of the Provost-Marshal.

After repairing the bridge of Athy, which had been rendered useless for the transit of carriage by the enemy, and after garrisoning both the White Castle and the neighbouring one of Woodstock, Essex continued his march, on the 15th, towards Stradbally, in the Queen's County. Four or five miles from Athy the army arrived at Blackford (*alias* Rathmaddock), which contained a castle, then belonging to Sir William Hartpole, Knt.—son of Robert Hartpole, Constable of Carlow Castle, who died in 1594—but at this time in the enemy's hands. Here resistance was expected; but though the ford had been 'plashed,' or entrenched, and the rebels showed themselves, the passage was made good without difficulty.

On the 16th (? from Stradbally) the Lord Lieutenant gave instructions for the army to march to, and camp at, Ballyknockan, which lies two miles to the south of Maryborough. At the same time he sent a small force to a castle belonging to Sir Terence O'Dempsey (created Viscount Clanmalier in 1631), called Ballybrittas, in which the latter, a loyalist, had confined three famous rebels, one of whom was a "Captain Nugent, reckoned to be one of Tyrone's best captains." These three prisoners were brought to the Fort of Leix, *i.e.* Maryborough, and handed over to the governor, Sir Francis Rush, to be executed, and their heads to be fixed on spikes over the gate.

After revictualling the fort, and strengthening the garrison, the Lord Lieutenant proceeded to rejoin his army at Ballyknockan, which "lay towards the mountains of Slieve-na-gree."

As this place is situated close to the Pass of Cashel, known since as

the Pass of the Plumes, the Lord Lieutenant's Journal will be quoted *verbatim* as given in the Calendar of State Papers:—

“At Ballyknockan the rebels showed themselves in great multitudes, both the same night and the next morning (the 17th), so that question was made whether the army should go the nearest way towards Roseconnell (Rosconnell, County Kilkenny), which was through a Pass called Cashel, or march by the mountain (of ? ‘Croshyduff’), to avoid the disadvantage of the Pass. The resolution was, that the rebel should rather be sought than shunned, and that it was necessary to teach the world that Her Majesty's army could and would in all places make way for itself. Whereupon, first, the Pass was viewed,¹ being some quarter of a mile long, wooded on both sides; having on the one side a high hill, on the other a main bog,² and at a ford, at the furthest end of it, an entrenchment.

“The direction for the giving on was in this manner. First, one hundred men were sent to enter the mouth of the Pass, the first ranks being musqueteers; and after every three ranks of musqueteers two ranks of short weapons. With these were sent axes, pickaxes, spades, and shovels; and two bodies of three or four hundred foot a piece were sent to second those. On either side of the Pass were placed divers wings of shot and short weapons to flank the passage.

“At the mouth of the Pass, and at the entrenchment, there was no resistance, so that the trench was soon thrown down, and the passage made open. But, by the drawing nearer of the rebels on either side it was conceived, as indeed it fell out, that their purpose was to give on when our carriages were in passing, and the Pass so choked that our men could hardly fight in order. Whereupon, first, the wings which were on both sides were commanded to stand fast, and new wings provided out of every part of the army to second these. The vanguard of the foot being, besides the wings, divided into two bodies, the first was commanded to make a guard about the ford, and in the strait of the Pass; and the other to stand in battle in the midst of it, in a place of some breadth, leaving the highway free for passage; and the vanguard of the horse was commanded to pass through, to command the open country beyond the Pass.

“This being done, the carriages were appointed to march, which, the rebels seeing, gave on upon both sides, and so continued a kind of fight all the while they were passing, which was some two hours. At last, when both our carriages and battle (? main body) were passed, they charged our rear guard, and on the bog side and in the rear they came

¹ In an account of this march of Essex's, published in volume ii. of the Irish Archeological Society's publications (1843), it is stated that the Lord Lieutenant viewed the lie of the country from the top of a high hill called “Croshyduff, the general Rate-hill of the Province of Leinster.” The Pass of Cashel in this account is described as being a mile long.

² The hill of Cashel rises 200 feet above the bog at its foot, on the west side.

up to the sword with our wings. But every place was made good against them, and they glad to trust to their lightness and swiftness.

"In this fight there were only two of note slain—Captain Ralph Boswell, a voluntary (? volunteer), and one Gardiner, a lieutenant to Sir Henry Dockwra. There were also but two of note hurt—Captain (Henry) Folliot, and a gentleman serving in the Lord Lieutenant's Company, who had been lieutenant of a company before. And three of these four were justly punished for their disorderly and disobedient going in beyond the place assigned them, and upon infinite disadvantage.¹

"Of common soldiers were slain three or four, and some six or seven hurt. But the rebels' loss was far greater.

"On the next day, being the 18th, the army dislodged (*i.e.* struck camp) from Roseconnell, and marched directly to the Pass of Ballyragget, which was plashed (*i.e.* fortified), and entrenched in divers places, and a place of far more difficulty and danger than the other of Cashel. But there was no resistance; only some few ragged companions offered a light skirmish in the rear-guard at the farthest end of the Pass. The passing of our army so quietly through this Pass, of so great advantage to the enemy, seemed very strange to all men; but to those that examined the causes thereof, two reasons offered themselves. The one, that they were bitten with their losses the day before, and had some of their best men hurt, whom they neither could carry with them, nor would abandon; the other, the strength of the garrison left at Maryborough, which, whilst they were occupied in impeaching the army's passage, might, without interruption, seize on the prey of the rebels, it then lying not far from their fort.

"From this Pass we marched to the Castle of Ballyragget, the Viscount Mountgarrett's chief house, which is a key into Leix on the one side, as Athy is on the other."²

Such is the English version of the fighting that took place at the Pass of Cashel; and how it is that there is such a vast difference in the English loss as given by the "Annals of the Four Masters," and O'Sullivan-Beare, the historian, on the one side, and the "Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's journey into Leinster," on the other side, it is hard to say. To reconcile one with the other is impossible, if the "Journal" is reliable; whereas the change of name, from "the Pass of Cashel" to "the Pass of the Plumes," is surely sufficient proof that the English loss was heavy; as the name implies that the Pass, after the fighting was over, was found to be thickly strewn with the English helmet-feathers, shorn off at close quarters during the struggle. On

¹ Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, states in a letter that Captains Bosworth and Gardiner rashly pursued some of the rebels over the bog (one of whom, being heavily laden with his armour, stuck fast in the bog), and before assistance arrived they were slain.

² Atkinson's "Calendar of State Papers," pp. 39, 40—volume for the year 1599.

the face of it, the trifling loss of two officers and four men killed, as acknowledged to by the English, is incredible; as, for two hours at least, the transport was crawling through the Pass, and during the whole time the attack on it at close quarters was kept up, so that from under cover of the forest on both sides of the Pass, which afforded an immense advantage to the attacking force over their foes, the Irish must surely have done great execution on the English while in their perilous position. Hence we may safely say that the "Annals of the Four Masters," and O'Sullivan-Beare's "History," are to be relied on for their version of the losses incurred.

Again, in the following year, the Pass of Cashel is mentioned in the "Calendars of State Papers," this time during the month of August, 1600. During the interval, Charles Blount (Lord Mountjoy), a military man of great ability, had succeeded Essex as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Finding Owny macRory O'More, Chief of his nation, still in rebellion, and as powerful as ever, he determined to devastate his territory of Leix, as the cruel method of causing a famine was found to be the surest way of smothering a rebellion. Consequently, in the month of August, 1600, after spoiling Donnell "spaniagh" Kavanagh's country (in the County Carlow), he reached the town of Carlow on the evening of the 14th of August. On the following day he marched his force to the foot of the mountain (*i.e.* the Slieve-Maragy range) in the Keatings' country, the southern portion of the Queen's County, which he burned, and destroyed the crops thereof. On the 16th, six hundred foot, under Sir Oliver Lambert, were sent to destroy the villages, houses, and crops in the fastnesses of the Slieve-Maragy district (now a Barony of that name). At the same time the Lord Lieutenant, with the horse, foot, and transport, proceeded along the level country, spoiling and burning all before them; in the evening the two forces met and encamped together beside a river. On the evening of the 17th the army encamped at "Ferney Abbey." This place has not been identified, but very probably it is the same as the "Farrinabee" of the Inquisitions, or the "Farrynmabin" and "Farrannabine" of the Fiants, which was a townland in the Lordship of Castlenoe, *alias* Newcastle, lying in the Parish of Killabban and Barony of Slieve-Maragy, in the Queen's County.¹ During the crop-destroying march between Carlow and "Ferney Abbey," the rebels gave great opposition; and in a skirmish near the latter place the brave Owny macRory O'More met with his death; he was mortally wounded in two places, but lingered in an unconscious condition till night time, when he died; another noted rebel, Callogh mac Walter, nephew of Hugh boy mac Callough Mac Donnell of Tinnakill, Queen's County, was slain while defending Owny. During the night Owny's followers, at his expressed desire, decapitated him,

¹ The ruins of the Newcastle stand on the townland of Farnans. "Farrinabee," as a townland name, is now obsolete.

and buried the head, in order to prevent it reaching the hands of the Lord Lieutenant; and thus it escaped being spiked on a battlemented turret of Dublin Castle. After Owny's death the O'More rebels dispersed in small bodies, and returned to their own homes.

The 18th of August was occupied by the army in capturing cattle; and on the 19th the army passed the Pass of Cashel to Ballyroan, and so the next day to Kilgighy (? Ballygeehin) in Ossory, passing by the castle of "Gortencle" (Gortnaclea in Upper Ossory, and just on the borders of Leix). For the next three or four days the same plan of devastation was carried on in the Upper Ossory district, when:—

"On the 24th, the army marched with expectance to fight in the Pass of Cashel, which was said to be possessed by 2,560 of the rebels, according to a list delivered to his Lordship by the Earl of Ormonde the night before, and to his Lordship by one that affirmed on his oath he had seen so many mustered in their camp.

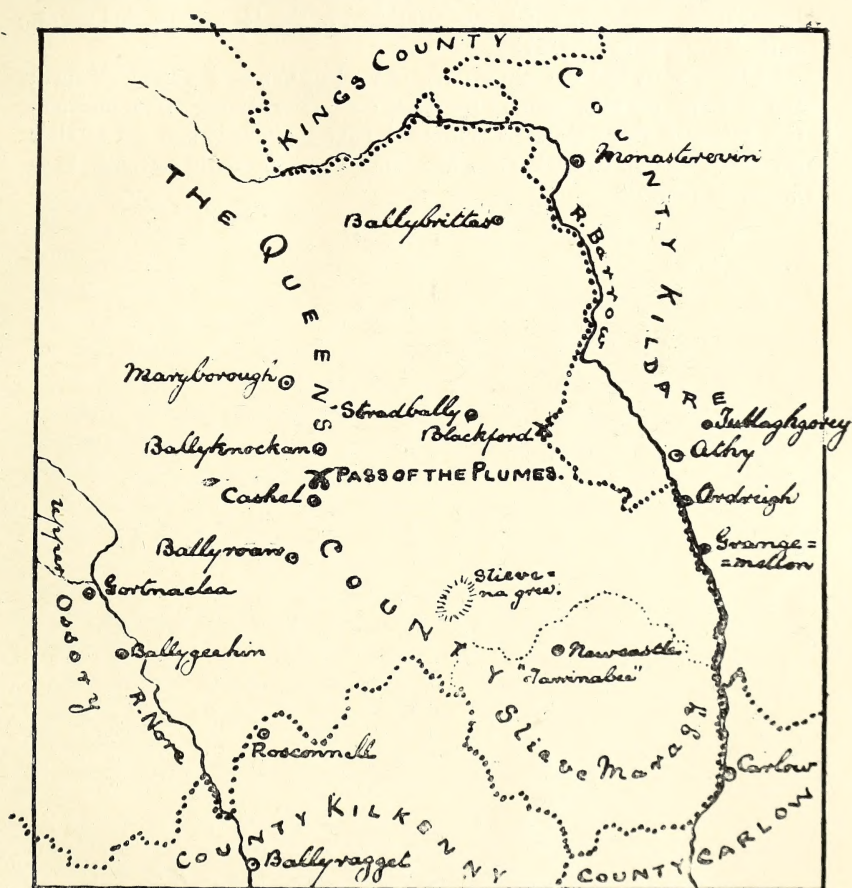
"A little before the entrance of the Pass, Donnell Spaniagh, who was to have maintained fight on the right hand, where they had entrenched the passage, came to the head of the army, and fell down on his knees to the Lord Deputy, and desired protection for twelve days, till he might come to Dublin, which was granted (for in that time his Lordship could do him no harm), and thereupon his men quitted the trench, and drew up to the mountain, to see the event of the fight.

"The rebels being already possessed of the Pass of Cashel, next to the great bog, we turned with our carriage through an upper pass near adjoining unto it, in the midst whereof they began to skirmish with a great cry, charging home. Our men beat them presently into the lower pass, and from thence into the bog, where they beat them into the wood beyond it, to the loss and hurt of many of them; and Captain William Tyrrell shot into the reins (*i.e.* the kidneys), of which it is said he is since dead. Whereupon the Lord Deputy called them off, gave order to the army to march to Stradbally, and with some twenty horse went to see the fort of Leix (*i.e.* Maryborough), and came that night to the camp.

"The 25th, the companies being sent to their several garrisons, his Lordship came to the Naas, and on the 26th reached Dublin."¹

Thus, by means of these two extracts from the "Calendars of State Papers," the Pass of the Plumes can with a certainty be located in the townland of Pass, which lies between Ballyknockan and Ballyroan; and though it is correctly shown on the map of Ireland which illustrates Dr. P. W. Joyce's History of that kingdom, yet, as far as I know, the exact site of "Barnaglitty" has never before been so fully identified.

¹ Atkinson's "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," for 1600, pp. 396-397.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY WHERE THE FIGHTING AT "THE PASS OF THE PLUMES"
TOOK PLACE, MAY 17, 1599.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

Since I put together the above notes on the Pass of the Plumes, our President has brought to my notice that just thirty years ago Canon O'Hanlon, F.R., had read a Paper on the same subject to the Royal Irish Academy, which was published in the 1st volume, 2nd series, of its "Proceedings" (1879).

I have lately had the opportunity of reading Canon O'Hanlon's Paper; and as I find we both come to the same conclusion, though from information gathered from different sources, I have thought it best not to alter my notes, though extracts from his valuable Paper would certainly have improved mine.

SOME PLACES OF INTEREST NEAR GORT VISITED BY
THE SOCIETY, AUGUST 11TH, 1904.

BY THE VERY REV. DR. FAHEY, P.P., V.G.

[Submitted August 9, 1904.]

THE Summer Excursion to Gort and its vicinity, as arranged for our Antiquaries this year, will enable them to visit a district rich in historical and archæological interest. Ancient churches, mediæval castles, cromleacs, and cahers are familiar features of the district, as well as interesting memorials of the past.

The selection of Gort as a centre is judicious, though the town is modern, and the name seems to sound more Saxon than Celtic. But "Gort" is only the Anglicized form of a portion of the original name, which, as we have it from the "Four Masters," is "Gort-insi-Guaire," *i.e.* the "garden of Guaire's island." Dr. Joyce, with his usual accuracy and scholarly research, tells us that "*Gort* is cognate with the French *jardin*, the English 'garden,' and the Latin *hortus*." Guaire was one of the most celebrated of our provincial kings. He was the friend and patron of priests and poets alike; and his name is handed down to us by bards and historians, as "Guaire the Hospitable." The garden of the hospitable king may have extended by the river's curve at the entrance to the town. And the island on which his palace was situated is close by, and is still enclosed by the rushing waters of the river. It was here that he dispensed, for an entire year, his lavish hospitality to the Irish bards, and their distinguished and gifted chief Seanchan, Torpest.

"Thus in hall of Gort spoke Guary,
For the king, let truth be told,
Bounteous though he was, was weary
Giving goblets, giving gold—
Giving aught the Bard demanded;
But when for the Táin he called,
Seanchan from his seat descended,
Shame and anger fired the scald."

The king's descendants in the district were known by the tribe-name of Kineal Aedh na Echte, and, as was natural, they cherished the memories of this historic spot. So we find that the chieftains of Kineal Aedh selected "Insi Guaire" as the site of their principal castle and their chief family residence. We have no certain authority for fixing the

exact date of the erection of the castle of Gort. But we can have no doubt that it was the residence of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, Lord of Kineal Aedh, when he was created baronet by Henry VIII., A.D. 1545; and it was here that the O'Shaughnessy, a few years later, entertained the Lord Deputy and his escort at a banquet almost regal in its ostentatious display. "On the 12th July he encamped near Gort, and dined at O'Shaughnessy's house so worshipfully that divers wondered at it, for such a dinner or the like of it was not seen in any Irishman's house before."

The castle stood within the island. The mansion stood close to the castle, separated from it by the river. In Ludlow's *Memoirs* the place is referred to as well fortified, and is described as a place of considerable strength. Cromwell's commander-in-chief may be allowed to give us his impressions of the place:—

"I marched with my horse towards Limerick, and came to Gortinsigori, a castle belonging to Sir Dermot O'Shortness, who was then gone to Galway, but had left his tenants with some soldiers in the castle.

"On one side of the wall there was an earth-bank about 11 feet high, with a trench of equal breadth without. The wall of the court was about 12 feet high, well flanked. On the other side the place was secured by a river."

Dr. Lynch makes flattering reference to the owner at that time. He tells us that he was most lavish of hospitality and gifts, so much so that the well-known epigram might be aptly inscribed over his gate—

"Porta patens esto
Nulli claudatur honesto."

Though the castle had capitulated to Ludlow, it fortunately escaped destruction, and was given back, on the Restoration, to Sir Roger, successor and heir to Sir Dermot. Loyal like his father to the Stuart cause, Sir Roger fought for his king at the Boyne, and returned from that disastrous battlefield to die at Gort. His son William, by Helena, sister of Lord Clare, was heir to a ruined fortune. He was declared attainted and obliged to fly to France with his uncle Lord Clare, where he died A.D. 1744. His property was declared confiscated during his lifetime, and was conferred on Thomas Prendergast by letters patent, in consideration of his good and acceptable services in discovering the assassination plot.

But as the transfer of the property confiscated affected only Colonel William O'Shaughnessy, we find that the next heir-at-law, Coleman O'Shaughnessy, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, instituted law proceedings to recover the family estates. A protracted and expensive lawsuit was the result.

Dr. De Burgo, in his "*Hibernia Dominicana*," makes the following pointed reference to the defence advanced by Sir T. Prendergast:—

"*Acreter se defendit non quidam justitia caussae suae, sed pecunia et potentia.*"

In 1760 the case was finally decided by Lord Mansfield against Sir Joseph O'Shaughnessy.

The decision was ruinous to O'Shaughnessy; and one of the historic families of our country—of whom it was said, "*qui non novit O'Shaughnessy, Hibernia non novit*"—was reduced to obscurity and poverty. And very soon after, the historic castle and mansion were levelled to the earth to supply space and building material for the present unoccupied military barrack.

The Castle of Ardameelavane is situated about three miles south of Gort, close to the beautiful demesne of Lough Cutra. It was an O'Shaughnessy castle, erected probably in the opening of the sixteenth century. We hear of it for the first time in 1567, after the death of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy. It stands on the precipitous brow of a deep and secluded valley, and shows well-marked features of late Tudor work. The fortifications have practically disappeared. But the castle itself, owing to its restoration through the enlightened care of Lord Gough, the proprietor, is now one of the most perfect in the province.

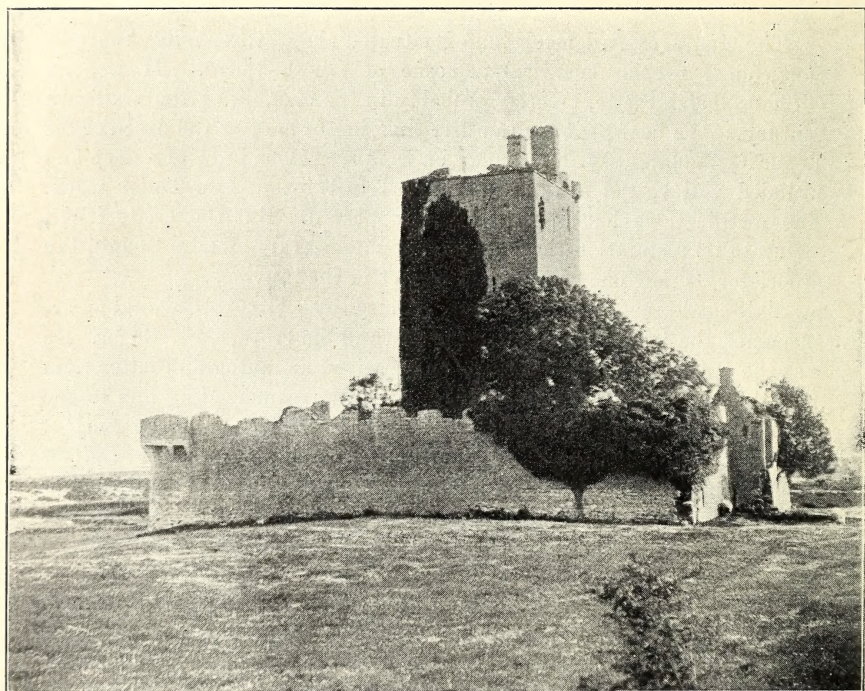
This castle seems to have been claimed by Dermot O'Shaughnessy, surnamed the "*Swarthy*," after the death of his brother, Sir Roger. He was the Queen's O'Shaughnessy, and received an autograph letter from Her Majesty, dated 27th June, 1570, strongly recommending him to the special attention of her Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. In the Earl of Leicester, O'Shaughnessy had another friend and supporter. Dermot Reagh's special claim on the patronage of the Queen arose from his having had a share in the betrayal of Dr. Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, who had retired to the O'Shaughnessy forests in Beagh for protection. So Her Majesty did not forget "to allow right well of the service in bringing to our said deputy an unloyal subject to that land, being a feigned bishop, who not long before broke out of our Tower of London."

Writing to Sydney in 1570, Her Majesty recommends O'Shaughnessy's petition for some order to be taken with him on the death of his brother, to place and settle him in the said country. But the acts which secured for Dermot Reagh the support of Her Majesty and her Deputy, alienated the goodwill of his tribe and of the entire district, and excited against him the active hostility of his own family. Such was the abhorrence with which his act was regarded, that we find it generally stated that all vegetation perished on the spot in which he had Dr. Creagh arrested. His nephew, John O'Shaughnessy, was the popular heir to the title and family estates. An accidental meeting of the rival chiefs near the southern gate of Ardameelavane Castle, led to a conflict in which

their rivalry had a tragic solution in 1579. The nephew fell mortally wounded by his uncle. But the uncle, though an accomplished swordsman, and one of Leicester's notorious body-guard, survived his nephew only half an hour, having received a mortal wound in the sad encounter.

The local traditions have preserved the memory of this event, which is authenticated by historical testimony.

From the train, as it approaches Tubber station in its journey southward, one may catch a passing glimpse of this castle on the left. On the right, however, the Castle of Fiddane—another O'Shaughnessy castle—comes clearly into view. It is perhaps most easily approached from Tubber station.



FIDDANE CASTLE, COUNTY GALWAY.

The true name of the adjoining village, from which the station takes its name, is Tubber Riogh an Domnach, *i.e.* the 'Well of the Lord of the Sabbath.' The spring or well may be easily visited by those who drive to Fiddane Castle. It has long been venerated as one of the holy wells of the district.

Few castles have their fortifications so well preserved as Fiddane Castle. They remain, as does the castle itself, practically unaffected by

time. It is interesting to be able to add that it is now in the hands of the Commissioners charged with the preservation of our national monuments. It was probably erected at the same time as Ardameelavane.

At the time of the Kilkenny Confederation, we find it occupied by Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, son and heir of Sir Dermot, who died A.D. 1606.

An extant letter addressed from Fiddane Castle on the 14th March, 1647, to Mrs. Giles Donevan, of Castle Donevan, settles the question of occupancy at that period. It is of sufficient interest to be given here:—

“FOR MY VERIE LOVING DAUGHTER, MRS. GYLES DONEVAN,
“CASTLE DONEVAN.

“DAUGHTER,

“I have received yours of the 18th februarie last; and as for your troubles, you must be patient as well as others, and for my part I taste enough of that frute. God mend it amongst all, and send us a more happie tyme;

“As for the partie lately commanded to the Countree of Kiery who may be expected to return that way, they are conducted by my nephew Lieut. Coll. William Burke to whom I have written by the bearer on your behalfe:

“I am most confident he will not suffer any wrong to be done unto your Dependants, tenants, or yourself: And if in case you should expect the whole armie, you may certifie me soe much with speed, and I shall take the course that shall be fittinge. In the meane tyme beseeching God to bless and keep you and yours.

“I am your assured loveing ffather,

“R. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

“FEDAN, 14th March, 1647.”

This Sir Roger had taken an active part in the Confederate movement. At Ormond Castle, Kilkenny, his portrait is preserved. He is represented as arrayed in a suit of armour. His arms—as shown by his seal—were an arm embowed holding a spear.

From Fiddane Castle to Kilmacduagh the drive is by Clonowane Castle, situated on the borders between Clare and Galway.

The entire district looks barren; and dreary sheets of limestone seem to extend themselves on all sides. There is scarcely a tree; and yet the Kilkeedy forests, which once extended here for miles, at the close of the sixteenth century afforded shelter to O'Neill and his numerous troops, on the occasion of his memorable raid on north Thomond and Clanricarde. Kilkeedy is but a short distance southward. It was the home of the Mac Brody, whose approbation of the “Annals of the Four Masters,” dated 11th November, 1636, remains to us as an evidence of the character and extent of his learning, and of the accuracy of his judgment.

In our day only a small portion remains of O'Brien's splendid stronghold. It is referred to in Dowera's narrative as a “splendid pile,” and one of the strongest in Thomond. Its destruction by Sir Richard Bingham at the close of the sixteenth century is described both by Dowera and our annalists. At the time the local chieftains were, no doubt, familiar with the scenes of carnage by which Bingham enforced his

"vigorous policy." In Galway, Burren, and Thomond, these lessons were ruthlessly enforced. Hence Donald O'Brien of Clonowane was left to his fate by the neighbouring chiefs of Clare and Galway. A protracted siege of twenty-one days showed the spirit with which O'Brien defended himself against his powerful enemy. The garrison surrendered only when they saw their chief shot on the ramparts. Though expecting quarter, they were all massacred in cold blood, and the chief portions of the castle were razed to the earth. About a mile to the north, the conical summit of the round tower of Kilmaedugh is clearly visible, seemingly guarding the venerable ruins clustered round, which eloquently proclaim to the twentieth century the pathetic story of St. Colman's holy labours in the seventh century. As a Paper specially prepared for this occasion deals at some length with the general history and some of the most striking features of those venerable ruins, further special reference to them is unnecessary here. The undulating and rocky ridges that run on the western side of the ruins between the marshes are bare and treeless now. It was not so in the year A.D. 1200. They were then overgrown with a thick wood, which was in part the scene of the decisive battle which secured the sovereignty of Connaught for Cathal Crovedearg against the ambitious efforts of his kinsman, Cathal Carragh.

Proceeding northwards, the extensive woods of Garryland rise above the bare and rocky landscape. And soon there are glimpses of sparkling lakes and steep crags through the broken outline of dark pine groves, and soft green birch, and hazel dell's, extending for miles on the eastern side of the public roadway.

On the summit of one of those crags stand the remains of a vast fort built of uncemented stones. Its name, Dunowen, gives its designation to the townland. But unlike Dun Aengus and the ordinary cahirs, it is not circular. It follows the irregular outline of the precipitous plateau on which it stands.

While those woods are seen stretching away north and east, the public roadway skirts the remains of another large stone fort known as Cahir Cugacla. In most of its features it resembles the cahirs of Clare and the duns of Aranmore, so ably described by one of the gifted members of our Society, Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.A. But it may be added that it also possesses some features of special interest. Unfortunately it is much ruined, so much so that the massive circular fort does not now stand higher than 13 feet at its highest point. The width of this stone enclosure would be about 12 feet at top, but at the base much wider. It had a wide entrance looking east. Two massive piers built in concrete formed the entrance. They are now much ruined; but enough remains to show their massive character. Men still living remember when they were much higher. This entrance seems to have taken the place of the usual cyclopean entrance seen at Dun Aengus and other similar structures, and may have been a mediæval addition to the fort.

From this entrance a raised surface leads to some ruined stone structures, or cloghans, within the fort.

On the outside, and surrounding the cahir, are the remains of two concentric stone enclosures. The outer enclosure stands a considerable distance from the fort, and seems to have been of considerable strength.

The remains of some circular structures may still be traced within this enclosure. The one on the south side of the cahir is the most perfect. Its strong circular wall consisted of massive stones uncemented, but hammer-dressed to the round. It should be for our antiquaries to determine the probable purposes of those structures, and the periods to which they may be referred. Is it one of the several monuments which speak to us still of the presence of the Fir Bolg tribes in Aidhne when Maeve was Queen of the Western province?

O'Curry tells us of some settlements of the sons of Umor in Aidhne. He specially mentions *Cutra* and *Conal*, who settled in Hy Fiachrach Aidhne when Aengus had erected his fort at Aranmore. The charming district of Lough Cultra preserves the name of the former chief, though there seems to be no trace of a cahir there. It is not stated at what particular part of Aidhne Conal may have established himself. But it is stated that Conal was vanquished in single combat by Cuchulainn. His cahir may, therefore, have been known by the victor's name, Cahir Cuchulainn, corruptly Cugoela. Similarly, Cahir Mugaghane, near Gort, seems to bear the name of Mac Mugach, who vanquished Fergus, son of Umor.

About a mile north-east of Cahir Cugoela there are two fine cromlechs. Both are situated at Ballinastague, at the northern limits of the Garryland Woods. They are probably amongst the largest in Ireland. One is situated on a solid rock. Those who regard the cromlechs as burial-places will find it difficult to reconcile this fact with their theory.

In the immediate neighbourhood there are several raths and "sotteranea" hitherto unexplored; and here, too, is a lake interesting in its weird setting. On its western side stands the castle of Caher-glissane, and on the southern shore is an ancient oratory with a small chancel. The chancel window is a small round-headed lancet of the most primitive character. The chancel arch and southern side-wall are completely destroyed; and as there is no trace of doorway in the existing remains, it must have stood in the southern wall. Though the existing masonry is not cyclopean, it seems to be mediæval. Some traces of old buildings around the church lend probability to the local tradition that it was a branch of the Kilmaedugh Abbey, and served by its canons. Its name "Killomorán" easily lends itself to this interpretation. It may, however, mean the church of the Holy Hermit Marbhan, brother of King Guaire. It would be at least likely that the canons of Kilmaedugh would gladly select the site of that royal hermit's cell as the site for their little community and church.

The adjoining lake is called Lough Deehan. The waters of the lake having sunk very low in A.D. 1785, a wooden house was discovered at the bottom. "It was formed of oak timber of great thickness, the sides and roof of which were formed of wattle work of the same material. It was fully a thousand years old, and may have belonged to one of the early religious establishments of St. Colman's," most probably to the community at Killomorán.

The waters of the lake are regularly affected by the tides of the adjoining sea-coast of Kinvara. The ebb and flow give a regular change of a few feet in the water-level, though its connexion with the sea is by underground passages. Several caverns and forbidding seams in the earth reveal the water's course here and there on its way to the ocean. Many of those seams are said to have appeared for the first time on the occasion of the great Lisbon earthquake, which was so severely felt along this coast as to ruin one of the O'Heyne's castles on the seashore at Corren Roo.

The return journey to Gort takes one by Lydecane Castle and Kiltartan.

The Castle of Lydecane is situated in the present parish of Ardahan. It was occupied towards the close of the sixteenth century by Owen Mautagh O'Heyne, who, in 1578, succeeded "Ruadhri na Coille," as chief of his name. The annalists record his death in 1588:—"Eoghan Mautagh, son of Edmond, son of Flan, son of Conchobar O'Heyne, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, died, and his son Aodh Buidhe was elected in his stead."

This Aodh Buidhe ('the yellow'), who succeeded to the chieftainship of his tribe, surrendered his property to the Crown, and received a royal grant of the same on the usual conditions of military service. This "graunte" was dated on the 23rd July, in the thirtieth year of Her Majesty's "raigne." An inquisition taken at Galway, A.D. 1608, shows that O'Heyne's territory contained 8640 acres, which comprised most of the parish of Kinvara, and also considerable portions of Clarinbridge, Ardahan, and Kilmacduagh.

The O'Heynes were kinsmen of the O'Shaughnessys, and shared with them the lordship of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. We find that Mulrony O'Heyne, father-in-law of Brian Boroimhe, was Lord of Aidhne, and since that period to the opening of the seventeenth century they were, with their kindred at Gort, chiefs of their territory. The Castle of Lydecane seems to have been their remotest outpost on the east side of their lands.

The ancient church of Kiltartan arrests the attention a few miles further on. Its peculiarities attracted the attention of Sir Denham Norreys, and were treated of by him in a Paper read before this Society at Kilkenny in 1876. "Two curious projections carved on the mullions of the east window attracted my attention; and on closer

examination they appeared to be stone staples for holding bolts. There are no windows on the north wall; the door is placed there; and there is also on the same side, and near the east gable, a fairly designed altar-tomb. Of the date of the erection of the church or its history nothing is known. It affords clear evidence of various structural alterations; and there can be but little doubt that some portions of the structure date from a remote antiquity. The old name was Kilattaracht. Probably the church was dedicated to St. Attracta, the patroness of Coolavin, and of other parishes in Sligo."

KILMACDUAGH AND ITS ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS.

BY THE VERY REV. J. FAHEY, D.D., P.P., V.G.

THE ecclesiastical monuments at Kilmacduagh attract us by their antiquity and historical interest. Time, "the beautifier of the dead, the adorning of the ruin," has given them a charm of a special kind. They are relics of a very remote past. They bridge over the vast period which separates the twentieth century from the seventh. They bring the advanced civilization of our time face to face with the simple wants, customs, and religious feelings of our fathers, thirteen centuries ago. Situated in a district territorially remote, and comparatively insignificant in the twentieth century, they recall the period when it was the seat of royalty, and peopled by one of the noblest tribes of ancient Erin.

The name of this group of ruins, which is also long accepted as the name of the district, preserves for us the founder's name. Kilmacduagh means the 'church of St. Colman, son of Duagh.' In the sixth and seventh centuries Colman was a very usual name amongst the ecclesiastics of the time. In some of our Martyrologies we find probably a hundred saints of the name mentioned, which creates an obvious difficulty in identifying particular individuals amongst them. But in the case of St. Colman, of Kilmacduagh, the mention of his father's name removes all difficulty as to his identity. The compilers of the Martyrology of Donegal refer to him as "Colman, Bishop, *i.e.* MacDuagh, of Cill MicDuach, in Conachta. He was of the race of Fiachra, son of Eochaid Muidhmhoir; great were his virtues and miracles." The genealogy of "Colman, son of Duach, from whom Cill Mhic Duagh," from Dathy, is given fully in the Book of Hy Fiachrach. And O'Donovan states expressly that the Cill Mhic Duagh referred to "is the Church of the son of Duagh, now Kilmacduagh, in the Barony of Kiltartan, in the south-west of the County of Galway."

A reference in the same volume¹ to Rhinagh, the saint's mother, makes the question of his identity still more certain, if possible. I quote the exact words: "The issue of Cormac became extinct, except one daughter, Rhinach, the mother of St. Colman Mac Duagh, *i.e.* a quo Ceal Mic Duach." These extracts not merely enable us to place his identity beyond doubt, but they make us familiar with several prominent persons in the period in which he lived, and the royal race of which he was a distinguished member. The future bishop and founder of Kilmacduagh was of the princely race of Dathy, and a near relative of King Guaire;

¹ "Hy Fiachrach," p. 63.

known as the "hospitable," the generous patron of holy and learned men of his time.

Of St. Colman Mac Duagh's early life we know but little with certainty. If, however, legends and traditions may reflect, even vaguely, the history of that period, we may assume that it was a troubled one. Prophetic forecasts spoke of him as one destined to surpass all others of his distinguished lineage. So much were the jealous apprehensions of the King, Colman, father of Guaire, excited by those forecasts, that he decided to destroy the lives of infant and mother alike. Hence his birth at Corker under the shelter of the hawthorn-trees, and the marvels of his baptism there; and hence, also, the need of veiling the incidents of his early life and education in the strictest secrecy. But, considering the European fame of Aranmore at the period, we are not surprised to find unmistakable traces of the saint in that island sanctuary. We may assume that he found there the safety he needed, and that he perfected there that spirit of prayer, mortification, and retirement of which he gave such striking evidence afterwards in his barren hermitage and as Bishop of Kilmacduagh. Amongst the existing monuments in Aranmore, of that remote period, there are two churches, both attributed to St. Colman of Kilmacduagh. To these Dr. Kelly refers in his *Dissertations on Irish History*; and he states that both are referred to St. Colman both by "history and tradition." Dr. Petrie, referring to certain architectural features which those churches possess in common with the Cathedral Church of Kilmacduagh, says: "Of this description of doorway I shall only here insert another example from a church which was erected by the same St. Colman Mac Duagh within the great cyclopean fort or cashel at Kilmurvey, on the great island of Aranmore, and which is still in good preservation."

The church here referred to by Dr. Petrie and Dr. Kelly is usually known as Teampuil Mór Mhic Duach. It consists of nave and chancel; the style is cyclopean, and similar to the St. Colman's churches at Oughtmama, in Burren, and to the most ancient portions of the cathedral at Kilmacduagh. Such memorials of the saint at Aranmore would justify the opinion that his stay there was a protracted one. But the seclusion which even this famous island sanctuary afforded did not satisfy his aspirations. Like many other Irish saints of that period, he wished to follow in Ireland the austere and penitential isolation which in Egypt and the East led Anthony and the eastern hermits into the deserts. And we are assured that Irish hermits "dwelt in deserts, and lived on herbs," and there in solitude devoted their penitential lives to prayer and contemplation.

There were few districts in Ireland more calculated to satisfy the aspirations of the hermit than were the wilds of Burren. To-day it is a solitude amongst the mountain crags. At that time the solitude was rendered, if possible, more palpable by the forests which clothed the

valleys and hill-sides in the mystery of their deep shades. And here in Burren Colman found a cave on the face of one of its boldest cliffs. The cave became his cherished home for a period of seven years. His little oratory was near, and its ruins may still be seen; and at a little distance is the pure fountain which supplied him, and still bears his name.

The circumstances under which his presence there was made known to the king and his kinsmen of Hy Fiachrach are set forth in our mediæval legends with an interesting minuteness, and with all the attractiveness of a poetic narrative. It would seem clear that King Guaire wished to make generous amends for the hostility of his father. The king's joy at the discovery of his holy kinsman reflected the joy of the tribes of Hy Fiachrach; and it is not to be wondered at if, at their united request, Colman consented, though reluctantly, to become their bishop. It is well known that in the early Irish Church the diocese was coextensive with the tribal territory. We find, therefore, that the boundaries of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh were exactly coextensive with the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, the sphere of his episcopal labours. Having satisfied himself that the request of the king and his clansmen was in conformity with the will of Heaven, he abandoned his beloved hermitage, and proceeded to erect his church and monastery. It was the opening of the seventh century. As the date definitely given by such writers as Lanigan, Colgan, Petrie is A.D. 610, I cannot hesitate to accept it. It may seem strange that he did not select a more central site; but it should be remembered that there were at the time several flourishing religious houses in the central portions of the district. The needs of the southern districts, hitherto seemingly unprovided for, seemed to have influenced the saint in his choice. Indeed, the old writers tell us that he had also special supernatural guidance in the selection of the site of his church and monastery. The king, with characteristic generosity, offered such endowments as the saint might consider desirable. He sent teams of oxen and a numerous supply of labourers to procure the necessary materials, and skilled artisans who were to complete the great undertaking with the least possible delay. And, though our chronicles are silent on the subject, we have it on the authority of an old and widely accepted tradition that he secured the services of the eminent architect, Gobban, to guide the workmen in their labours. Walsh, in his *History*, regards this tradition as important; and Dr. Petrie refers to it at considerable length. He also emphasises the opinion that this tradition exists only in reference to such towers as Kilmacduagh and Killala, the masonry of which harmonises with the architecture of the churches of the seventh century; and he continues: "It is remarkable that the age assigned to the first buildings at Kilmacduagh is exactly that in which this celebrated Irish architect flourished." His coming to aid St. Colman in his great work could be easily accounted for by the ties of friendship which existed between King Guaire and St. Madoe of Ferns, of whose monastery Gobban was a distinguished member.

I refer to those circumstances chiefly with a view to ascertain, as far as possible, how many of the extant monuments at Kilmacduagh, if any, may be referred to the age of St. Colman. Our monuments speak to us in a language which our learned antiquaries are quick to interpret; and their mute yet eloquent testimony often affords the truest interpretation of history.



ROUND TOWER AND CATHEDRAL, KILMACDUAGH.
(From a Water-colour Drawing by G. V. Du Noyer, 1860.)

The similarity in the architecture of portions of the tower and of the western end of the cathedral is striking; and we may conclude with Petrie that this fact proves conclusively that they are "contemporaneous structures." In both, we have striking specimens of cyclopean Irish work: the doorway in the western gable of the church with its massive lintel and inclining jambs; the masonry formed of massive stones fixed without regard to coursing, and yet with joints as perfect as in a Roman wall.

All this is equally striking in the basement of the tower; while its elevated doorway stands out conspicuously, with its inclining jambs and its primitive arch scooped out of one vast lintel. Such features are

certainly common to our seventh-century ecclesiastical buildings; and so far might justify Dr. Petrie's opinion that they are the original work erected by St. Colman.

But a closer examination reveals other features which the primitive churches of the seventh century are not known to possess. The faces of the stones are hammer-dressed and carefully set in pure mortar or cement. And in the tower also, they are carefully dressed to the round and batter of the structure, showing most carefully-made joints with fine cement. These are features which are common only to our ecclesiastical architecture of the ninth and tenth centuries.

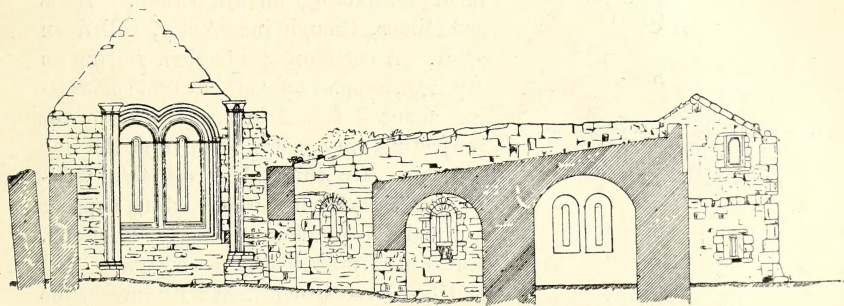
It may be added that the width of the primitive portion of the cathedral, 22 feet 7 inches, which fixes the uniform internal width of the entire structure as we see it now, is more than was usual in the small and simple stone churches of the seventh and earlier centuries; though the doorways of the church and tower are of the simple and primitive form of the earliest work, it should be remembered that such forms were often used after the knowledge of the arch and of various forms of Romanesque ornament had attained considerable development in the country. Miss Stokes is of opinion that our existing monuments at Kilmacduagh were antedated by Dr. Petrie. Personally I accept her opinion; and I think the only structure at Kilmacduagh, in our day, to which this opinion may not apply is the little Oratory of St. John, which stands on the north-east side of the cathedral. But while rejecting Dr. Petrie's opinion on this particular matter, Miss Stokes advances an opinion of her own as to the period of their construction which should recommend itself to general acceptance; and refers it to the close of the tenth century, when Brian, King of Munster, was extensively engaged in the restoration of churches and the erection of towers in several parts of Ireland. Our historians record the zeal with which this king devoted himself to his great and much-required work. In his *Life* we are told that he "gave out seven monasteries both furniture and cattle, and land, and thirty-two bell-towers. The restorations at Killaloe and Inniscarra are memorials of this generous zeal. And it was under his immediate patronage that Cormac O'Killeen of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne built his church and tower at Tomgreany. Part of the church at Tomgreany exists still; and our experts notice a striking similarity of masonry between these several structures, which would justify us in referring them to the same period; and when we remember that Brian had married Mór, daughter of O'Heyne, chief of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, we can see how natural it was that this wise, able, and generous king should take a special interest in the religious foundations at Kilmacduagh.

In estimating the necessity of such restorations at that period, we have but to remember that for two hundred years the country was overrun by the pagans of northern Europe. The ruin of churches, the plunder of the monasteries, and the massacre of their inmates form the burden

of the records of our annalists during the period. Nor did the country of Aidhne escape those savage hordes.

In Miss Stokes's valuable map showing their incursions, we find that they landed at Kinvara in A.D. 866. And we find in the Wars of the Gaedhil that Duach, King of Aidhne, was slain by the foreigners in A.D. 922. Can we doubt that they wrecked and plundered the churches on these occasions?

Whether our Round Towers existed prior to this period must remain a speculative question. But it is at this period they are first referred to by our annalists. They notice the destruction of the tower of Slane in A.D. 950. They tell us of the erection of the Clochteach at Tomgreany, A.D. 964, and of Annaghdown later still. But at this period we find them referred to, not alone in Ireland, but in some European countries, as places of refuge for religious and as of comparative safety for the treasures and property of the churches and monasteries. The needs of the period, the ascertained facts of local and general history, and the character of the



O'HEYNE'S CHURCH, KILMACDUAGH—SECTION LOOKING EAST.

king, all lend probability to the theory that the original cathedral had been ruined by the Danes, and reconstructed with its Round Tower, under the patronage of the Irish monarch, Brian Boromhe. The form of the original church was a simple oblong, lighted by a single light in the eastern gable, and by one, perhaps two, similar windows in the southern side-wall. Though the length of the largest of our early churches varied from 60 to 80 feet, they were usually small. It is therefore clear that the present cathedral church must have undergone a series of alterations both in form and extent since its original foundation. We can have no doubt that the earliest of those changes was its extension eastward, when the present chancel, with its imposing arch, was constructed. A close examination of the masonry of the eastern gable will show that its present beautiful traceried window was a subsequent insertion.

Dr. Petrie writes that the present ornate Gothic doorway on the south side was inserted in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, when the original western doorway was filled up with rubble masonry, which still

remains. He also tells us that it was then the side-chapels were added, which give the building its strange and unique appearance—that of a Greek cross. That in the right is known as the Lady Chapel. It is connected with the church by a well-cut Gothic arch, and is lighted from the south by a fine window in which a good specimen of stone tracery of the flamboyant style is still preserved; the original stone altar has been restored in its original place beneath the window.

Exactly on the opposite side a corresponding arch, though of far less artistic construction, connects the chapel on that side with the church. This arch has been solidly built up, leaving only an ordinary doorway as a communication with the church. This is known as the O'Shaughnessy chapel; and it is believed to be the mortuary chapel of that ancient family, who were for centuries the lay patrons of the church, and who, as descendants of the princely family to which St. Colman belonged, were the guardians of his crosier and girdle.

Opposite the entrance and against the gable stands a striking monument resembling an altar-tomb. It is sometimes, though incorrectly, called an altar. A cut-stone projection, resting on a plinth, supports a well-cut table measuring about 3 feet 2 inches in length, but projecting only a few feet from the line of gable. On this table rest two well-carved Corinthian columns which support a quaint entablature richly moulded. But it is surmounted by a very quaint and rudely-carved Crucifixion with arabesque figures on either side. The back of the tomb is done in carefully-chiselled slabs,



Coloss N Pier of Chancel
Arch of O'Shaughnessy Chapel

O'HEYNE'S MONASTERY,
COUNTY GALWAY.

showing close to the columns, on either side, well-cut shields on which are cut, in delicate relief, a triple-towered castle and supporting lions, the arms of the unfortunate baronets of Gort. We have no means of knowing the exact date at which this monument was erected. But we know that it is referred to in the will of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, which is dated 19th January, 1671, as "*the tomb where my ancestors were buried.*" It probably may therefore have been erected by the first baronet in the early part of the sixteenth century, when our architecture was widely affected by the forms of the Tudor period.

The windows of this chapel are lighted by Tudor windows. Immediately under the window on the eastern side-wall, we find two square slabs with some quaintly-sculptured figures. One represents a bishop with mitre and crosier, and has the following inscription in slightly raised letters around it:—

"SANCTUS COLOMANUS PATRONUS TOTIUS DIOCESIS DUACENSIS."

The other represents the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John rudely carved. This slab also has its inscription and in similarly formed characters :—

“ DOMINUS NOSTER SANCTA MARIA. INRI : MISERERE NOSTRI DOMINE
MISERERE NOSTRI. FIAT MISERICORDIA TUA SUPER NOS.”

These slabs have been inserted here at some unknown date—probably for preservation. We found that, in the eighteenth century, they were seen by Dr. Pococke in the opposite chapel, and formed probably the reredos of its altar. He writes : “ On the south side of which (the cathedral) is an ancient altar in good taste. Under a relief of a bishop is this inscription : ‘ Sanctus Colomanus,’ &c. In the middle is a crucifix, and a person on each side, with ‘ Ave Maria,’ and some devotion round it.”

As the present cathedral occupies the site of the original erected by St. Colman, so too the adjoining monastery occupies the site of that which St. Colman founded. As the local chiefs, the O’Heynes, became its lay patrons or Herenachs, it became familiarly known as Heyne’s abbey ; and it still retains that designation amongst the Irish-speaking people of the district.

Even in the seventh century the monastic system continued to be a distinctive feature of the Irish Church ; and in many cases, as at Kilmacduagh, the abbot was at once the superior of the monastery, and the bishop of the territory or diocese. It is true that the founders of monastic life in Ireland in those early ages adopted different rules. Columba, and Brendan, and Ailbe, and Carthach, and the others, had each his own rule ; yet the diversity seemed to consist only in minute detail, and all were marked with rigour and severity. We are not in a position to state with authority which of those rules St. Colman may have selected for his monks at Kilmacduagh. But I think it not unlikely that he may have selected that of his friend St. Columba, universally accepted in the north of Ireland at that period.

Heyne’s Abbey is, in some respects, the most interesting of the existing monuments at Kilmacduagh. Though it shows unmistakable evidence of restoration at different periods, we find there some cyclopean work and some of the finest specimens of Irish work of the mediæval period. But it would be rash to say that we can point to any portion of the still remaining abbey which could be referred to the time of St. Colman. The existing remains consist of the monastery chapel on the north side, and a considerable portion of the domestic part of the monastery connected with the chancel of the chapel at a right angle, and extending southward.

The chapel is far the most interesting portion of the monastery. It consists of a nave and chancel. Brash correctly considers “ *most part of the nave a reconstruction.*” This is evident from its pointed doorway in the north side-wall, and from the inferior character of the north side-wall itself. It is also obvious that when the present north side-wall was built,

the width of the nave was considerably lessened. Much of the older side-wall, which had declined from the perpendicular, is still to be seen on the outside. It is a splendid specimen of mediæval cemented cyclopean work. On the southern side of the chapel there is another door which communicated with the monastery.

The entire interest of the chapel centres in its chancel. The chancel arch with its exquisite columns elicited the admiration of Dr. Pococke; and Archdall writes: "The pillars and arches, from the entrance to the altar part, and those of the east window, are finished in an elegant style." Unfortunately the chancel-arch has disappeared; but the piers and engaged columns of the arch remain in a state of perfect preservation, and are amongst the most perfect and striking in the country. They rest on simply-wrought bases, and are surmounted by capitals enriched by intricate and varied scallop-work of Romanesque character, marvellous in the minute perfection of its finish. The work is all the more effective as the material is a brighter-coloured limestone than that of the rest of the building. The double-light window of the central gable is of the same attractive material; and its ornamental details are of quite the same character as those of the chancel-piers and pillars. The windows are narrow and semicircular-headed, very widely and regularly splayed on the inside, so that the central dividing pier becomes reduced to a delicate column, with rich capital, supporting the arched mouldings which rest on it from either side. On either side there are two corresponding shafts similarly treated, supporting the delicately-wrought torus-mouldings which form the chief features of the double arch. From the sills, the splay is continued on the same scale, except that the torus-mouldings are changed into hollows or fluted mouldings. On the outside of the gable, these lancets are recessed and richly moulded, and measure 8 feet high and only $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches at sill, and still less at spring of arch. The window in several of its features has its counterpart at Clonfert and Clonmacnoise, but surpasses both in the perfection of its finish and the elaborate character of its work.

The outer angle of the chancel-gable has its quoins so carved as to form graceful attached shafts resting on carved bases, and surmounted by well-wrought Romanesque capitals. Such external quoins may also be seen in some of our mediæval churches—as at Clonfert and Teampul-na-hue. Brash tells us that it is also found at Monainchu. It would appear that this beautiful feature is entirely peculiar to our Irish Romanesque.

Mr. Brash attributes this work to Maurice Ileyan, who was Bishop of Kilmacduagh in the latter half of the thirteenth century. One would naturally assume that the work should belong to the same period as the similar works at Clonfert and other places.

Ware would ascribe the beautiful work at Clonfert to Bishop John, an Italian, about A.D. 1266. This, no doubt, corresponds with the epis-

copate of Bishop Ileyan ; but O'Donovan considers that the work belongs to the eleventh century. There can be no doubt that it belongs to the period of the most perfect development of Irish Romanesque.

A doorway opening off the chancel, on the south side, leads into the sacristy, a vaulted apartment lighted from the east by a small lancet-window. Off this is another vaulted apartment, but dimly lighted, said to have been the treasury of the monastic establishment.

There is a large room adjoining this, and in the same line, which may have been used as a refectory or chapter-room. It is lighted by two lancet-windows. The vaulting is perfect ; but the entrance door has been recently built up in solid masonry. Portions of an upper storey remain over this, and the other apartments referred to, which may probably have been used by the community as a dormitory.

Archdall refers to a chapel situated at the south side of this wing of the monastery. Of this chapel there seems to be little or no trace in our day, if it be not the detached structure a little on the western side, with a rude doorway of a cyclopean character in the western gable.

Teampuil Muire, "Our Lady's Church," stands a short distance east of the cathedral, and is nowadays cut off from the cemetery by the public highway. Its western gable, now much injured, abuts on the wall of the highway. The church is a simple oblong, measuring 41 feet 7 inches in length, and 19 feet in width. It is lighted by a narrow lancet-window in the eastern gable, and another in the southern side-wall. Both are widely splayed on the inside. The entrance is near the west gable, and in the southern side-wall. It is circular-headed like the windows, and shows well-cut joints. The structure is probably mediæval, but has certainly no claims on the venerable antiquity of the buildings already referred to.

The Teampuil Beg Mic Duagh was situated on the south-western side of the cathedral, and is now cut off from the cemetery by the modern enclosure. Its site is marked by O'Donovan in a map of the cemetery preserved in his letters in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. The general outlines of its foundations are the only traces of this structure which we can now discover.

The "Leaba Mic Duagh," as the little mortuary chapel was called in which St. Colman was buried, was situated about twenty yards, and in the same line, from the cathedral. Some large stones which enclose the outline of a grave are, in our day, the only remains of the site of this interesting chapel ; but it is still known and honoured as the place in which St. Colman's remains were laid to rest. It was in existence in 1752 ; and we have a clear reference to it from the pen of Bishop Pococke, who visited Kilmacduagh at that time. He writes : "To the west in the churchyard is a small cell, where they say the Patron Saint was buried, and that the body was afterwards carried to Aughrim." Brash naturally assumed that this "small cell" was one of the small churches generally

known as "oratories." Dr. French, one of the Catholic bishops of the diocese, was buried there in A.D. 1852. It was probably on that occasion that the large stones which now enclose the grave were placed in their present position. The generous aid of the Most Rev. Dr. MacCormack and a few friends enabled me to place there a memorial cross of polished Galway granite.

The only other building amongst the extant monuments at Kilmacduagh is the large square building north of the cathedral. It is a strong castellated residence. It consists of two large apartments on the ground level, lighted only by narrow loopholes. One of those apartments was vaulted; the other had its floor supported by joists; the upper apartments were well lighted by some double-light windows. It is generally regarded as the ancient residence of the bishop. This was Dr. Pococke's opinion, though he adds that it was also called the seminary by some. Most likely it served both purposes, as in the Middle Ages the bishop's house was also the school in which aspirants to the ecclesiastical state were prepared for their sacred duties. On the upper floor there is an oriel, looking north-east, from which it is said the bishop blessed the pilgrims who came there to visit the shrine of the holy founder. On the south-west angle of this building, the foundations of a small square projection were exposed on the occasion of its restoration some time ago. It may have been a small tower to accommodate a guard. Though there are no certain data to which one might appeal for the purpose of fixing the date of the erection of this building, yet the character of the masonry may help to guide us. The outline of the structure, as well as the character of its masonry, recalls at once the existing remains of the Earl of Ulster's Castle at Ardrahan, built probably in the middle of the thirteenth century. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to assume that both may belong to the same period.

In the foregoing pages I have limited my remarks to the history of the foundation of the ecclesiastical monuments at Kilmacduagh, and to pointing out their chief architectural features. These venerable monuments, with their restorations and additions, point to periods of strife and peace, of ruin and reconstruction; and thus they help to illustrate the events of various periods of a chequered history. We cannot doubt, from the evidence adduced, that those sanctuaries were plundered and ruined by the hordes of northmen who pillaged the religious houses of note from the Corrib to the Shannon. And though we have to regard the ancient churches, and the tower which seems to guard them still, as the work of the energy and zeal of the restorer in the tenth century, may they not, after the lapse of 1000 years, be well designated still as the conquerors of time? They remain to demonstrate to all time what Irish genius could do by investing the primitive form of cyclopean architecture with the rich and varied forms of beauty created by Irish art.

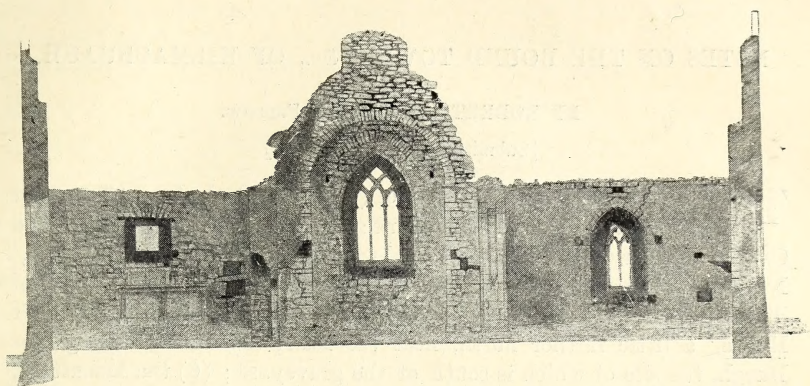
¶ The opening of the thirteenth century reveals to us another period of strife and appalling crime, when the tide of battle rose high around the sanctuaries of Kilmacduagh, and when the din of deadly strife disturbed, or perhaps destroyed, the peace and quiet of its cloisters. And at that time the struggle was not with a pagan or foreign foe. Alas! it was the suicidal struggle of Irish with Irish, supported on either side by Norman allies. Such was the outcome of the rivalry of the O'Connor Princes. Cathal Carrach, aided by William Fitzadelm De Burgo, would wrest the sceptre from Cathal of the Red Right Hand, who was supported by De Courcey. The contending forces met (A.D. 1200) at the extensive forests which at that time skirted the western side of the monastery. Cathal was defeated, but only to return again with increased reinforcements to meet his opponents on the old battle-ground. Meantime Cathal Carrach and William de Burgo, as the "Annals of Lough Cé" tell us, "left neither church nor territory from Echtghe to Dun Rossarach, and from Sinuum westward to the sea, that they did not pillage and destroy; so that neither church, nor altar, nor priest, nor monk, nor canon, nor abbot, nor bishop was afforded protection against this demoniacal host." It is needless to continue. It is enough to add that a second raid in the same year by Cathal Carrach and his foreigners "devastated all Connaught," and burned nearly all the churches.

Crovedearg returns in the following year, supported by De Courcey, de Lacy, and a great number of foreigners, and is again defeated at Kilmacduagh, when, as the "Annals" quaintly tell us, sixty *vel amplius* of the nobles of John de Courcey's people were slain there.

Again, we are told in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" that the churches of Connaught were plundered, A.D. 1204, by William de Burgo. Amongst those referred to are the churches O ffiachrach. Can we assume that in such a raid the churches and religious community at Kilmacduagh were spared? A few years later, in A.D. 1207, the bloodshed and sacrilegious plunder were repeated by Murtagh, son of Turlogh Mór O'Brien. And we are expressly told by our annalists that his devastating raid extended from Kilmacduagh to Athenry. Yet a few years later still, in A.D. 1225, we find this carnival of carnage repeated by Murtagh, son of Donal O'Brien. The "Annals of Lough Cé" tell us: "They plundered and killed everyone they caught." And again: "There was not a church in Connaught on that day without being destroyed." These facts point to the ample need there was in the tenth and thirteenth centuries for the restoration and reconstruction of the religious foundations at Kilmacduagh.

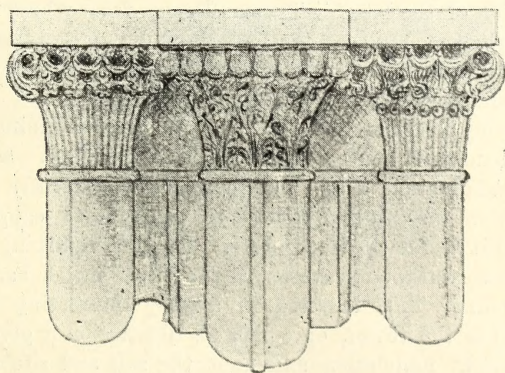
Though the Church lands at Kilmacduagh were confiscated at the Reformation period, and conferred on Richard, second Earl of Clanricarde, yet we have no reason to think that either the churches or monastery were dismantled at that period. But the visit of Sir John Perrott to Kilmacduagh in A.D. 1584 practically completes the cycle of another 300 years.

And though I have not seen it stated, I fear it may be assumed that his visit to Kilmacduagh marked the closing of its monastery. But the cathedral had, I think, its Divine Service still. A remarkable incident in connexion with the exhumation of Dr. O'Molony, who was buried there in 1616, which is recorded by Dr. Lynch in his History of the Irish Bishops now preserved in Trinity College, would leave me under the impression that Divine Service was continued there even then. And when Dr. Hugh de Burgo took possession of his cathedral in 1647, though he found it much neglected and perhaps unused, he had a portion of it re-roofed, and once more dedicated it to Divine Service in A.D. 1649. But after his exile in 1656, we may assume that the churches of Kilmacduagh shared the same fate as similar historic structures throughout Ireland.



CATHEDRAL, KILMACDUAGH.

SECTION THROUGH TRANSEPTS, LOOKING EAST.



O'HEYNE'S CHURCH, KILMACDUAGH.

CAPITALS OF PIERS, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL-ARCH.

NOTES ON THE ROUND TOWER, &c., OF KILMACDUAGH.

BY ROBERT COCHRANE, FELLOW.

[Submitted August 9, 1904.]

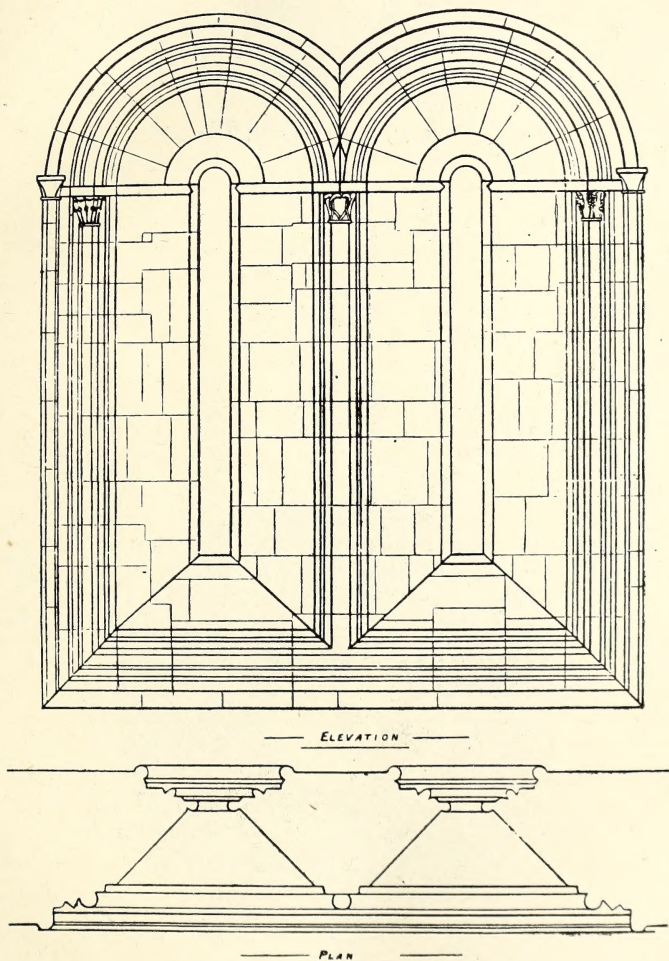
THE group of ruins here consists of (1) the Cathedral, or 'Teampuil Mor,' situate in the graveyard; (2) Teampuil Muire, or 'The Church of Mary,' called also Templemurry, or 'The Lady's Church,' lying east of the public road; (3) Teampuil Eoin Baiste, or 'Church of St. John the Baptist,' north of the graveyard; (4) Seanclogh, or 'Abbot's House,' a little farther north, near the road; (5) Teampuil Beg Mac Duagh, the site of which is south of the graveyard; (6) the Monastery, or 'O'Heyne's Church,' which lies 180 yards N.E. of the graveyard enclosure; and the round tower, which is situate about 50 feet S.W. of the cathedral.

The tower measures 94 feet 10 inches from the ground-line to the base of its conical cap; and the latter is 17 feet in vertical height. This makes a total height of 111 feet 10 inches. Its height has been erroneously given elsewhere as from 120 feet to 145 feet; it is the highest of the existing round towers. The height of 111 feet 10 inches is from actual measurement taken while the ruins were repaired under the supervision of the late Sir Thomas Deane, from whose report to the Board of Works, made in the year 1879, the following extract is taken:—

"The condition of this structure was such as to render it a matter of much consideration whether repair was possible.

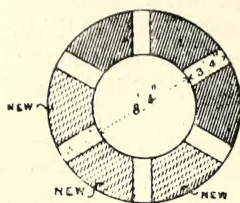
"Its leaning position, and the dangerous rent running nearly from top to bottom, made it no easy matter to secure its safety. A large portion of the overhanging and crumbling masonry was carefully removed, and re-instated with the original stones; the dilapidated capping has been restored, and it is now perfectly safe. To put a lightning-conductor to this tower involved the excavation of the *débris* which had accumulated in it for years. This resulted in a very interesting discovery, as follows:—That the tower, of which an illustration is given, was built with very slight foundation, and upon the soil and site of an ancient burying-ground. The walls at the level of the doorway, 26 feet from the ground, were 4 feet 6 inches thick, gradually increasing to 6 feet 5 inches at the bottom; below this two offsets of an aggregate width of 20 inches, extending from the outer line of the circumference of the tower. These offsets were barely 1 foot each in height, and formed the only footings of this great tower of 111 feet high. Beneath the footings was soft earth, the mould of the ancient burying-ground. Commencing the excavation of the interior at the level of the door, it is interesting to follow the nature of the different strata of the removed rubbish.

“Two feet of twigs and *débris* of birds; 4 feet fallen stone and rubbish; 3 feet decomposed twigs and small bones; 3 feet brown earth, ashes, and small bones; 9 feet 10 inches ashes and oyster-shells, in which pieces of copper were found; 6 feet 2 inches small stones.

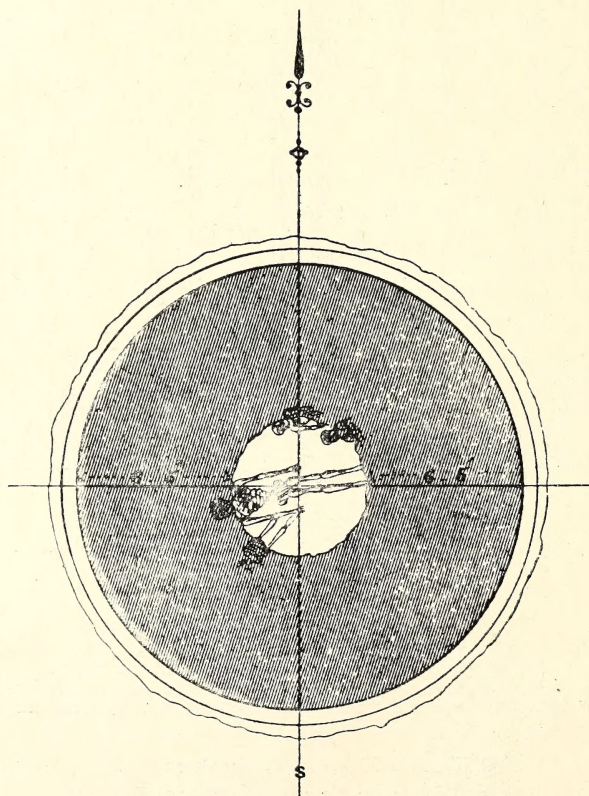


O'HEYNE'S MONASTERY, KILMACDUAGH.
PLAN AND INTERIOR ELEVATION OF EAST WINDOW.

“Beneath this human bones and skeletons, *in situ*, lying east and west. The illustration gives accurately the position of the latter. This is exactly a similar state of things as found beneath the round tower of St. Canice, at Kilkenny—an incontestable proof that in the seventh century (the supposed date of the erection) a burying-ground existed

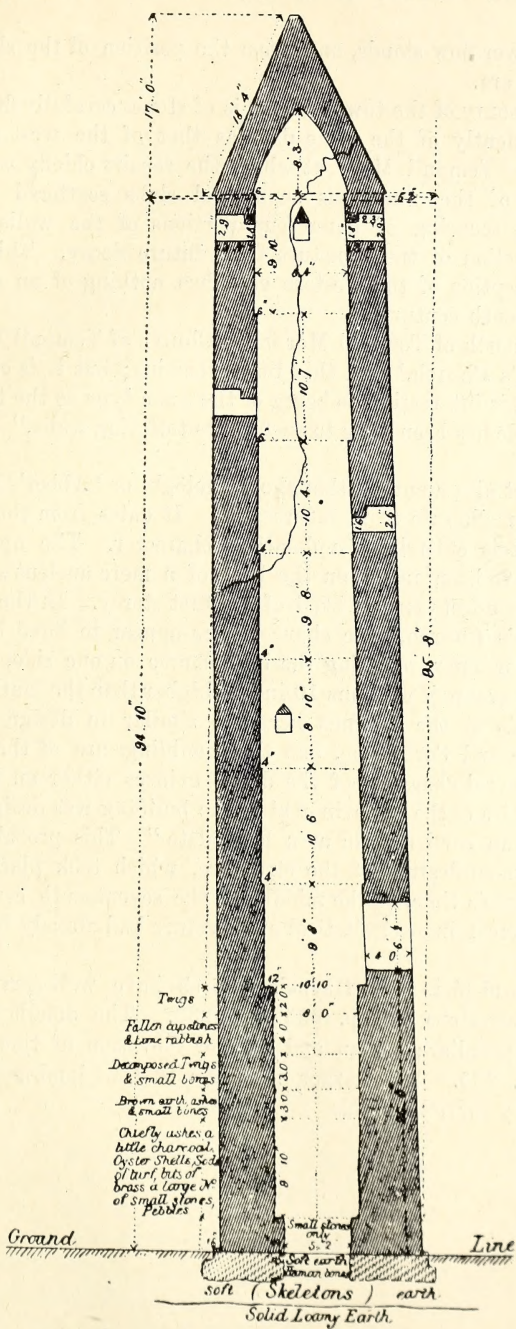


— Plan of Top Windows. —



— Ground Plan. —

ROUND TOWER, KILMACDUAGH.



SECTION OF THE ROUND TOWER, KILMACDUAGH.

where the tower now stands, and, from the position of the skeletons, of the Christian era.

"The masonry of the tower, which is of stones carefully fitted to each other, is evidently of the same date as that of the west end of the cathedral, or 'Tempuil Mor,' at which the repairs chiefly comprise the arrangement of the numerous sepulchral slabs scattered about the interior; the securing of dangerous portions of the walls; and the general protection of the structure from future decay. This building, with the exception of the western end, has nothing of an earlier date than the fifteenth century.

"To the north of Tempuil Mor is the Church of Tempuil Eoin Baiste, or 'St. John's Church.' Of this little remains; but it is of the oldest masonry, and is interesting as being of the same type as the tower. All that is possible has been done to sustain its tottering walls."

The report also mentions that the Seanclogh, or 'Abbot's House,' was repaired and made safe from future ruin. It dates from the fourteenth century, and is entirely of a domestic character. The upper portion appears to have been raised on the basis of a more ancient structure, as shown by the offsets on the head of the first storey. In the monastery, or 'O'Heyne's Church,' the chancel-piers appear to have been rebuilt in a careless manner, omitting the base course on one side, and leaving the northern group of columns 10 inches higher than the southern. Some of the capitals of the columns here are similar in design to those at Clonmacnoise and Corcomroe, and the mouldings are of the same type, "and the general character of the detail evinces either an ignorance of the peculiarities of the style in which the building was designed, or the imitation of an earlier style at a later date." This probably occurred during the re-edification of the structure, which took place in Bishop Hugh de Burgo's time, at the middle of the seventeenth century, when the masons' craft in ecclesiastical architecture had already become a lost art.

The chancel-piers of O'Heyne's Church have well-carved capitals: see the illustrations on pp. 226 and 233. The details of the east window are peculiar; a plan and interior elevation of this window are given on p. 235. The larger members of the jamb-mouldings are terminated by carved capitals.

KNOCKMOY ABBEY, COUNTY GALWAY.

BY J. A. GLYNN, B.A.

[Submitted August 9, 1904.]

THE ABBEY OF KNOCKMOY was founded in 1189 by Cathal Crovedearg O'Connor, King of Connacht, half brother of Roderick O'Connor, last king of Ireland. The story of its foundation is that it was erected to commemorate a great victory gained by Cathal over the Normans, under Sir Amoricus St. Laurence, at Knockmoy. O'Donovan ("Annals," 1218, p. 194) states that no such battle was fought, and that the whole story is a myth, arising from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the name Knockmoy. Most historians say that the name is Cnoc mBuaidh, or 'the Hill of Slaughter.' This reading of the name would point to the fact that a battle was fought there; and hence probably the story of the battle arose. O'Donovan, however, states that the correct name is Cnoc Muaidhe, or 'the Hill of Muaidh,' *i.e.* the 'Hill of the Good Woman,' and that it bore this name centuries before the date of Cathal O'Connor. If we are to believe the ancient annals, Knockmoy was a famous place many centuries before Christ. It is stated that Irial, son of Heremon, the first Milesian king of Ireland, founded a royal fort at Knockmoy, and lived there ten years; and the "Ogygia" says that Gillehad, another king of Ireland, was slain on the plains of Muaidh.

Knockmoy was founded from the Abbey of Boyle, and was endowed with large grants of lands, including the lordship of Clanfergil, granted by Cornelius of Muintir Moraghan, with the consent of Cathal O'Connor. The lordship of Clanfergil comprised the site of the present towns of Galway, Roscam, and Oranbeg—in all, twenty-four villages. The deed was witnessed by Catholicius, Archbishop of Tuam; H., Bishop of Annaghdown; L., Bishop of Elphin; and others. The abbey held these lands until 1484, when the Wardenship of Galway was established, and these lands transferred to the Warden. A curious relic of this ancient connexion between Knockmoy and Galway exists, or did exist, until quite recently. On St. Bernard's Day, the fishermen of the Claddagh journey to the hill of Knockroe, which looks down on the ruins of Knockmoy, to perform the station around the holy well on the summit. To the east of the abbey is a well called after the founder Tubber Cathal; to the north another called Tubber-na-Fion, supposed to have the same effect as wine; and a third called Frinchais, believed to have powerful medicinal properties.

The abbey was not long without its troubles. In 1200 its royal founder, Cathal, was expelled from his kingdom, and whilst its protector

was in exile, William Burke plundered the abbey. Cathal was restored in 1202; and Knockmoy enjoyed peace whilst the strong arm was there to protect it.

In 1211 Roderick, son of Roderick O'Connor, King of Ireland, died, and was buried in the abbey; and in 1217 Moy, the wife of the founder, was buried there "with great solemnity."

Cathal O'Connor himself retired into the monastery, and took the habit of the Order. He died in 1224; and his death was accompanied by strange portents, which are set out in the "Annals of the Four Masters":—"An awful and strange shower fell this year in Connacht, extending over Hy-Many and Hy-Diarmada, and other districts, followed by terrible diseases and distempers amongst the cattle that grazed on the lands where the shower fell; and their milk produced extraordinary internal diseases on the persons who drank it. It is no wonder that these ominous signs should appear this year in Connacht, for great was the evil and affliction which was suffered this year—namely, the death of Cathal Crovedearg O'Connor, son of Torloughmore, King of Connacht, a man who, of all others, had destroyed most of the rebels and enemies of Ireland; he who most relieved the wants of the clergy, the poor, and the destitute; he who of all the Irish nobility that existed in his time had received from God most goodness and greatest virtues, for he kept himself content with one married wife; and from the period of her death till his own, led a single and virtuous life. During his time the tithes were first collected in Ireland. This just and upright king, this discreet prince and justly-judging hero, died on the 28th of the summer, on a Monday, in the habit of a grey friar, in the monastery of Knockmoy, which he himself had dedicated to God and granted to the monks, and in which he was interred with due honours and solemnity."

In 1228 the abbey was again plundered, but by whom does not appear.

Twelve years later the ruling abbot got into very serious disgrace, and narrowly escaped being deposed, because he allowed his head to be washed by a woman. As a punishment for his transgression, he got a six days' penance with two days' bread and water. He was deprived of his abbot's stall for forty days, and a caution was given that no person in holy orders should again be guilty of a like offence.

In 1266 and 1267 four other members of the royal house of O'Connor were buried in the abbey. In 1290 Laurence O'Loughlin, the abbot, was created Bishop of Kilmacduagh.

In 1295, 1401, and 1403 we find records of the interments at the abbey of members of the House of O'Kelly of Hy-Maine.

The interment of 1401 was that of Malachy O'Kelly, chief of Hy-Maine, whose tomb is to be seen in the chancel to the left as you face the east window. In the recess of the tomb may still be traced a drawing of the Crucifixion. Mr. Martin J. Blake, in his exceedingly valuable Paper

on the Charters of Knockmoy, published in the "Journal" of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society, vol. i., No. II., p. 73, gives the Irish inscription on the tomb, and the following translation:—

"FOR MELAGHLIN O'KELLY, KING OF HY MANY, AND FINUOLA, DAUGHTER OF O'CONOR, MATHEW O'ANLY ERECTED THIS MONUMENT."

The references to the abbey from that date until 1542, when the monasteries were dissolved by Henry VIII., are exceedingly few.

In 1542 Hugh O'Kelly was abbot *in commendam*, which leads us to believe that he was a layman, to whom the control of the temporalities of the abbey had been entrusted, according to a custom fairly common at the time. By deed dated 24th of May, 1542, Hugh O'Kelly surrendered the abbey with all its possessions to Henry VIII., renounced the Pope, and got from the king a grant of the abbey and its lands to himself for life on condition of furnishing sixty horse, a battle of gallowglasses, and sixty foot-soldiers for service in Connacht, and twelve horse and twenty foot-soldiers for service out of Connacht. Hugh O'Kelly died in 1566. After passing through various hands, the abbey was assigned in 1622 by Sir Dudley Norton to Valentine Blake, who got a charter from King James I. creating the lands a manor, with a court attached, with power to hold a weekly market every Tuesday, and a yearly fair on the 10th and 11th of August. The lands remained in the possession of this family until 1766, when they passed to Anstace Blake, daughter of Sir Ulick Blake. She married Francis Foster, who took the name Blake-Foster, and their descendants held the lands until 1855, when they were purchased by the late Martin Joseph Blake, uncle of the present owner, Robert Blake, Esq., of Ballyglunen.

Mr. Martin J. Blake, in the Paper from which I have already quoted, deals with five charters of Knockmoy, which are in his possession. The first of these charters is dated 1383, and is a lease made by the abbot, Dermot O'Conor, to Henry Blake, of Rent Tithes of Dowlis for twenty years. The second charter is dated 1482, and was made by John de Burgo, "Commendatory" of Knockmoy, to Valentine Blake, confirming previous grants and leases made by the abbots to the ancestors of Valentine Blake.

The third charter was made in the year the abbey was dissolved, 1542, and is really an award made by the Archbishop of Tuam and Edmund Lynch in reference to a dispute between the abbot, Hugh O'Kelly, and Nicholas Blake. The latter complained that the abbot exacted double the rent payable out of the lands mentioned in the first charter, and the Archbishop decided in favour of Blake. The fourth and fifth charters were both made in 1557. The one is the appointment by Odo O'Keally, the abbot, and the prior, of Nicholas Blake, as their attorney, to collect the tithes, &c., within and without the town of Galway. The other charter is a mortgage of portion of the tithes of the abbey to Nicholas Blake to secure the repayment of 6½ marks lent to the abbey by Blake.

The most interesting features in the abbey are the fast disappearing frescoes in the chancel. Wilde, in the "Catalogue of the Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy," page 316, gives the following interesting particulars:—

"One ancient specimen of native art still remains in the country—the curious fresco painted on the wall of the abbey of Knockmoy, near Tuam, County of Galway, a full-sized copy of which, made by Mr. MacManus for the Dublin Exhibition in 1853, now hangs in the tea-room of the Academy. It consists of two portions. The lower represents the oft-repeated scene of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, naked, bound to a tree, and pierced with arrows, with two archers in the act of drawing their bows. To the right of the centre there is a very fine sitting figure, representing the Almighty, having on the head a nimbus, resembling one of our golden semilunar ornaments; the right hand is raised in the act of benediction, and in the left is some square object, believed to be part of a cross. Beyond this figure is an imperfect one of a recording angel, holding a balance, but its outlines are much effaced. An opinion, first promulgated by Ledwich, has long existed that this scene represents the execution of young Diarmaid, the son of MacMorrough, King of Leinster, when he was a hostage with Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught, at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1172. When, however, the question was brought under the notice of the Academy in 1853, Dr. Todd showed clearly that the subject of the picture was the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, and not the execution of one of the hostages at Athlone, 230 years before the picture was painted.

"In the upper compartment there are six crowned figures—three skeletons, and three draped kings—the popular mediæval *Moralité*, entitled '*Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*,' but believed by Irish antiquaries to represent living and extinct members of the O'Connor line. It has been proved that this work was executed about the year 1400, by Connor O'Eddichan, a native artist, for Malachy O'Kelly, chieftain of Hy-many, who also caused a monument to be erected in that abbey to the memory of himself and his wife, Finola. . . .

"The archers are clad in tight yellow hose or braccæ, and short greenish jackets, fastened round the waist with a belt, which also holds the quiver; one is bare-headed, and the other wears a small conical head-dress, known as the Phrygian cap, in which the Anglo-Saxon peasantry are occasionally represented. Their bows resemble those used in England in the eighth century, in which the strings are not made fast at the extremities, but permitted to play at some distance from them. This figure measures 5 feet 3 inches. The left arm and part of the bow have been effaced.

"The royal personages, of whom the central figure, 5 feet 11 inches high, including the crown, is represented above, are also obliterated. They are dressed mostly alike; each wears a loose green tunic, with a white border, gathered round the waist by a belt, and also a short green cloak, together with a thick roll of stuff round the neck. The artist evidently intended to represent a hawking-scene. In this figure there are indistinct indications of the band which was held on the left wrist, while the right hand appears to have been raised, as if in the act of caressing it. The dress of the third king, who is armed with a sword, differs slightly from that of his companions; he appears to have just flung his hawk, a fragment of the painting of which still remains. Each of the figures in the painting—kings and archers—wears precisely the same description of buskin or half boot, slit at the side."



FRESCO DRAWINGS, NORTH WALL OF CHANCEL, NEAR THE EAST WINDOW,
 ABBEY KNOCKMOY.

(As sketched by George V. Du Noyer, 1867.)

ABBAY KNOCKMOY, COUNTY GALWAY: NOTES ON
THE BUILDING AND "FRESCOS."

BY ROBERT COCHRANE, FELLOW.

[Submitted August 9, 1904.]

ABBAY KNOCKMOY, in its general plan, follows the usual arrangement of the Cistercian Houses; and the church comprises nave, two side aisles, north and south transepts, with presbytery or chancel. It has two side chapels in each of the transepts, and in this respect it differs from Mellifont and Graignamanagh and some other churches, where there were three chapels at each side. The nave is wide, being 28 feet 8 inches, and the side aisles are narrow.

There are no indications as to whether there was a tower over the intersection of the chancel and transepts. It is highly probable there was the usual low tower here. There is no doubt about there being arches springing the full width from wall to wall across transepts, nave, and chancel, as they can still be seen in part.

The walls under these arches were not part of the original design, and could not have been built sooner than about the fourteenth century, or early in the fifteenth, and may have been much later.

The building in the cloister-garth is a recent structure of the seventeenth or eighteenth century; its height was about 10 feet from floor to eaves, as may be seen where the roof abutted against the wall of the range of building east side of cloister-garth.

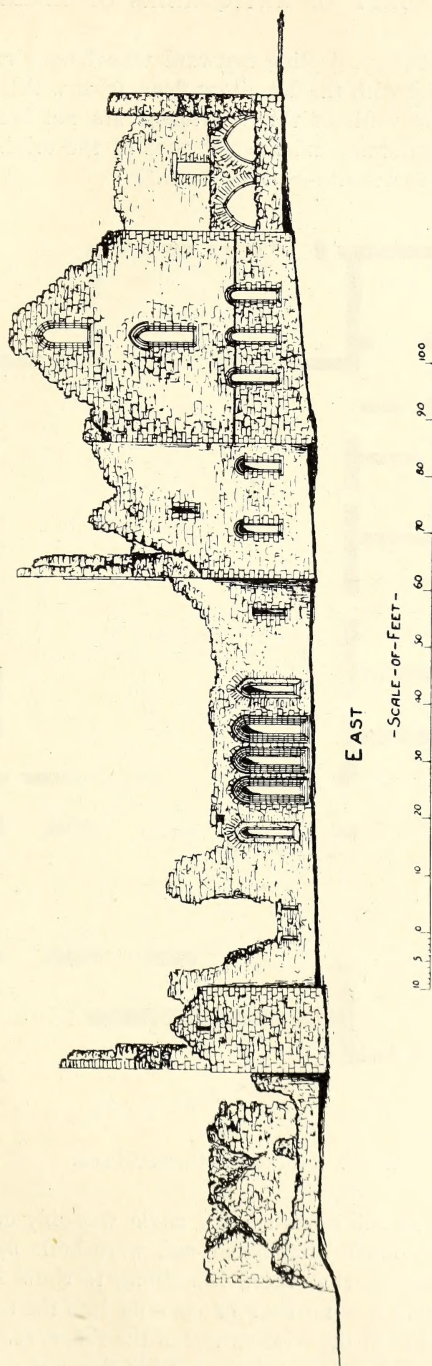
The chapter-room has a very good window; but only a portion of it can be seen internally, on account of the cross-walls and arches built against it. These cross-walls divide the chapter room, which was vaulted, into three compartments.

The chancel and sacristy are also vaulted. Over these rooms was a range of dormitories.

The chapter-room, as originally planned, was one large apartment, having a three-light window in the eastern wall, with richly-moulded jambs, both inside and outside. The other two single-light windows in this wall were not in the original construction; the jambs, both inside and outside, are plain rubble-work, except a small margin of cut stone immediately around the opening.

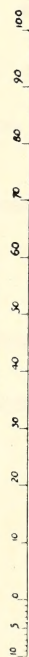
These single-light windows may have been formed when the cross-walls (which block up two of the lights of the three-light windows) were built.

The apartment south of the chapter-room was the calefactory, or monks' day-room; it appears to have had an external door in the eastern wall.



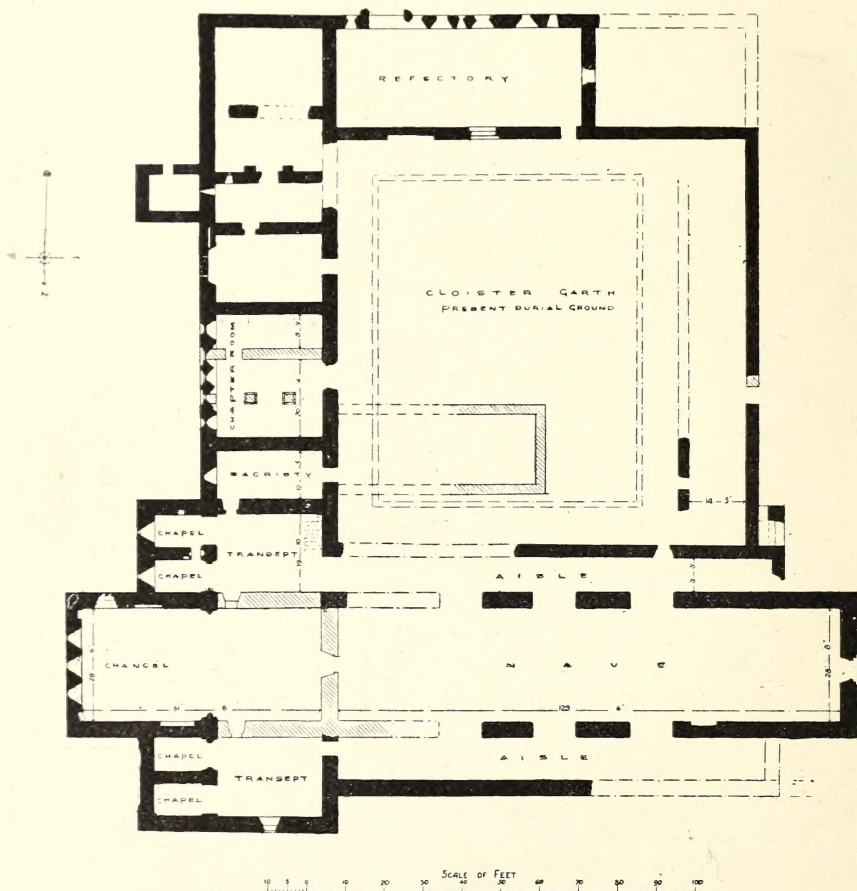
EAST

-SCALE-OF-FEET-



ABBREY KNOCKMOY.

The small structure projecting eastward was the garderobe, with an upper floor on a level with the dormitory floor, from which there was an entrance to it. The walls of this apartment are not bonded into the walls of the main building, and are not part of the original work, and may be masonry of fourteenth-century work.

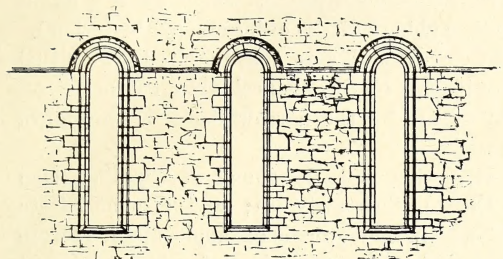


The apartment at the south-eastern angle was only one storey high. The walls are very much dilapidated, and were built up from time to time to form a fence, so that there is nothing to show the position of the windows. There was no door or opening into the refectory at this end; the kitchen was at the western end of the refectory.

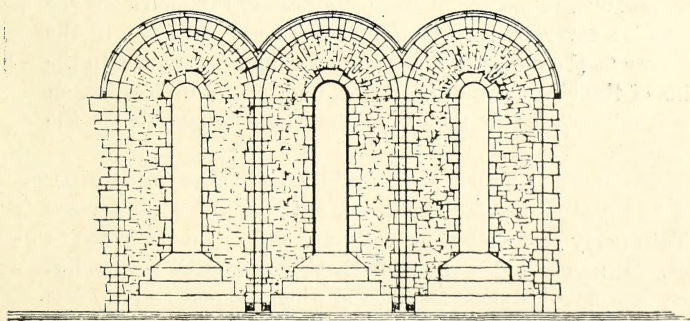
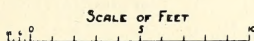
In the south wall of the refectory, near the east end, there is an

opening about 9 feet wide, where there were a large window, and steps leading up to a rostrum; it formed a suitable position for the reader.

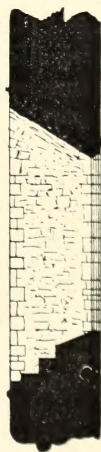
The buildings forming the west side of the cloister-garth were two storeys high. These buildings were for the accommodation of the lay brethren, who had a separate entrance to the church through a door opening into the south aisle.



EXTERIOR



INTERIOR



SECTION

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS AND SECTION OF EAST WINDOW,
ABBAY KNOCKMOY.

The cloister grounds are so much taken up with graves that it is difficult to trace the walls of the cloister walks.

The river, flowing from east to west, is about 100 yards south of the abbey. A short distance west of the abbey there is a modern mill,

supposed to have been built on the site of the ancient mill belonging to the abbey.

The site chosen for this abbey, in a pleasant valley on the banks of a river capable of affording sufficient water-power to work the mill of the community, shows the uniformity of rule which guided the Cistercians in everything relating to their buildings and the sites they occupy. There are, however, some few features which show a slight departure from the plan of other abbeys of the order erected in Ireland.

The enclosure of a space, corresponding to that required for a ritual choir, with solid walls in extension of the chancel, thus cutting it off from the nave and transepts, except by the narrow doors, is unusual in Ireland.

A somewhat similar construction is to be found at the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Old Cleeve, Somersetshire; and also at Strata Florida, in Wales, neither of which, however, is original; and if it were not for the precedent thus afforded, the enclosing of a space 61 feet 6 inches by 28 feet 8 inches would give colour to the belief that some time after the dissolution a portion of the structure had been used for parochial purposes; and that the chapter-room, which would not then be required for its original use, was divided into compartments, one of which was probably used as a single dormitory.

The chancel, sacristy, and chapter-room being vaulted over afforded shelter from the elements; the refectory and kitchens would not be in use, and were, perhaps, unroofed; it became necessary to supplement the meagre space under cover by the erection of the small building in the cloister-garth close to the entrance to the former chapter-room, and in the ruined remains of the abbey; and, no doubt, under great difficulties, an opportunity was taken to enable the officiating priests to provide for the wants of the parish.

The cathedral church at Kilmacduagh, which had fallen into disuse, was renovated and partly re-roofed about A.D. 1649; and for a few years prior to that date many churches were restored, and again dedicated to Divine Service. It seems highly probable that similar work was undertaken at Abbey Knockmoy, during that period when so much activity was displayed in renovating the ruined churches of the country.

Another feature peculiar to this church is the so-called fresco paintings in the chancel. It should be mentioned here that there are no known examples of real fresco painting in the mediæval churches in this country or in England. This is now admitted, notwithstanding which, mediæval wall-paintings are still sometimes called frescoes.

The term *fresco* can only be properly used when the painting is applied on the *fresh* or wet plaster, with oil as the vehicle. The method actually employed in the wall-paintings of churches is more properly described by the Italian term *tempera*, from which the English word 'distemper' came into use.

It is to be regretted that we cannot make good the claim of these drawings to the term "fresco"—a name they have always been known by ; but it is worse when we find that there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were ever coloured, except by damp and vegetation, and that they are only outline drawings. Sir William Wilde, in his Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, published in 1861, described the work as a painting, and referred to the colouring in detail, but was obliged to modify his opinion on the subject, and admit that he was misled by the colouring introduced by Mr. MacManus in his representation of the subject in 1853, who, no doubt, took an artist's license, and made an effective picture out of unpromising materials. The earlier record of Beranger, in 1779, removes all doubt as to the nature of the drawings : they were then "bare, black outlines."

Sir W. Wilde, in editing for our Society the "Memoir" of Gabriel Beranger, records the visit made by Beranger about the 29th July, 1779, to Knockmoy. "We [Beranger and Bigari] drew the abbey and plan and fresco-painting on the wall. We had heard much of these ancient fresco-paintings, and, on inspection, were much disappointed, as they are bare, black outlines. Mr. Bigari, who possesses the art of fresco-painter, and has done great works of this kind abroad, assured us, after a nice inspection, that they had never been coloured, and that the spots of various hues were occasioned by time and damp, since the same colour extended farther than the outlines, and, supposing the coats had been green, the same colour went through the face and hands, which shows it to be the effect of the inclemency of weather, so that they may be called fresco drawings."

Wilde adds : "Their present condition certainly confirms this opinion. In my description of them in the 'Catalogue of the Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy,' I mentioned the green and yellow colours, because I was describing the coloured copy of the painting which was made by Mr. MacManus for the first Dublin Exhibition." (See the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. ii., p. 241, July, 1870.)

The inscriptions on the frescoes and on the tombstones are discussed at length by Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. vi., p. 3.

The abbey was visited in 1867 by the late George V. Du Noyer, a member of this Society. He made careful copies of the drawings in pencil as they then appeared, and a reproduction of his sketch will be found on p. 243.

Du Noyer, in a communication made to the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, which was published in the *Journal* of that Society, vol. xx., p. 180, said that the drawing "was not intended to represent, as explained by Dr. Todd, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, but that of St. Christopher, who was in much higher repute in Ireland as well as in Great Britain;" and, in proof of his explanation of

the Knockmoy painting, referred to "the remarkable representation of the legend of St. Christopher in mural paintings discovered, April, 1847, in Shorwell Church, Isle of Wight, and figured by Mr. Fairholt, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. iii., p. 85. According to the Golden Legend, the King of Lycia ordered forty archers to put St. Christopher to death; but their shafts hung in the air, and none reached him. The representation of the incident, at Shorwell, closely resembles the subject which appeared on the wall of the chancel at Knockmoy." There is not much room for doubt as to the symbolism of the six figures in the upper compartment: "*Les Trois Rois Morts et les Trois Rois Vifs*" was a popular legendary morality intended to illustrate the vanity of human greatness. It appears on the walls of Ampney Crucis Church, Gloucestershire; Ste. Marie du Chastel, Guernsey; St. Clements, Jersey,¹ and twenty-two other churches in various parts of England as mural and in ceiling paintings in distemper. Three kings are represented, generally on foot, but sometimes on horseback, in hunting costume, face to face with three crowned skeletons, who admonish them that they too were once kings, and that soon the living will be such as the dead.

The representation of the Crucifixion at the back of the O'Connor monument has been assumed to be of the same date as the monument, and the other drawings to have been done at the same time as the Crucifixion; and in this way the whole is dated as of the fifteenth century.

If the drawings at Knockmoy belonged to this period, it becomes of interest to note that it is the earliest and, indeed, the only instance of mural decoration in the interior of a Cistercian church.²

Traces of such decoration have been found in several churches in Ireland, including Killaloe, in County Clare; Ballyvourney, Buttevant, and Youghal, County Cork; Kilmalkedar, County Kerry; Kells, County Kilkenny; Cashel, County Tipperary; and Clare Island, County Mayo.

The work at the latter is the most important and extensive of all, and it is specially interesting, inasmuch as the church at Clare Island, originally dedicated to St. Brigid, was connected with Abbey Knockmoy since 1224. It is highly probable that there was an earlier foundation there before the Cistercians occupied it in the thirteenth century. The remains of the church and the adjoining buildings show no trace of Cistercian

¹ "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xxxvii., p. 106.

² The Cistercians did not at first allow coloured decorations in their churches—not even stained glass in their windows; but the extreme severity of their ritual relaxed considerably in the fifteenth century, at which period many of their houses were considerably improved, especially the refectories. Traces of colouring of the fifteenth century have been found at Cleeve Abbey in the vestibule to the chapter-room and refectory. At Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire, traces of a chevron pattern, in three colours, round the cloister court doorway, have been found; and at Jervaulx Abbey, in Yorkshire, remains of vermilion colour on the ribs of the chapter-house, and other places; but the colour seems to have been applied to accentuate architectural features, and not for pictorial representation.

influence. The dedication to St. Brigid is more likely to have originated at a period earlier than the Cistercian occupation; and it is somewhat remarkable that in three islands in Clew Bay adjoining each other, the primitive churches there were dedicated to the three saints most intimately associated with Ireland, viz. "Brigid, Patrick, and Columbkille," who, after death, filled the same grave at Downpatrick. The church on Clare Island was dedicated to St. Brigid (before the Cistercian dedication to the B. V. M.); that in Caher Island to St. Patrick; and the church on Inishturk to St. Columba.

In the first English edition of Ware's "*Antiquities of Ireland*," published in 1705, is the following entry:—"Abbey of Knockmoy. Founded by the foresaid *Charles Crouderg*, for *Cistercian* Monks, in the year 1189, in memory of a Victory which he there obtain'd. He dyed *V. Kal. June* 1224, and was buried in this Convent, where he had also taken the Cistercian habit. To this Convent was afterwards annexed the Cell of *Clery* in an Island of the same name in *Mayo*."

Brash, in his "*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*," quotes from Harris's edition of Ware's "*Antiquities*" as follows:—"Knockmoy, or De Colle Victoriæ, in the County of Galway, an abbey of the B. V. M., founded by Cathal Crovedearg O'Connor, King of Connaught, in 1189 or 1190. Clary, or Clare Island, same County (?), a cell of Knockmoy, founded 1224."

At Clare Island the decorations cover the walls and ceiling of the chancel, which has a plain barrel-vault plastered without any cut-stone ribs. The vaulted roof of the chancel is divided into four bays or divisions, by imitation ribs, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, coloured and jointed in imitation of stone. Each bay is intersected by two diagonal ribs, forming sixteen spaces in the four bays; and in each of these spaces a floral or zoomorphic device is painted. The imitation stone ribs are carried down the walls for 2 feet like corbels. In the highest point of the vaulted roof there is a circle in each of eight compartments. In the space nearest the arch, dividing the nave from the chancel, the circle is 12 inches in diameter, formed of red and yellow bands surrounding a floral cross. The second circle is scarcely discernible; the third circle is also 12 inches in diameter and is formed of two concentric rings of colour—the inner of yellow, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and the outer ring, red, of same width. The two rings are separated by a space $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; the centre space is occupied by a geometrical combination of curved lines in the shape of a cross.

The spandrels, or lower portion of the spaces, contain representations of griffins and other grotesque animals; also a donkey and goat are depicted; and the winged horse of the O'Malleys appears in two compartments, as well as the boar, which is the O'Malley coat-of-arms.

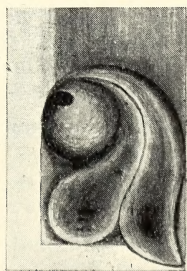
There is a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century tomb of the O'Malleys in the north wall of the chancel; a close examination of the

cut-stone work shows that it was coloured with yellow and red lines. A portion of the cut-stone work, where it joined the masonry of the wall, had a strong red line, which was covered over by the plaster. We have here two distinct schemes of decoration—one, the earlier, which embraced the monument itself and the masonry wall adjoining; and the second, on the plaster work, which covered up the first and portion of the colouring of the O'Malley tomb.

There is, therefore, no room for doubt as to the date of both. The earlier work was applied to the wall after the O'Malley tomb was erected, and the later some time afterwards. The first would be sixteenth or seventeenth century, and the second not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century.

Though the church at Clare Island was connected with Abbey Knockmoy, the date of the work at the former would not necessarily indicate the period of the latter; and though the costume at Abbey Knockmoy would indicate fourteenth or fifteenth century, the suggestion that the drawings were not executed until the seventeenth century, is one that should not be lightly dismissed.

On a clear day, when the sun is approaching the south, the outline drawings in the north wall of the chancel can still be discerned.



ABBAY KNOCKMOY.

TERMINAL ON LABEL MOULDING, EAST WINDOW.

($\frac{1}{4}$ full size.)

SOME ANTIQUITIES OF TUAM DISTRICT.

BY T. B. COSTELLO, M.D.

[Read August 9, 1904.]

IN the drive this afternoon of about eight miles, we will not be at any time more than three miles from Tuam; and a fair knowledge of the country round Tuam can be obtained: over a score of raths and half a dozen souterrains can be inspected.

Leaving Tuam by the Dunmore-road, and passing through the "Turlough" of Gurranes, famous for centuries for its races, we come to Marley-hill, where there are nine lisses quite near each other; in one of these is a fine souterrain of three chambers, connected as usual by narrow passages. It is in a fine state of preservation; and the innermost chamber has two air-shafts communicating probably with the fosse of the Rath.

On the other side of the road by which we travel there are a natural cave and subterranean watercourse known as the Fairy Mill, or *Muinín an Iuppiacáin*; but the people no longer leave their corn to be ground there by the fairies.

We come immediately to the Claremorris-road, where a halt will be made to visit the Lally monument, and the raths and souterrain of Ardiong. One of the raths here marked Lismore on the Ordnance sheet is an oval-shaped lis; and many of the large stones that backed the inner face of the mound still remain *in situ*. In a half-levelled rath near it is a souterrain of two chambers, the inner one only perfect. A drive of two miles brings us to Kilcreevanty, where stand the dilapidated remains of the old nunnery.

We now turn towards Tuam, cross the river Clare, and at the end of a mile reach Kilbannon Round Tower and old Church; and within a couple of minutes' walk of the tower is situated *Leaba Pádraig*, in Ballygaddy. Here will be shown the rude stone altar at which, tradition says, St. Patrick knelt; and the two spots where his knees rested still remain bare of grass.

Crossing the Clare river again at Ballygaddy, our next stopping-place is the well-wooded demesne of Gardenfield, in which will be shown a well-preserved souterrain, several raths, and the old house of Gardenfield, interesting from the fact that it was used as headquarters by Lord Cornwallis for three days in August, 1798, whilst collecting troops to resist the French under Humbert, who were believed to be marching on Tuam after their victory at Castlebar. General Lake at the same time occupied Ballygaddy House, on the opposite bank of the river; and the troops

pitched their tents along the river between Gardenfield and Kilbannon. The French never came nearer than Hollymount in Mayo, turning north towards Sligo from there. Tuam will be reached by a short drive of two miles.

THE LALLY MONUMENT.

The Lally monument is situated one and a half miles from Tuam, and about 100 yards from the Claremorris-road. It is exactly half way between Tuam and Tullinadaly, where stood the castle of the Lallys, of which the foundations now only remain. This monument is the only thing now left to remind us of a family, many of whose members have been prominent in this country and abroad.

The custom of erecting a cenotaph in the form of a *leac̃t*, or monument, has come down to us from prehistoric times, and continues in this county down to our own day. Groups of the more modern ones can be seen in Aranmore and about Cong. In the vicinity of Tuam there are about half a dozen erected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Lally monument is typical of the others, consisting of a column of masonry about six feet high and four in diameter; and inserted in one of the sides is a flag 20 inches by 17 inches, with the following inscription in raised letters:—

I H S

PRAY : FOR : THE

SOULS : OF : IA

MES : LALLY : A

ND : HIS : FAM

ILY : 1673

This monument must have been erected by James Lally of Tullinadaly, who died there on 5th September, 1676. As stated in the pedigree of the family published in the "Tribes and Customs of Hymaine," edited by J. O'Donovan, he was grandfather of Captain James Lally, who sat as member for Tuam in the Dublin Parliament of King James II. in 1689, his colleague being William Bourke of Carrantrila. This Captain Lally was the last who held the family estates, as he was attainted and the estates forfeited. He went to France after the Battle of Aughrim, and was mortally wounded at the siege of Montmelian in 1691. The Counts Lally de Tolendal, who figure so prominently in European history, are descended from his brother Gerald, who also went to France at that time, Tolendal being the French form of Tullinadaly.

Though the Lallys lost all their estates by their devotion to the Stuarts, their zeal in the cause remained unabated, one of the family being present at the raising of his standard by Prince Charles in Scotland in 1745.

The Lallys or O'Maelallaidhs came originally from Maenmagh in Hymaine, a district about the present town of Loughrea, where they shared the kingship with the Muintir Neachtan; but they lived in Tullinadaly for centuries. Among the prominent members of the family in early times were Thomas O'Mullaly, who, as archbishop, presided at the Synod of Tuam in 1523, and William O'Mullally, who was appointed Archbishop of Tuam in 1573 (died 1595). Some members of the family continued to reside in this neighbourhood till the year 1838, when the last of them died. They always kept up a correspondence with the French branch of the Lallys.

The name Tullinadaly, in Irish *Tulaic na Oáile*, means 'the hill of the assembly'; and it is interesting to note that a flourishing fair is still held here twice a year, in spite of many disadvantages. The patent of the present fair was given by James I.; but centuries before his time a fair was held here, as the name testifies.

ANTIQUITIES OF TUAM AND DISTRICT.

BY RICHARD J. KELLY, B.L., J.P.

[Read August 9, 1904.]

TUAM takes its name from a tumulus or mound, where afterwards was erected a curious structure known as the Chair of Tuam, whereon the mayors or sovereigns of the municipality sat on the day of their inauguration. St. Jarlath was the disciple of St. Benin; his church and well are at Kilbannon; he was educated by St. Benin, who was himself a disciple of St. Patrick; he was the founder of the See of Tuam; and from his date in the sixth century to the present—with some gaps in the beginning, owing to the fact that the abbacy and the bishopric were one and the same, and more a conventual than an episcopal dignity in those times—but without any break from 1151; we can trace the long line of Tuam's bishops. St. Jarlath, leaving Kilbannon, went to Cluainfois, distant about two miles, and there he founded the famous school of Cluainfois, or, as popularly called, Cloonfush—an establishment co-eval with, and the rival of, Clonard, Clonmacnois, and Bangor; two of its sons became distinguished afterwards: St. Brendan, as the founder of Clonfert; and St. Colman, the founder of Cloyne. When an old man, having done good service in the church as a missionary and a teacher, St. Jarlath was told by a vision, as interpreted to him by his friend Brendan, that he should leave Cloonfush, and found a See where the wheels of his chariot broke down. Although that commission might mean a travelling through the whole country, for aught he knew, and a far distant pilgrimage, the old man readily obeyed. Where the wheels of his chariot broke down, he founded the See and town of Tuam. It was but three miles from his old place, but here he settled and never left it. When he died, about the latter end of the sixth century, here he was buried, and a church was erected, which contained his remains. It was called Tempul na Serin, or the Church of the Shrine. In a beautiful silver case or shrine his relics were kept. Troubled times came about the sixteenth century, and the church of the shrine was dismantled, and Divine Service no longer held within its hallowed walls. The shrine disappeared, and, in the seventeenth century, Dr. Lynch, author of "Cambrensis Eversus," describes how mysteriously it was found. The Shrine Church was unroofed and a ruin, but one day, in 1650, as two men were threshing corn on its floor, they noticed something shining up on the ground, and, uncovering some earth, found the silver shrine of St. Jarlath intact and perfect. They gave it to Father Heveran, the

clergyman, who undoubtedly gave it to the bishop; for in a deed of gift, Dr. John Burke, one of the Clanricardes, who was then archbishop of Tuam (and of which document I saw a copy, and have elsewhere made a translation), makes mention of the shrine, and gives it for safe keeping to one Malachy O'Connor, an ancestor of the O'Connor Donelans, of Sylan, near Tuam. The relic remained in that family down to the year 1830, when one of the name, Captain O'Connor, then living in Claremorris, who had it, died of fever, and from that date it disappeared. All that could be done to trace its whereabouts failed, and the shrine was as completely lost to sight as it was before it was accidentally found beneath the threshing-floor of the old church in 1650—181 years before.

Tuam had seven churches, and we can with fair approximation of accuracy trace some of their sites. Some are mentioned by Archdall. We have St. Mary's Abbey on the site of the old cathedral; opposite to it the Abbey Trinity Church; then the Priory of John the Baptist, founded in 1140 by Turlough O'Connor. The Abbey Trinity was a De Burgh foundation of the time of King John or Henry III., and of Præmonstatensian Canons. Then the Church of St. Jarlath and Shrine Church. These we can even now fairly trace. At a period before the Norman Invasion, when Turlough O'Connor, the Augustus of Ireland's monarchs, was king, Tuam was the seat and centre of arts and learning. The first stone castle in Ireland was built here, and from the circumstance called "the wonderful castle"—*caster mirificum*. The arch in the chancel of the cathedral is described by Petrie as the finest specimen of Norman architecture in Ireland. The Processional Cross of Cong was brought there from Tuam, when Roderick, a disappointed, a defeated, and a downfallen monarch, repaired to its beautiful abbey to prepare for eternity, laying down the sceptre like another Charles V.—with the difference, however, that the one abandoned a grand empire, the other a divided and a distracted kingdom.

The archbishopric was founded in 1152 at the Synod of Kells, when Cardinal Paparo brought the pallium to Tuam, Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel; and Catholicus O'Duffy was the first archbishop. He was a party to the Treaty of Windsor between Henry II. and the Irish king, being surety for Roderick O'Connor. The Synod of Cashel in 1172 was attended by the Archbishop of Tuam, then eighty years of age; and at the time of the Invasion the Irish episcopacy consisted of four archbishoprics and twenty-eight bishoprics—the suffragan Sees of Tuam being then Killala, Achonry, Clonfert, Elphin, and possibly Kilmacduagh.

Giraldus Cambrensis says, that after the Synod of Dublin, in 1177, the English troops penetrated as far as Tuam, which, he said, was "the chief city of these parts." There they stayed eight days. It was subsequently burned—its fate and fortune many times; and even so late as the battle of Aughrim, in 1691, Tuam did not escape destruction by fire. This accounts for so few comparatively old ruins remaining with

us. The Archbishops of Tuam were always remarkable men—well to the forefront in Irish public life to-day as from the first. At the Lateran Council—the 11th General Council called by Alexander III.—we find Catholicus O'Duffy, of Tuam, and St. Laurence O'Toole, of Dublin, and six other bishops from Ireland. Two of them were subsequently Lords Justices of Ireland, and practical governors of the kingdom.

William Daniel was the first Protestant Archbishop, and the first translation of the Bible into Irish is by him; and this was the first book printed in Irish in Ireland. The last Protestant Archbishop was Dr. Trench, after whose death, by Act of Parliament, Tuam, with Killala and Achonry, became an ordinary bishopric and suffragan to Armagh, in that church; and its first Bishop was Dr. Plunket, eldest son of the famous Lord Chancellor, and uncle to the late respected Archbishop of Dublin, who was ordained in Tuam, and spent his early years here.

Many remarkable families were connected with Tuam. There were the Echlins—one of whom was Dean of the Cathedral, who was murdered by his servants, in 1712, at the age of seventy years. The murder was curiously discovered. The aged clergyman, on Good Friday, at the Mall House, where he resided, was found murdered in his bed. The room and house bore all the appearance of having been rifled. The servants said that robbers had broken in and did the foul deed; and so it was believed until about Easter Sunday, when some of the townspeople coming into the yard noticed that the little dog of the murdered Dean was lying upon or beside a closed well in the yard, and their curiosity being excited, they went over, and taking up some stones, evidently freshly thrown in, they discovered the boxes and plate of the murdered man. Immediately the servants took fright, and one of them becoming King's evidence, the other three were tried, hanged, and buried in a field at the top of the Dublin road.

The Deanes were an old family, having extensive property in Tuam, and in 1777 one of them, Ambrose Deane, mysteriously disappeared when on his way from Tuam to Dublin, after collecting his rents here. A well in a demesne, five miles from Tuam, is curiously associated with this disappearance. The Burtons were connected with Tuam—the famous Sir Richard Burton's grandfather being a clergyman here, and his aunts and uncles are buried beside Archbishop Synge. The Burkes, of Waterslade and Knocknagur, were closely connected with Tuam, and the unfortunate Thomas Henry Burke, who was murdered in the Phoenix Park in 1882, was born at Waterslade; and Sir Thomas Farrell told me that he stood as a model for the statue of Burke of Curraleigh, which stands in the cathedral grounds, erected by Dr. MacHale to commemorate the memory of that very charitable man, whose tomb may be seen at Creevaghbawn, uninscribed, however, with his name, but erected by him to the memory of his family.

Associated with Tuam was a family named Lally.¹ In the neighbourhood is Tullinadaly. A street or road in Tuam is called after them, where they resided, one of whom leaving Ireland with the disbanded Irish army, after the Treaty of Limerick, became a distinguished soldier in France—the hero of Fontenoy, and a Marshal of France—a man who nearly succeeded in wresting India from the English, as Macaulay tells us, and who, after all, when he returned to France, was beheaded; his son, however, rehabilitated his name and fame, and got the attainer withdrawn and the confiscated fortune restored to him. The Lallys have now died out. The monument standing in the field, which is described at p. 255, was erected to one James Lally, who was member for Tuam in James II.'s Parliament.

Tuam returned two members to the Irish Parliament—one of its last members being Sir Jonah Barrington.

It was in the square of Tuam that Lake's dragoons, riding up from Castlebar, without drawing rein, gave that retreat the name of the Castlebar Races.

The cross in the square is one of the most celebrated of the sculptured crosses in Ireland; and Miss Stokes gives a drawing and description of it in her "Early Christian Architecture." It is of sandstone—a stone not to be found within thirty miles of Tuam, and is a fine specimen of workmanship of its time and kind. A cast of it in plaster was at the London Exhibition of 1856, and can be seen in the Museum, Kildare-street, Dublin.

¹ See preceding Paper, p. 255.

THE CAREW, BAGINBUN, AND FETHARD CASTLE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN.

[Submitted August 9, 1904.]

THE final word on these inscriptions has not yet been said, nor do I flatter myself that this Paper will close the subject; but I think I have some new evidence and some important conclusions to announce. Having heard some rumours inconsistent with the antiquity of the Baginbun and Fethard Castle inscriptions, I paid a visit to Fethard on the 17th and 18th June, to investigate the matter on the spot. As I intended to make some remarks about the stones on the 29th June to the members of our Society taking part in the archæological cruise, I did not



INSCRIPTION ON THE CAREW CROSS.

wish to be disconcerted by some Edie Ochiltree exclaiming at the conclusion of my dissertation, "I mind the bigging o' it"! Accordingly, I examined the stones, and afterwards questioned several of the inhabitants of Fethard as to what they knew about them.

The Baginbun stone is a boulder of a greenish granite, and must have been borne a considerable way by the ice. It has probably never been stirred by the hand of man, and may have been buried for centuries. The surface on which the inscription is cut is, for granite, smooth, fine, and hard, and shows no sign of having flaked or recently weathered away. The lichens and stains can be seen on the lettering, as elsewhere. There is nothing to suggest to the eye a modern date for the inscription. The

upper surface of the stone measures 45 by 33 inches (Macalister); but as the stone is partly buried, its full dimensions have not been ascertained. On the other hand, the Fethard Castle stone is a thin slab of a purplish-red sandstone, carefully squared, and measuring $29\frac{1}{2}$ by $16\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches. The letters on it are about one-third larger than those on the Baginbun stone. The surface appears to be exceedingly friable. In fact, since Colonel Vigors's rubbing was taken (1894) a large piece has flaked off, carrying away the C and part of the following E of the third line. Looking at the sharp edges of most of the remaining letters, it seems impossible to believe them centuries old. Indeed, it would seem, from the perishable nature of the stone, that in another century, if not sooner, there will be little of the inscription left.

Next, as to what I learnt from the inhabitants. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. W. H. Lynn (architect), and of hearing from his own lips both the information he has received, and the opinions he has formed. I had, however, better quote from his letter, written on the 4th August, 1900, and printed in the "Journal of the Waterford and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society." He writes:—

"I was at Fethard about a month ago, and being in the Castle yard, was examining the inscription there, when a man present—and not an old man—informed me he had witnessed the carving of it, and that the carver told him it was a copy of one he had seen at an old castle in Wales. The inscription on the boulder-stone near Baginbun is slightly different from that on the castle stone; but I have no doubt it had a similar origin.

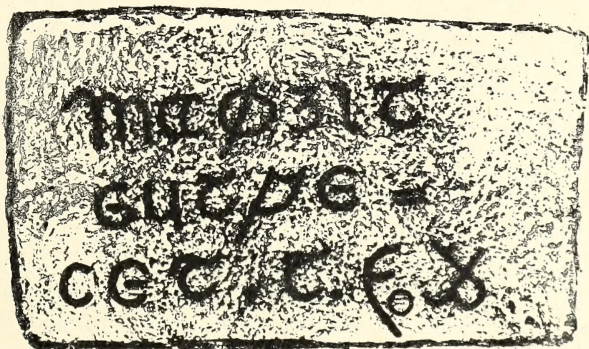
"I have been familiar with the Fethard district from boyhood; but I have no recollection of hearing of these inscriptions until within comparatively recent years; and when I did, I was led to regard them as the outcome of a quiet humour on the part of a resident there. The association of Baginbun with the English invaders, under the leadership of Strongbow and Raymond le Gros, and the connexion of the latter with Carew Castle, combined with my friend's knowledge of the Carew inscription, no doubt, suggested the perpetration of the hoax. Hence these rude copies of the Welsh inscription.

"As copies, they may not be very accurate; but, so far as fulfilling the purpose for which they were made, they would seem to have been fairly successful."

Mr. Lynn in his letter does not mention the name of his friend, the resident with the "quiet humour," who was said to have been seen carving the inscription; but there can be no object now in concealing his identity, more especially as it is common property in Fethard. It was Major Edward Lymbery (*obit* 15th December, 1890), who lived at Fethard Castle, as far as I could ascertain, from about the year 1860 to 1878 or later. Mr. Lynn further told me that the carving of the Fethard Castle stone took place about forty years ago, and that in his belief it was the Rev. John Lymbery (for thirty-seven years Vicar of Hook,

obit October, 1884), brother to Major Lymbery, who carved the inscription on the Baginbun stone; but for this belief he could give no grounds beyond his opinion, from what he knew of the man, that it was the sort of thing he would do, "to quiz antiquaries."

Now, as to Mr. Lynn's statement, I of course accept it so far as it is a statement of fact, and, as will presently more fully appear, I am ready to believe what Mr. Lynn was told; but the inferences that he draws with regard to the Baginbun stone, and to Major Lymbery's motive in carving the Fethard Castle stone, stand on quite another basis, and seem to require much further consideration. With regard to Mr. Lynn's supposition as to what suggested "the hoax" to Major Lymbery, I may here point out that Baginbun was not popularly associated with Raymond le Gros, but with FitzStephen or Strongbow, neither of whom had any particular connexion with Carew Castle. Nor was the connexion of



THE FETHARD CASTLE STONE.

Baginbun with Raymond le Gros ever proved or reasoned out until I made the attempt in the year 1898. Moreover, it would appear that as Mr. Lynn, though "familiar with the Fethard district from boyhood," has "no recollection of having heard of the inscriptions until comparatively recent years," he could hardly have taken much interest in such subjects.

Before seeing Mr. Lynn I questioned P. Foley, a tradesman in the town, of about forty years of age, and he told me that he had known the marks on the Baginbun stone from his childhood; and that his father, an old man of eighty-six years of age, still alive, but bedridden, knew of them from his boyhood; and that the school-children from Fethard used to be asked jocosely to read them. He further said that he recollected, about twenty years ago, Major Lymbery asking Father Kirwan to try to read the inscription. I do not think I asked Foley about the Fethard stone; but when asked had he ever heard that Major Lymbery had cut

the marks on the Baginbun stone, he said that the Major was an honourable gentleman, and was incapable of doing such a thing. I inquired of two or three other inhabitants, and was told that it was "the popular belief" that Major Lymbery had cut the inscription on the stone at the castle. Finally, I got the clearest statement from Mrs. Walsh, who said she was in service at the castle under Major Lymbery in 1871, and that she always heard and understood that the Major got a copy of an inscription from Wales, and put it on the stone at the castle, with the help of Thomas Toole, from the County Waterford. She was very positive and clear about this; and her statement, taken in connexion with the appearance of the stone, bears out the statement of Mr. Lynn's informant. At the same time, I find it impossible to draw the inferences that Mr. Lynn draws as to Major Lymbery's motive, and as to his also carving the Baginbun stone. I think the Major's action may be fully accounted for in a more charitable and a more natural way. From what I heard at Fethard, I gather that Major Lymbery, though not, perhaps, a very scientific antiquary, had a taste for curiosities, and took an interest in old things; and I have since discovered that his brother, the Rev. John Lymbery, of Fethard Castle, was elected a member of our Society in July, 1856,¹ and appears in the lists of members up to, I think, 1882. So he, too, presumably took an interest in antiquities. One or other of them must have heard or found out that the Baginbun inscription, with which they were probably familiar, resembled the inscription on the Carew cross; and the Major accordingly got a copy of the latter, had it cut on a sandstone slab, and put it up on the wall of an outhouse in his yard, showing in this a praiseworthy interest in the subject only too rare at the time. There is really nothing on the face of his action to suggest that his motive was "to perpetrate a hoax." He very probably could not make anything of the inscription himself, and possibly he may not always have told his friends where the inscription came from, though there is really no evidence to this effect; but it seems clear from Mrs. Walsh's statement, and from that of Mr. Lynn's informant, that he did not always make any mystery about it. The copy he put up is not such a facsimile as would satisfy a "scientific antiquary" of the present day; but at least it contains the same number of letters as the Carew stone in the same order, and they are all easily recognisable as the same letters.

A careful comparison of the three inscriptions will, I think, bring out a significant fact. It will, I think, show that some of the letters on the Fethard copy were modified to make the resemblance with the Baginbun stone somewhat closer. Thus the first, and third, and fourth letters of the first line, in the points where they differ from the original, resemble or come closer to the corresponding letters (second, fourth, and fifth)

¹ *Journal*, 1856, p. 103.

of the Baginbun stone. So in the second line, the prolongation of the second stroke of the *u* increases the resemblance to the corresponding character on the Baginbun stone; and in the third line the spacing between the *ts*, the dots, and especially the modified forms of the two last characters, all seem to have been influenced by the Baginbun stone. Finally, as on the Baginbun stone, the letters are more regularly in line than the originals, and even the curved top-strokes to the *ts*, which are quite straight on the Carew cross, may have been suggested by the tops of the corresponding characters on the Baginbun stone. In short, it is hardly too much to say that in all these minute points in which the Fethard stone differs from the Carew stone, the difference increases the resemblance of the former to the Baginbun stone. This slight "faking" of the copy, which I think may be detected, is significant as circumstantial evidence, bearing out Mrs. Walsh's plain statement and that of Mr. Lynn's informant, as to the genesis of the Fethard Castle stone.

To further establish this view of the case, it clearly becomes important to show that the Baginbun inscription was in existence before the Fethard stone was cut, and, if possible, to indicate how Major Lymbery may have become aware of the resemblance between the Baginbun inscription and that on the Carew cross. Now, I have not found any mention in print of the Baginbun inscription before Mr. R. A. S. Macalister introduced the discussion about it in "The Academy" in the year 1894; but it was certainly known to many of the inhabitants of Fethard, at any rate, long before that time. Being anxious to get the evidence of P. Foley's father at first hand, I asked the Rev. R. M. Kellett, Rector of Fethard, to interview him; and he has replied to me under date 15th July, 1904, as follows:—

"I got your letter last night, and I have seen old Foley to-day. He is in bed suffering from paralysis of the legs. However, he seemed quite well otherwise and clear on his information. He told me he is eighty-four years of age, and, *as a boy going to school, he remembers the Baginbun stone with the inscription on it.* He also says that the stone was cleared of earth, which had accumulated on it, and of grass which had grown up round it, by Major Lymbery, who also had the letters cleaned." He further made it plain that this clearing and cleaning process was done years after the time when he first knew of the stone and its inscription.¹ This evidence, if accepted, puts back the carving of the Baginbun inscription to at least some time prior to the year 1834, or thereabouts (*i.e.* long before the Fethard Castle stone is believed to have been cut), and seems finally to dispose of the suggestion that either Major Lymbery or his brother had any hand in it. It is further positive

¹ This cleaning and clearing operation was probably the same as that Mr. Macalister heard of when at Baginbun in 1894, when he was told by an old man of sixty or seventy "that some local magnate had engaged a stone-mason to sharpen up the letters." I quote from Colonel Vigors's Paper (*Journal*, 1897, p. 155).

evidence that Major Lymbery knew of the Baginbun inscription, and was interested in it.

But how did he discover its resemblance to the Carew inscription? Of course he may have been well acquainted with the Carew cross, and may have observed the resemblance on the spot; but it is remarkable that a drawing of the Carew inscription which, though small, is sufficiently accurate to enable the resemblance to be observed, was published a few years before the time when Major Lymbery is thought to have set up the Fethard copy.

It appears that the western face of the Carew cross, which contains the inscription, was figured for the first time by Professor J. O. Westwood in 1846. At a meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held in that year, Mr. Westwood exhibited a drawing of the Carew cross, showing the inscription. He stated that the east side had been inaccurately figured by Fenton and Donovan, "but that he could not learn that the west side had ever been represented." His drawing representing the west side is reproduced in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, iii. (1846) p. 71.¹ The inscription is shown in the drawing, but on a small scale, as the whole drawing is only the size of an octavo page. He speaks of the inscription as being unintelligible.

On the 15th May, 1861, Professor Westwood read a paper at a meeting of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society on Early Crosses and Inscriptions in Wales. An abstract of the paper is given in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1861, Part II., p. 39, and the drawing which appeared in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* in 1846 is reproduced at p. 44. It shows the inscription as before; and as to it the Professor states that, though in fair preservation, it is not to be deciphered. It is evident that one or other of the brothers Lymbery may have seen this drawing of Professor Westwood's as reproduced, either in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* in 1846, or (more probably) in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1861, and may have been struck with its resemblance to the Baginbun inscription. In that case it was quite natural that he should get a copy of the Carew inscription from Wales, as he is reported to have done, and reproduce it at his house. This must have been before May, 1863, when George V. Du Noyer copied it, and if we are to trust popular memory in Fethard, very shortly before that date. Du Noyer's drawings are preserved in our Society's rooms, and the one in question will be found in vol. ix., p. 6, *dorso*. It is drawn in pencil, and above the drawing is written—"An inscription very similar to this is seen on the old cross at the Castle of Carew, Pembrokeshire." Below the drawing is written "old red sandstone (?) slab from the wall of Fethard Castle, County Wexford, sketched May, 1863." Then follows Du Noyer's

¹ For this and the following bibliographical reference, I am indebted to Mr. David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A., Glasgow.

attempt at translation, as given in Col. Vigors's Paper,¹ and his signature. Du Noyer could hardly have been told that this inscription had been quite recently cut by Major Lymbery, or he would not have taken the trouble to copy it. In this same year (1863) Professor Westwood says a rubbing of the Fethard Castle inscription was forwarded to him, and that he "was indebted to Messrs. W. R. and Robert King" for it.² I do not know who these gentlemen were; but from the date I feel inclined to connect the publicity then given to the Fethard Castle inscription, directly or indirectly, to Du Noyer. His action in the matter is a little puzzling, and possibly further research may clear it up; but at present the best hypothesis I can form is that Du Noyer, by mistake, copied the wrong inscription. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!* He was probably told, perhaps by Major Lymbery, that there was an inscription at Fethard (meaning the Baginbun inscription in the parish of Fethard), very similar to that on the cross at Carew Castle; and when he went to Fethard and inquired about it, he may have been shown (in the absence of Major Lymbery) the inscription lately set up at Fethard Castle, and been told that that was the inscription similar to the one in Wales. His statement to this effect at the head of his drawing does not read as if it were his own discovery, but as if he had been told it. Had he discovered it independently, one would certainly expect him to have made more of the discovery.

Professor Rhys's first observations on the Carew inscription were published in 1873, and, therefore, could not have inspired Major Lymbery; and the same may be said of Emil Huebner's "*Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianæ*," No. 96, p. 34: Berolini, 1876, 4to. This work, however, refers to the Fethard Castle inscription as follows: *Exemplar hujus tituli* (the Carew inscription) *novicium extat in Pethard* (sic) *Castle in Hibernia*. It then sets forth the two inscriptions, calling the Carew inscription *exemplum antiquum*, and the Fethard Castle one *exemplum novicium*. If I am right in translating this last phrase "newly made copy," it would seem that Huebner did not attribute any great antiquity to the Fethard Castle inscription. In a review of this work in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, vol. vii., 1876, p. 243, it is stated that Huebner was indebted for the Fethard Castle inscription to the kindness of the Rev. James Graves, of Stonyford, the founder of our Society, and its former secretary. Mr. Graves is stated to have come to the conclusion that the Baginbun and Fethard Castle inscriptions were both forgeries;³ but where or on what grounds he expressed this opinion I do not know.

I am told, and can readily believe, that several of the inhabitants of Fethard, besides Mr. Lynn, will give it as their opinion that probably

¹ *Journal*, 1897, p. 159.

² Westwood's (J. O.) "*Lapidarium Walliæ*," pp. 119, 120: Oxford, 1876-1879, 4to.

³ Colonel Vigors's Paper (*Journal*, 1897, p. 154).

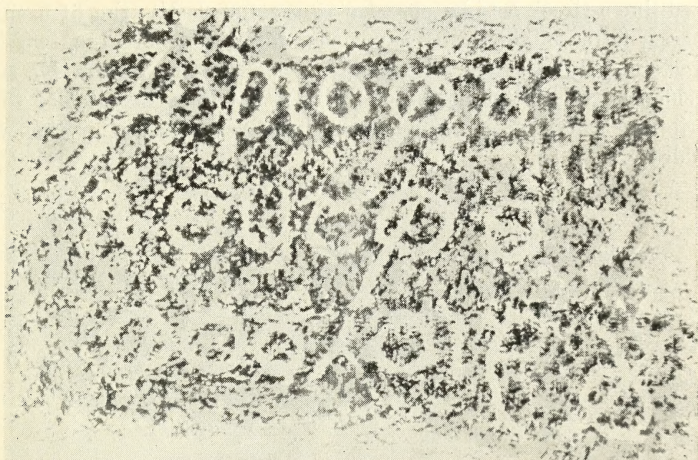
the Baginbun, as well as the Castle, inscription was the work of Major Lymbery or his brother; but with regard to the Baginbun stone they can give not a shred of evidence in support of their belief. Their opinion, which, so far as it exists, is, I am inclined to think, of recent growth, is probably based on an imperfect comprehension of what Major Lymbery actually did with regard to the Castle stone, and of his motive for doing it. They do not seem to realise, even when told, that the Fethard Castle inscription is merely a copy of a well-known Welsh inscription; and they think that Major Lymbery's motive was to palm off a modern inscription as an ancient one, to the confusion of antiquaries. And when we recall to mind how many of our scientific antiquaries bungled over the interpretation of these inscriptions, and how nearly all of them have accepted the Fethard inscription as ancient, we cannot wonder that the good people of Fethard, knowing that the Fethard inscription was Major Lymbery's handiwork, and misinterpreting his motive, should have rushed to the conclusion that the Baginbun inscription was also a hoax, perpetrated by the same hand to quiz antiquaries with a new "Bill Stumps his mark."

I think, however, that we have only to compare the rubbings of the Baginbun and the Carew inscriptions to see that the former, though undoubtedly copied from or suggested in some way by the latter, was the work of an illiterate person, copying from memory, or from a very inaccurate copy, perhaps taken by an illiterate person. It contains several characters which, though bearing a certain resemblance to the originals, are not Roman letters at all; and it contains five characters which are not in the original at all. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that there is not a single character on the Baginbun stone which can be described as a normally formed Roman letter of any period. Unless somebody, taking the Carew inscription as an aid to his imagination, cut it for "mere fooling," we must, I think, conclude that it was the work of a person who could neither read nor write. And if we suppose that one of the Lymbery brothers, prior to 1834, "perpetrated it as a hoax," we are then at a loss to conceive why he took the Carew inscription as an aid to his imagination, or what induced him years afterwards to spoil his fooling by making a fairly correct copy at Fethard.

The conclusions at which I have arrived are as follows:—

That some time previous to 1863 Major Lymbery's attention was drawn to the Baginbun stone, which he had cleared of earth and grass and cleaned; that he became impressed with its resemblance to the Carew inscription, with which latter he may have been acquainted through the drawing by Professor Westwood, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1861; that some time prior to 1863, and probably after 1861, he had a copy of the Carew inscription taken from the original, and cut on a sandstone slab, and erected in the wall of an outhouse in his yard at Fethard; that he did this as a matter of interest, and for comparison with

the Baginbun stone, and presumably without any intention to deceive, though it has, as a matter of fact, both before and more especially since his death, deceived many antiquaries; that consciously or unconsciously he modified in a slight degree some of the letters so as to increase the resemblance to the Baginbun inscription; that Du Noyer, in 1863, copied the Fethard Castle inscription under a misapprehension, thinking that he was copying the ancient inscription which he was told was very similar to that at Carew; that there is no evidence to support the view that Major Lymbery, or his brother, cut the Baginbun inscription, but, on the contrary, there is good evidence, practically inconsistent with that



THE BAGINBUN STONE.

(From an Untouched Rubbing by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, 29th June, 1904.)

view, to show that the inscription was in existence at least as long ago as 1834; that, in fact, the antiquity and genesis of the Baginbun inscription stands where it did before its antiquity was questioned, and, for my part, I see no reason to alter the view I have already published, which connects it immediately and synchronously with the long stay of Raymond le Gros at Baginbun.¹

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

THE fact that there are five letters or characters on the Baginbun stone not to be found on the original, at Carew, has to be accounted for. These supernumerary letters might, of course, be put down to defective memory on the part of the supposed illiterate copyist; but this seems hardly

¹ See *Journal*, 1898, p. 159.

likely. I think it more probable that they were added after the inscription was cut by some idle, not to say mischievous, person. There are some indications that this was done. Of these supernumerary letters, the first three are at the ends of lines, and might, of course, have been added. It will be observed, too, that the spacing between them and the copied letters is somewhat greater than that between the copied letters themselves, and that they are not quite so regularly in line. It may also be said of these three letters that they help to square up the copied lines. Again, if we suppose the stop found in the original under the third letter of line 1 were incorrectly reproduced in the copy between the third and the fourth letter of line 3, there would have been room for the letter shaped like a Greek λ to be placed over it; and, lastly, the fifth supernumerary letter might easily have been inserted before the two final characters. Unless, then, we are to assume a rather remarkable set of coincidences, the fact that these letters might have been added to the inscription, as originally copied, is presumptive evidence that they were so added.

Miscellanea.

The Ballindangan Gallaun, County Cork.—I am not aware that any notice of this gallaun has ever appeared in print. My attention to its existence was first called by Corporal Oseroft, R.E., who was recently doing survey work for his department in the district. I inspected it twice in the month of July this year. It stands in a field close to the Mitchelstown and Fermoy railway, near Ballindangan level-crossing, in the townland of Nutgrove. The Gallaun faces north and south, and is 10 feet 9 inches in height, 5 feet in breadth, and about 1 foot 6 inches thick. It inclines to the south, at an angle say of twelve degrees, and I take it that this inclination is an indication that it is not very deeply embedded in the ground.

The southern face of the Gallaun is deeply furrowed and fissured, especially towards the top; but it bears no trace of anything but atmospheric influence and ice-action. It is a limestone conglomerate. There are no human inscriptions on it of any kind; no letters or symbols. My friend, Mr. Irwin, of the Bank of Ireland, kindly accompanied me on my second visit to the place, and photographed the Gallaun, taking views of the southern face and west side.

An old woman, who lives close by, says that a number of years ago a farmer called Keeffe, the grandfather of the present tenant, was ploughing up the field, in which the Gallaun stands, when the plough struck a flat stone; he removed this, and found underneath it an earthenware urn containing some human bones; these, for pious and reverential reasons, he replaced in the ground under the stone, and their position is now forgotten. The story altogether is more or less indefinite, no date being given; but it seems worthy of record as a piece of local tradition connected with the Gallaun field.

Another townland in the district is called Kilgullane, *i.e.* "The Church of the Pillar-stone." See Joyce, p. 343.—COURTENAY MOORE (*Canon*), M.A., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster.*

Stone Celts and a Food Vessel found in the County Monaghan.—A short time ago I had the pleasure of looking through Mr. Robert Day's collection of Irish Antiquities at Cork. Two stone celts and a vessel of pottery particularly attracted my attention; and Mr. Day readily gave me permission to publish them. A label on one of the celts stated that it and the other celt were found "20 feet beneath a bog," on the property of Captain Stopford, at Lislea, near Clones, County Monaghan,

in an ancient "fire-place resting on marl, and near them two food vessels of baked clay," one of which Captain Stopford had also given to Mr. Day, with the celts, in 1866.

The celts are of a class of stone commonly called greenstone, and are both fine specimens in good condition.

The forms are shown in figs. 1 and 2, p. 273.

The vessel (fig. 3, p. 273) is of a coarse, grey clay, mixed with numerous particles of stone. It is blackened in parts on the outside, and much blackened on the inside. Mr. Day could give me no information about the second vessel, and it does not appear to be now possible to obtain any particulars of the find, so that we cannot say whether the "fire-place" mentioned on the label was a hearth or a burial. The vessel is, however, of considerable interest.

Its association with the two stone celts, of large size, and good form and finish, indicates that it belongs to a good period of the Stone Age, before degeneration had set in, or the use of stone was relegated to the more backward parts of the country. The form is, moreover, typically neolithic. A common feature of neolithic pottery from all kinds of sites on the continent, caves, grottos, lake-dwellings, and sepulchres, is the rounded bottom. Among others, examples from the Dolmens of the Morbihan may be compared with the present specimen.¹ It likewise resembles the pottery recently discovered by Dr. Thomas H. Bryce in the Stone Age cairns of Arran (Scotland).² The ornament on several of the vessels figured by Dr. Bryce, which consists of scratched or impressed lines, arranged in alternate, horizontal, and vertical groups, presents also an analogy to that on the Irish vessel. The lines on the latter have been impressed by a toothed tool, a form of decoration characteristic of the Stone Age, and in the form of the grouping of the lines we may perhaps see the suggestion of a string net or ties of string. Possibly a survival in the form of ornament of a more primitive method of moulding pottery in a basket or net, such as was practised by the American Indians.³—GEORGE COFFEY, *Fellow*.

Church of the Daughter of "Zola" (*Ecclesie filie Zole*).—In the Rev. Rich. Butler's edition of the "Register of All Hallows," Dublin, published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1845, there is a statement made on p. ii, founded on the document given in full on p. 50, that in about the year 1166 Dermott M'Morough, King of Leinster, "conferred on his spiritual father and confessor, Edan, Bp. of Louth, for the

¹ Musée de Kernuz, Dolmen de Er-mar, Dolmen de Parc-Néhué, Dolmen du Conguel: "La Poterie aux époques Préhistorique et Gauloise en Armorique," Paul du Chatellier, pl. 7, figs. 1, 3, 12, 15.

² "Proceedings" of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. for 1902), figs. 12, 32, 33, 36, &c.

³ Cushing—"Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," p. 493.

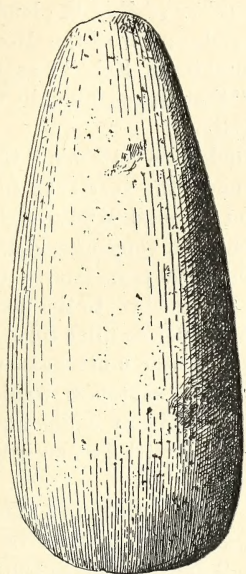


FIG. 1.—STONE CELT. ($\frac{1}{3}$ linear.)

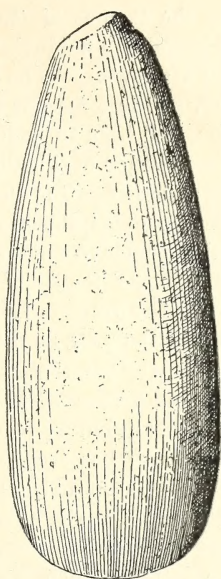


FIG. 2.—STONE CELT. ($\frac{1}{3}$ linear.)

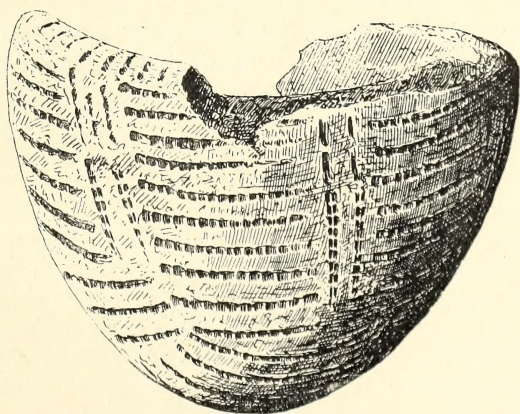


FIG. 3.—FOOD VESSEL OF BAKED CLAY. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

TWO STONE CELTS AND A FOOD VESSEL FROM CAPT. STOPFORD'S, LISLEA, CLONES.

(Now in the Collection of Mr. R. Day, F.S.A., Cork.)

use of the Canons of *the Church of the Daughter of Zola*, the land called Ballidubgail" (Baldoyle), &c., &c., as an endowment of the Monastery of All Hallows. "The Church of the Daughter of Zola" puzzled Mr. Butler, and in a note on p. 126, he states "that Dunsoghley, in County Dublin, had been suggested" as an identification.

The solution of this difficulty is to be found in Sweetman's "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," where, under the year 1268 (p. 135), we find an exemplification of this Charter of Dermott M'Murrough, most probably copied from the original document, the copy of which in the "All Hallows' Register" was made more than 100 years later. In it we read that the grant to Edan, Bp. of Louth, was made "to the use of the Canons of the *only Daughter of that Church* [ecclesiae filiae solae]." It is almost certain that the copyist in the Register must have written "*Zole*," as a man of Mr. Butler's learning and acuteness would have preferred the simpler reading should he have had any doubt about the initial letter; however, this point could be easily settled by an inspection of the manuscript in the Library, T.C.D.

The fact that the monks of All Hallows' and Louth were Augustinian Canons supports the statement that the former was the daughter house of the latter. Edan was a patron of the Augustinians, as the Abbey of Cnoc na n-Apstol (Knock), near Louth, founded by him and Donagh O'Carrol, King of Oriel, in 1148 (IV.M.), was for that order.—K. C. BRUNSKILL.

A Paper on the Pre-Norman Monasteries of the County Louth, by the Rev. L. Murray, appears in the "Journal of the Louth Archæological Society," just issued.

Proceedings.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL CRUISE AROUND THE COAST OF IRELAND, *June 21st to 29th, 1904.*

THIS Excursion was undertaken at the request of a large number of Members of the Society and of some of the leading Archæologists of the United Kingdom, to enable places and objects of great antiquarian interest around the Irish Coast to be visited, which would be otherwise inaccessible except at considerable expense and much inconvenience. It was carried out, as far as practicable, on the same lines as the cruises of 1895 and 1897 and of the Scottish Cruise which gave so much satisfaction in the summer of 1899.

The Belfast Steamship Company gave, for the use of the party, the twin-screw steamer "*Magic*," which left Donegall-quay, Belfast, on Tuesday morning, June 21st, at 10 o'clock, arriving punctually at Kingstown on Wednesday, June 29th, 9 o'clock, p.m.; the sea excursion thus occupied nine days.

The "*Magic*" had accommodation for 220 first-class passengers in berths; the number taken was 125, which conduced to the greater comfort of the party, and avoided overcrowding.

Non-Members of the Society paid a fee of 5s. each for enrolment as Associates during the trip. All Members of the Society who applied for berths were accommodated.

The party landed in the ship's boats, and in the Steam Launch provided for the purpose, at the nearest accessible points, and proceeded on foot to the places to be visited.

The Irish Railway Companies gave the usual facilities of return tickets at single fares to members travelling to and returning from Dublin; and the Belfast Steamship Company issued Saloon return tickets—Liverpool to Belfast—at a reduction.

Members travelling from Dublin to Belfast, or from any intermediate station, were allowed a reduction of 20 per cent. on the single fare. Members returning from Dublin to Belfast, or to any intermediate station, had the same privilege.

The tickets for the Cruise were issued to individual Members and Associates by the Belfast Steamship Company.

The following places of antiquarian interest on the Irish coast were noted on the Excursion. (Those places where landings were effected are marked with an asterisk):—

- I. Rathlin Island, County Antrim. Lough Swilly, County Donegal.
- II. Tory Island, County Donegal.—Round Tower, Crosses, and remains of a Columban monastery.
- *III. Inishmurray Island, County Sligo.—Ancient cashel, with early monastery, inscribed slabs, and leachta or stations.
- IV. Cliff forts of Doonamoe, Doonaneanir, and others.—Leacht an Iorrais monument, &c., west coast of Erris, County Mayo.
- V. Island of Inishglora, County Mayo, with St. Brendan's monastery.
- VI. Islands of Iniskea, County Mayo, with early churches and slabs.
- VII. Island of Davillaun, with cross-inscribed slab.
- *VIII. St. Dervila's Church (remains of) at Fallmore, at the southern extremity of the Mullet, County Mayo.
- IX. Achill Island, County Mayo, with numerous dolmens and a cashel.
- *X. Clare Island, County Mayo, with Granuaile's Castle, Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, O'Malley monument, &c.
- XI. Caher Island, County Mayo, with early monastery.
- XII. Inishturk Island, County Mayo.
- XIII. Inishbofin Island, County Mayo.
- *XIV. Killery Fjord (between the Counties of Mayo and Galway). Leenane, Connemara, where the Beltaine Fires may be seen on Midsummer Eve.
- XV. Ardoiléan, or High Island, County Galway, with early monastery.
- XVI. St. Mac Dara's Island, County Galway, with early church and carved slabs.
- *XVII. Inishmore (the North Island of Aran), County Galway, with Dun Ænghus and other early stone forts; Tempul Breacan and the Seven Churches, Tempul Mac Duach, and numerous early churches and cloghauns; also Tempul Benen, Round Tower, and St. Enda's Church.
- *XVIII. Inishmaan (the Middle Island of Aran).—Dun Conor and Dun Moher forts, Kilcananagh, and other churches and dolmens.
- *XIX. Inisheer (the South or Eastern Island of Aran), with fort and castle, the churches of Kilchoemain and Kilgobnet, &c.

- XX. The Burren Coast, County Clare.
- XXI. Iniscaerach, or Mutton Island, County Clare.—Slight remains of St. Senan's Monastery; Bishop's Island, County Clare, with early cells.
- XXII. Kilcredaun and other remains at Carrigaholt, County Clare.
- XXIII. Iniscatha, or Scattery Island, County Clare.—Round Tower and five churches of St. Senan's Monastery.
- XXIV. Magharee Islands, County Kerry.—Early monastery and cashel.
- XXV. Corkaguiny, County Kerry.—Kilmalkedar churches and cells; Gallerus and other early oratories, cells, and stone forts; Rahinnane and other castles.
- *XXVI. The site of the ancient city of Fahan, County Kerry, with the fort of Doonbeg, and numerous stone cells, and other remains. Dunmore Fort and Ogam-stone.
- XXVII. Blasquet Islands, County Kerry, with early cells and slabs.
- XXVIII. Valencia Island, County Kerry.
- *XXIX. The Great Skellig, or St. Michael's Rock, off the Kerry coast.—Early monastery, crosses, and cells.
- XXX. Dursey Island, County Cork.
- *XXXI. Clear Island, County Cork.
- *XXXII. Inishsherkin, or Sherkin Island, County Cork, with Franciscan Monastery.
- *XXXIII. Cork Harbour and Queenstown.
- *XXXIV. Ardmore, County Waterford.—Round Tower, ruins of ancient cathedral, oratory, church, well, crannog, and other remains of St. Declan's Monastery.
- *XXXV. Bag-in-bun, County Wexford, the reputed landing-place of Strongbow, with camp or cliff fort, and the inscribed stone.

TIME-TABLE.

FIRST DAY—Tuesday, June 21:—

The steamship left Donegall-quay, Belfast, punctually at 10 a.m., an hour which allowed Members to arrive from Liverpool and Glasgow by that morning's boat.

Anchored off Rathlin Island (60 miles); and steamed past Giant's Causeway, Dunluce Castle, and to Lough Swilly to anchor for the night.

SECOND DAY—Wednesday, June 22:—

Steamed around Tory Island (140 miles).

Landed at Inismurray (220 miles) and explored the numerous Antiquities there; and anchored for the night in Blacksod Bay.

THIRD DAY—Thursday, June 23 (*Midsummer Eve*):—

Visited the remains of Fallmore Church (St. Dervilla) (306 miles) on the mainland; and landed on Clare Island (342 miles); visited St. Bridget's Abbey and Grace O'Malley's Castle.

Steamed to the great Killery Fjord (366 miles), and anchored for the night. The Beltaine Fires on Midsummer Eve were seen at Leenane, Connemara.

FOURTH DAY—Friday, June 24 (*Midsummer Day*):—

Landed at Onaght (436 miles), and Seven Churches, North Aran Island (Aranmore); walked on to Kilmurvey (2 miles), saw Dun Aengus Stone Fort, Tempuil Mac Dara, and landed at Killeany; visited Tempuil Benen, site of monastery at Killeany, remains of Round Tower, St. Enda's Church, and anchored in Killeany Bay for the night.

FIFTH DAY—Saturday, June 25:—

Called at Middle Island (Inishmaan) (450 miles); saw Dun Conchobar Stone Fort, and Kilcananagh, or Tempuil Kenanagh, &c.

Visited the Antiquities in the South Island (Inisheer) (452 miles), Tempuil Choemhain, or St. Cavan's Church, &c., and steamed for Galway Harbour.

SIXTH DAY—Sunday, June 26 (*4th Sunday after Trinity*):—

Landed and visited Galway (482 miles) for Divine Service. (Arrangements were made, and carried out, for Divine Service on board also.)

Left Galway Harbour in the afternoon for Ventry Harbour, in Dingle Bay.

SEVENTH DAY—Monday, June 27 (*Full Moon, 8.23 p.m.*):—

Landed at Ventry, and saw Doonbeg and the site of the ancient City of Fahan (612 miles); visited Beehive structures there, and Dunmore Fort and Ogamstone.

Landed on the Great Skellig Rock (635 miles), to see the ancient Church and stone-roofed dwellings of the monks; and steamed into Bere Haven and Bantry Bay to see Glengariff.

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday, June 28:—

Cape Clear (710 miles); landed at Clear Island, and saw the ancient Church; afterwards called at Sherkin Island, and visited the Abbey there.

On to Cork Harbour (780 miles), and visited Queenstown.

NINTH DAY—Wednesday, June 29:—

Landed at Ardmore Bay (820 miles), and visited the Round Tower, Ruin of Cathedral, &c.

Landed at Bag-in-bun (860 miles), County Wexford, and saw the Entrenchments and Inscribed Stone.

Arrived at Kingstown (970 miles) at 9 p.m.

An Illustrated Programme and Descriptive Guide was prepared for the use of Members of the party, a new edition of which will, at the special request of Members, be published by the Council as one of the Antiquarian Handbook Series, and issued to the Fellows as an Extra Volume.

Detailed notices of the Excursion appeared in *The Athenæum* of July 2nd and 9th, 1904, in *St. James's Gazette*, and in the principal daily papers, all congratulating the Society on the success of the Excursion, and the enterprise exhibited by its conductors.

The following Members and Associates had berths for the Cruise:—

Banks, W. H., Esq., Hergest Croft, Herefordshire.
 Beamish, W. H., Esq., F.S.I., Glanmire, County Cork.
 Biddulph, Lieut.-Colonel W. Middleton, Rathrobin, King's County.
 Blossie, E. F. Lynch, Esq., Coytrehen, Aberkenfig, R.S.O.
 Blossie, Mrs. E. F. Lynch, Coytrehen, Aberkenfig, R.S.O.
 Boyd, J. St. Clair, Esq., M.D., Belfast.
 Boyd, Mrs., Belfast.
 Brabrook, E. W., Esq., C.B., Balham, London, S.W.
 Brodrick, The Hon. Albinia L., Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Browne, Miss Irene, Sutton, Surrey.
 Buggy, Michael, Esq., Kilkenny.
 Byrne, Mrs. W. J., Dublin.

Carolan, John, Esq., J.P., Dublin.
 Coakley, Rev. C., C.C., Farren, County Cork.
 Cochrane, H. G., Esq., Brixton Hill, London, S.W.
 Cochrane, Robert, Esq., I.S.O., F.S.A., Dublin.
 Cochrane, R. H., Esq., Dublin.
 Conan, A., Esq., Dalkey, County Dublin.
 Connor, George, Esq., M.R.C.S., &c., Newry.
 Corbett, E. W. M., Esq., J.P., Cardiff.
 Corcoran, Bryan, Esq., South Norwood.
 Corcoran, Miss Jessie, Sutton, Surrey.
 Crosfield, Miss Truda, Colwyn Bay, North Wales.
 Crowley, T., Esq., M.D., Coachford, County Cork.
 Cunningham, Miss M. E., Glencairn, Belfast.
 Cunningham, Miss Sarah C., Glencairn, Belfast.

Daniell, Robert, Esq., Tyrrell's Pass, Westmeath.
 Day, Robert, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Cork.
 Dey, Wm. J., Esq., London.
 Dickson, G. D., Esq., Belfast.
 Dolan, Joseph T., Esq., Ardee.
 Dolan, Seamus, Esq., Ardee.
 Donnelly, P. J., Esq., Dublin.
 Duffy, Joseph J., Esq., Monkstown, County Dublin.

Edgar, Captain S., Belfast.

Ferrar, B. B., Esq., M.D., Armagh.
 Ferrar, Mrs. B. B., Armagh.
 Fisher, Rev. J. Cefn, St. Asaph's.
 Fisher, Mrs., Ivy Bank, Larne.
 Fottrell, Miss M. J., Dublin.
 Frizell, Rev. C. W., M.A., Belfast.

Garrett, Hugh L., Esq., Holywood, County Down.
 Gould, Mrs. E. L., Blackrock, County Dublin.
 Guilbride, F., Esq., J.P., Newtownbarry.
 Guinness, Howard R., Esq., Dublin.
 Guinness, Mrs. Howard R., Dublin.
 Guinness, Miss Grace, Stillorgan, County Dublin.
 Gwynne, Hughes, Colonel, Nantgaredic, South Wales.
 Gwynne, Mrs. Hughes, Nantgaredic, South Wales.

Haughton, Alfred, Esq., Dublin.
 Haughton, T. W., Esq., Cullybackey, County Antrim.
 Haughton, —, Esq., junr., Cullybackey, County Antrim.
 Hore, P. H., Esq., M.R.I.A., Earl's Court, London, S.W.
 Hudd, Alfred E., Esq., F.S.A., Clifton.

- Hughes, Edwin, Esq., J.P., Craigavad,
County Down.
- Hughes, J. F., Esq., Llandilo, South
Wales.
- Jarlath, Rev. F., Kilkenny.
- James, C. Russell, Esq., Gray's Inn,
London.
- Kavanagh, Very Rev. P., P.P., V.F.,
Monasterevan.
- Kirk, Henry, Esq., Belfast.
- Kirker, S. K., Esq., C.E., Belfast.
- Kirkpatrick, J. C., Esq., Larne.
- Lawrence, Arthur, Esq., Penarth, South
Wales.
- Lepper, F. R., B.A., J.P., Crawfordsburn,
County Down.
- Lepper, Robert S., Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Crawfordsburn, County Down.
- Lepper, Miss Nina, Crawfordsburn,
County Down.
- Lepper, Miss Jane, Crawfordsburn,
County Down.
- Lewis, R. Shipley, Esq., Llandilo, South
Wales.
- Lindesay, Rev. W. O'N., M.A., Baldoyle.
- M'Afee, George, Esq., Belfast.
- MacEnerney, Rev. Francis, Dublin.
- MacIlwaine, Robert, Esq., Downpatrick.
- Mayne, Thomas, Esq., F.R.G.S., Dublin.
- Milligan, S. F., Esq., M.R.I.A., Belfast.
- Morris, Rev. Canon, D.D., F.S.A.,
Warwick-square, London, S.W.
- Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A., Glasgow.
- Murray, Mrs. David, Glasgow.
- Murray, Miss, Glasgow.
- Murray, Miss —, Glasgow.
- Neville, Miss Katherine, Edenvale, County
Clare.
- O'Grady, Miss S. H., Aghamarta Castle,
County Cork.
- O'Leary, Rev. E., P.P., Portarlington.
- Owen, Rev. Canon R. Trevor, M.A., F.S.A.,
Rhuddlan, R. S. O., Flintshire.
- Parkinson, Miss D. C., Westbourne,
Ennis.
- Perceval, J. J., Esq., Wexford.
- Phillips, James J., Esq., C.E., Belfast.
- Pim, Miss Ida, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- Powell, Miss Una T. E., Blackrock,
County Dublin.
- Redington, Miss, Kilcornan, County
Galway.
- Redington, Miss M., Kilcornan, County
Galway.
- Robb, A. A., Esq., M.A., PH.D., Belfast.
- Scott, Conway, Esq., C.E., Belfast.
- Scott, Mrs. Conway, Belfast.
- Shackleton, George, Esq., Lucan.
- Shackleton, Mrs. J. F., Lucan.
- Shaw, F. Haynes, Esq., Southport.
- Shaw, Mrs., Southport.
- Shaw, Thomas J., Esq., Mullingar.
- Small, John F., Esq., Newry.
- Staepoole, Miss Gwendoline C., Eden-
vale, County Clare.
- Storarr, Andrew, Esq., Chichester-road,
Chester.
- Storarr, Dr. W. M., Mountcharles, Bel-
fast.
- Strangeways, W. N., Esq., Muswell
Hill, London, N.
- Tempest, W., Esq., J.P., Dundalk.
- Thomas, The Ven. Archdeacon, F.S.A.,
Oswestry.
- Thomas, Thomas H., Esq., Cardiff.
- Thompson, Miss, Larne.
- Thompson, Rev. R. O., M.A., Dundrum,
County Tipperary.
- Thompson, Mrs. R. O., Dundrum, County
Tipperary.
- Townshend, T. C., Esq., F.S.I., Dublin.
- Ussher, Beverley G., Esq., Shrews-
bury.
- Ussher, Richard J., Esq., D.L., Cappagh,
County Waterford.
- Vachell, Charles T., Esq., M.D., Cardiff.
- Walker, Richard, Esq., Rathfarnham,
County Dublin.
- Ward, Joseph, Esq., J.P., Killiney,
County Dublin.

Watts-Jones, Mrs. H., Glyn, North Wales.	White, James, Esq., M.D., Kilkenny.
Westropp, T. J., Esq., M.A., Dublin.	White, John N., Esq., J.P., Waterford.
Webster, William, Esq., St. Helens, Lancashire.	White, W. Grove, Esq., LL.B., Dublin.
Whigham, Miss, Monkstown, County Dublin.	Whitfield, Geo., Esq., Modreeny, County Tipperary.
	Williams, Rev. R. O., St. Asaph's, North Wales.

Committee.

LT.-COLONEL BIDDULPH.	MR. S. F. MILLIGAN.
MR. ROBERT COCHRANE.	REV. E. O'LEARY.
MR. ROBERT DAY.	ARCHDEACON THOMAS.
MR. S. K. KIRKER.	MR. T. J. WESTROPP.
MR. THOMAS MAYNE.	MR. W. GROVE WHITE.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL CRUISE AROUND THE IRISH COAST.

BY ROBERT COCHRANE, HON. GENERAL SECRETARY.

THE first excursion by sea around the Irish coast undertaken by the Society was in the Summer of 1895, in connexion with the meeting for the Province of Connaught, held in Galway, which terminated with a visit to Ballintubber Castle, in County Roscommon, a former residence of successive generations of the Kings of Connaught, whose descendant, O'Connor Don, received and entertained the Society within the roofless walls of the ancient fortress.

The sea excursion of 1895 left Belfast on 2nd July that year, and ended at Galway, so as to enable the members to take part in the meeting and excursions held there on 8th July and four following days.

This sea trip was so successful that, at the request of those who participated in it, as well as some of those who were debarred from going, a second excursion was organized in 1897, which took in the whole coast-line from Belfast northwards, and on to Kingstown.

In connexion with each of these cruises Guide Books had been prepared descriptive of the places visited, which were greatly appreciated by the members of the party. These Guides were afterwards reproduced as "Antiquarian Handbooks," and formed Nos. 2 and 3 of the Society's Antiquarian Handbook Series. Of these, No. 2 embraced a description of the coast-line from Belfast to Galway; and No. 3, from Galway to Kingstown. They were placed on sale by the Society's publishers, were quickly sold off, and are now out of print.

In the year 1899 another cruise, but on a larger scale, was undertaken. The route was around the Western and Northern Coasts of Scotland, taking in the Western Islands and the Outer Hebrides, which abound in so many antiquities of the greatest interest to students of Irish Archæology, owing to the intimate connexion between the Scottish Isles and the North of Ireland.

In this expedition the Society was joined by the Cambrian Archæological Association; and a larger steamship than that obtained for the former trips, with better accommodation, was chartered. This cruise extended over the eight days from the 20th to the 28th June, 1899, and was a most interesting and successful one in every respect.

It was the desire of all who had taken part in it that a similar cruise should be again organized, and it was suggested that the Coast of Brittany, with inland excursions, would afford a desirable field for antiquarian studies. Negotiations were entered into with Shipping Companies at Southampton and London; but at the time freights ruled very high, and there was a difficulty in getting suitable accommodation.

It had now been found possible to undertake another Irish cruise, but on a larger scale, and taking in a greater number of islands and places than attempted on the two former cruises around the Irish coast.

The first stopping-place was the Island of Rathlin, which does not possess many archæological remains within easy distance of the landing-place. It was, however, convenient to make a call here for other reasons, one of which was to afford a rest for any indifferent sailors of the party, and to prepare for the rather long stretch along the Northern coast to Lough Swilly, or Sheephaven, where there are frequently strong currents, and the sea is not always placid.

The usual landing-place for Rathlin Island is in "Church Bay," a well-sheltered, natural harbour, though opening to the south-west, with good anchorage in five or six fathoms of water, in a position in a line with the "store" and the house above it. There is a small, dry stone pier where the ship's boats can land.

If the wind blows from the south-west, there is another landing-place on the east side of the island, at Doon, near which is a stone circle.

At the west end of the island there is to be seen the foundation of a "caher," the wall of which is 12 feet in thickness; and the internal measurements are 156 feet from east to west, and 96 feet from north to south. The caher is about an hour's walk from Church Bay.

The only objects near the landing-place at Church Bay are a standing stone and a kistvaen; the latter is in a field, and is now covered over.

Bruce Castle is over a mile away; the road is not good, and there is very little left to see. Many of the natives speak the Irish language.

Rathlin Island was used as a depot by the marauding Scots for storing the spoils acquired in the numerous forays into Down and Antrim. An

incident which occurred in 1551 may be noted as bearing on the difficulty of landing on the Atlantic seaboard. At the date mentioned the M'Donnells had seized a large prey of cattle, which they, as usual, collected on the island for safety before taking them over, at leisure, to Scotland. A force of 300 men was sent from Dublin, by order of Queen Elizabeth, to recover them for the owners—the O'Neills of Castlereagh; when the ships arrived and the force was about to be landed, a long roller wave from the Atlantic drove the boats high on the rocks, and capsized them. The M'Donnells, who were prepared for attack, slew those who were not drowned, and only two were allowed to escape; these were officers, who were held for ransom.

The Giant's Causeway is to be seen in the distance, near which is the ruin of Dunluce Castle, a residence formerly of the M'Donnells; and the coast of Derry, Lough Foyle, and the bold headlands of Donegal are passed. The Vidal submarine bank, discovered by Captain Vidal, lies off the north-west coast, extending many miles seaward.

The next island seen is Tory, off the Donegal coast, which has been described by Mr. Westropp in the Guide, who gives an interesting account of its antiquities, and an illustration of its Round Tower, by Edmund Getty, which appeared in a work on the Round Towers by that author.

Passing along the west coast of Donegal, Inismurray, off the coast of Sligo, was reached. There is a suitable landing-place on the north side of the island.

The Island of Inismurray has been described by Mr. Cooke, and illustrated from drawings prepared by the late W. F. Wakeman. These drawings were executed at the cost of the Society, Mr. Wakeman having been commissioned, in 1884, to make a lengthened stay on the island, for the purpose of investigating and illustrating its antiquities. The result of his labours was published by the Society, as an extra volume for the year 1892, to which the student is referred for more detailed information on the subject.

This island, until the middle of the last century, had its native king. His successor has not assumed the responsibility of that position, nor does he claim the emoluments which formerly pertained thereto.

Of the numerous islands off the coast of Mayo only a few were visited. It would take the whole time allotted for the cruise to investigate the islands of this county alone. The most important are described by Mr. Westropp, and are illustrated by photographs, many not before reproduced. Landing on these islands can only be effected under the direction of a local pilot, as the shores are foul, and there is the danger of ground-swells. Usually landing can only be effected at one place on each island.

Time did not permit of a visit to Iniskea, where there are many antiquarian remains: on the north island is the little ruined church of

St. Columbkille, the stone altar of which is nearly perfect; so is the holy-water font. There is a curious feature about the position of the altar. The Epistle end is built up against the south wall, while there is a space of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the Gospel end and the north wall. The position of the east window is not in the centre of the gable, but is over the centre line of the altar. This indicates an alteration of the width of the church.

On the sandhills are the remains of some stone-roofed cells, and several upright incised cross slabs, one of which bears a rude representation of the Crucifixion. In the sand, from time to time, bronze pins and needles have been found. There is a "dun" on the west side of the island in good preservation.

On Iniskea south there is an elaborately incised upright slab in a disused burial-ground. On this island are the remains of a nunnery, erected about 300 years ago for nuns who took refuge here after the dissolution of monasteries.

As the weather proved to be suitable, a landing was effected at the little bay of Portmore, a small, sheltered strand on the south-west point of the Mullet, to see what remains of the church of St. Derbhile, or Dervila. Only the two gables of this ancient structure are now standing, the east containing a small, round-headed window, and the west has a round-headed doorway, which has been illustrated in Lord Dunraven's work. The ruin is situate within a public burial-ground, at the village of Falmore, near the seashore. An examination of the west gable shows where the original primitive church had been widened on the south side. The first church appears to have been only 13 feet wide, internal measurement, and about half the length of the present church. This widening and enlargement is very frequently met with in such churches. A doorway was formed in the south wall, near the east end, which was afterwards built up. Recently a window-head has been discovered, having an ornament of interlaced pattern, which is evidently of the same date as the west doorway. The arch of the west doorway had three small bead-mouldings in the external face of the stone. The lower bead was returned on the soffit, and had a row of bosses on it and on the face of the arch. The stone is greatly weathered, and the bosses are scarcely visible. The jambs of the doorway consisted of three stones on each side externally, and it was 5 feet in height to the springing, 2 feet wide at top, and 2 feet 5 inches at bottom. The original floor was 3 feet below the present surface at west gable. There is a curious aumbry to the north side of the east window.

In the churchyard, surrounded by a low stone wall, is a grave, which is pointed out by the natives as the grave of St. Derbhile.

The coasts and islands of Mayo, Galway, Clare, and Kerry are fully dealt with by Mr. T. J. Westropp. His account of the stone-roofed dwellings of the ancient Fahan will be found most interesting. Mr. R. A. S. Macalister's Paper on the Dingle promontory, published by the Royal Irish Academy, has afforded much material and several illustrations.

At the Blasquet Islands, the landing-place for the large island is on the east side, beneath the village. The landing-place for Inisvickillaun is on the north-east side of the island. At Inistuaishart it is near the middle of the south side. At Dunbeg and Fahan the landing is dangerous, and the natives attempt it only in fine weather. The bottom is foul, so that a ship could not anchor. It was found necessary to land at the pier in Ventry Harbour, about a mile from Dunbeg.

St. Michael's Monastery, on the great Skellig Rock, was visited under great difficulties. This remote and almost inaccessible island was visited by the Society, in conjunction with the Cambrian Archæological Association, in August, 1891, and it was again visited by the Society in 1897. The illustrations and materials procured, as the record of these visits, were made available for the *Journal*.

Leaving the greater and lesser Skellig Rocks, approaching the mainland, Dursey Island, in County Cork, is seen, just outside of which is the Bull Rock Lighthouse, situate near the top of a cliff 300 feet high. In the centre of this rock is a natural arch 60 feet high; the cliffs here, like those of the Skellig Rocks, are covered with myriads of sea-birds.

As time permitted, Bantry Bay, where the French arrived in 1796, was visited. As an episode of this visit, it may be mentioned that a local gentleman named O'Sullivan, having mustered a large force of his tenantry, watched the coast for several nights to prevent a landing, and took a lieutenant and a boat's crew prisoners to the English general, Dalrymple, at Bantry, who would not believe they were French ships until he saw the prisoners brought by O'Sullivan.

On Clear Island, the most southerly point of Ireland, the ruins of St. Kieran's Church are situated; they measure 40 feet by 14 feet 6 inches internal dimensions. The interesting feature is the curious drop or cusping in the single-light window of the east gable. This window is only 9 inches in width, splaying internally to 5 feet 2 inches in width. The height internally is 4 feet 2 inches, the head is formed of a single stone, and the jambs are of two stones each; the wall is 2 feet 4½ inches in thickness.

The remaining walls average 8 feet high. The north-west corner has fallen away. There is a small window in the south wall near the east end. This window is 7 inches in width and 3 feet in height; one of the external jambs is formed of a single stone, and the others of two stones: it has a flat lintel. There is a doorway in the south wall, near the east end, with a rough arch.

The church is in a graveyard, and interments take place in its interior; portions of coffins are lying about, and the recess in the north wall near the east gable is filled with human skulls and bones. The ruin is near the seashore, and can be approached from sea by the "North Harbour," called Trawkieran, where there is a strand, a landing-place, and a small dock.

For Sherkin Abbey there is a good landing-place, at a slipway in the abbey strand, just inside the southern entrance to Baltimore Bay. The ruin is only about 100 yards distant from the landing-place.

Although there are not many antiquities on the shores of Cork Harbour within walking distance, the town and neighbourhood of Queenstown are well worth visiting.

Less than four miles from Queenstown by rail is Fota station, near which is Fota Martello Tower. The grounds at Fota are very fine, and at the northern end of Belvelly Bridge, which connects Fota Island with the Great Island, stands Belvelly Castle, a plain, square structure; and towards the east is Barry's Court Castle, which the late Sir John Pope Hennessy described as non-existent, whereas it is in a good state of preservation, and has an inscribed fireplace—also its original chapel still intact; but as it is at least two miles from the entrance to Fota, not many would be inclined to walk the distance. A badly-kept farmyard adjoining detracts from its appearance.

Near Belvelly Castle, on the Great Island, is a small castle built by the Barrys on what is now the Ashgrove property.

On the other side of the harbour a visit might be paid to Monkstown by steamer, to see the old Elizabethan Castle there; and a pleasant walk to Carrigaline Castle, perched on a rock, visible for miles around, would afford views of very fine scenery.

Leaving Cork Harbour, the next place visited is Ardmore, which affords an example of a most interesting group of Christian antiquities, including the remains of the cathedral church of St. Declan, near which is a round tower 95 feet 4 inches in height, also the small Oratory of St. Declan, two Ogam stones, "Tempul Deiscart," St. Declan's holy well, and the remains of a crannog submerged at high water. These antiquities have been so fully described and illustrated in the last volume of the *Journal* of the Society (vol. xxiii., 1903), that it has not been considered necessary to add anything to what has been so recently published on the subject.

The next and last place visited is the promontory of Bag-in-bun, in County Wexford, a condensed description of which is given by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, who read a short Paper on the spot, giving an account of the battle fought here by Raymond. The story of the landing of Strongbow at this place, and the formation by him of a fortified camp, though generally accepted as correct, cannot be regarded as authentic.

There are many earthworks of a similar character at or across headlands on the Waterford and Wexford coast, of which Bag-in-bun is a good example, as Dunbeg, on the Dingle promontory, is of the stonework method of construction. The cliff forts of the Welsh coast on the opposite side of the Channel were evidently built by the same race, and are of the same period.

(56th YEARLY SESSION.)

CONNAUGHT MEETING AT TUAM, AUGUST, 1904.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held at Tuam, County Galway, in the Town Hall (by permission of the Chairman, Town Commissioners), on Tuesday, 9th August, 1904, at 8 o'clock, p.m.:

HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. HEALY, Archbishop of Tuam,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read by the Hon. General Secretary and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were elected:—

AS FELLOW.

Shallard, L. Stafford, M.A., F.R.H.S., F.N.A.M., Lyndenhurst, Camden-road, North; and King's College, London: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

AS MEMBERS.

Brodrick, Hon. Albinia L., District Infirmary, Ashton-under-Lyne: proposed by Robert Day, J.P., F.S.A., *Fellow*.

Butler, Miss E., The Lodge, Waterville, County Kerry: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow*.

Callanan, Martin, Physician and Surgeon, The Square, Thurles, County Tipperary: proposed by the Rev. William Carrigan, c.c.

Cassidy, C. D., D.D.S., 16, Clare-street, Dublin: proposed by George D. Burtchaell, M.A., *Fellow*.

Coakley, Rev. Cornelius, c.c., Farran, County Cork: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

Connor, G. W., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S., 77, Hill-street, Newry: proposed by Robert A. Mullan.

Courtenay, Mrs. Louisa, Rathescar, Dunleer, County Louth: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, *President*.

Crowley, Timothy, M.D., Larchfield, Coachford, County Cork: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

Davis, the Rev. James, c.c., Belmullet, County Mayo: proposed by John Butler Manning.

Doyne, Miss M. Josephine, Rossbegh, Shrewsbury-road, Dublin: proposed by Thomas J. Shaw, J.P.

Duffy, Joseph J., 5, Brighton Vale, Monkstown, County Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

Eeles, Francis Carolus (Diocesan Librarian, Aberdeen), Munross, Stonehaven, N.B.; and 105, Adelaide-road, London, N.W.: proposed by William R. L. Lowe.

Ferrari, Benjamin Banks, B.A., M.D. (Univ. Dub.), 7, Beresford-row, Armagh: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, *President*.

- Fox, Rev. Arthur W., Fielden Hotel, Todmorden, Lancashire: proposed by William C. Stubbs, *Fellow*.
- Hudd, Alfred E., F.S.A., 94, Pembroke-road, Clifton: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Joynt, Alfred Lane, B.A., 5, Pembroke-road, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, *Fellow*.
- Joynt, Richard Lane, M.D., 84, Harcourt-street, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, *Fellow*.
- Kelly, Rev. J. Herbert, M.A., Rector of Dunany Union, Diocese of Armagh, Clonmore Rectory, Dunleer, County Louth: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, *President*.
- Kincaid, Mrs. M. M., University Station, Seattle, Washington: proposed by Major Joshua Fielding, *Fellow*.
- Kirkpatrick, J. C., Ballymullock, Larne: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, *Fellow*.
- Kirwan, Denis B., jun., Dalgin, Milltown, Tuam: proposed by the Rev. James Kelly, c.c.
- Laverty, John, 58A, Brougham-street, Belfast: proposed by W. Grove White, LL.B.
- Lawrence, Arthur, Lavernock House, Penarth, South Wales: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Milling, James, Edenville, Bangor, County Down: proposed by Matthew Dorey.
- Monahan, Miss M. A., 63, Northumberland-road, Dublin: proposed by Mrs. W. J. Byrne.
- Montgomery, Henry C., Glenoe, Bangor, County Down: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, *Fellow*.
- Nichols, James, 85, Ranelagh-road, Dublin: proposed by George Duncan.
- O'Grady, John Shiel, J.P., Rickardstown, Newbridge, County Kildare: proposed by Edward Glover, M.A.
- O'Sullivan, Dr. W. J., Maiville, Lisdoonvarna, County Clare: proposed by O'Meara Conyngham.
- Place, G. W., Barrister-at-Law, 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin: proposed by Henry A. Cosgrave.
- Robb, Alfred A., M.A., PH. D., Lisnabreeny House, Castlereagh, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, *Fellow*.
- Ward, Joseph, J.P., Chairman, Killiney District Council, Ardmore, Killiney, County Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- "Inishmain Abbey, the Hag's Castle, Lough Mask, and Cong," by His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, *Vice-President*.
- "Antiquities of Tuam and District," by Richard J. Kelly, Esq., J.P., *Hon. Local Secretary*.
- "The Antiquities of the Tuam District," by T. B. Costello, Esq., M.D.

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- "The Ecclesiastical Monuments at Kilmacduagh," by the Very Rev. Jerome Fahey, D.D., P.P., V.G.
- "Notes on the Round Tower and other Remains, Kilmacduagh," by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- "The Castles of Ballinderry and Barnadarg," by Colonel Nolan, M.P.
- "Abbey Knockmoy," by J. A. Glynn, Esq., B.A.

"Notes on Abbey Knockmoy and the 'Frescoes' in the Chancel," by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

"The Carew, Bag-in-bun, and Fethard Castle Inscriptions," by Goddard H. Orpen, Esq., *B.L.*

The following were exhibited :—

The Mace and Seal of Athenry, kindly lent by J. T. Blakeney, Esq., Abbert.

Two Celts (Bronze and Copper), by the Rev. J. Kelly, c.c., Milltown.

A Sepulchral Urn and other objects of Bronze and Stone found in the locality, by T. B. Costello, Esq., *M.D.*

The following Excursions were carried out by the Hon. Local Sec., Mr. Joseph A. Glynn, *B.A.*, assisted by the Local Committee :—

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9th, 1904.

Members met on Tuesday morning at the Town Hall at 11.30 a.m., and visited the cross in the Market Square, and proceeded to the ruins of Tempuil Jarlath (recently preserved by the County Council of Galway), after inspecting which they visited the two Cathedrals. The Very Rev. Dean Geddes described the Cathedral Church of St. Mary; and Dr. Costello conducted the party during the day.

After lunch, cars were taken to Gurrane to see the souterrains, and thence to Ballytrasna to see the Lally monument, Kilcreevanty, and Kilbennan Round Tower, returning by Gardenfield, where the members were most hospitably entertained to tea by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kirwan. The souterrains at Gardenfield were examined, and the party arrived at Tuam about 6 p.m.

At 8 p.m. the General Meeting of the Society was held in the Town Hall, for the transaction of the business already noted. The meeting was attended by a large number of the townspeople, who took a great interest in the proceedings.

The Chair was occupied by His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, *Vice-President*, who was received with applause. He said that he could safely say, both on his own part and that of the local Committee, that they were very glad to have them that evening in the ancient ecclesiastical capital of the West of Ireland. The City of Tuam, as he might call it, had a glorious history. It was the seat of expiring royalty in the West, Roderick O'Connor, the last king of Ireland, possessing a seat here. He trusted that they were pleased with the objects of antiquity shown them that day in Tuam and neighbourhood, and he had no doubt but that they would be more so with what they would see to-morrow. They in Tuam that night were glad to see them present, and taking such a deep interest in the monuments and antiquities of the district. The platform of the Society was one on which they could all meet; they were all brothers and sisters in the Society; their work had a tendency to draw their hearts together. Their work had many educative and refining elements, and tended inevitably to unite all in unison.

His Grace then said the next business was election of members, and read a long list of candidates recommended by the Council, all of whom were elected unopposed. He remarked that they had members now almost in every land, even in far distant America.

His Grace then said he observed that the next item was a Paper on "Inishmain Abbey, the Hag's Castle, Lough Mask, and Cong," by himself. He had forgotten to bring his notes with him, but would do his best. His lecture was greeted with loud applause, during its delivery and at its finish.

Dr. T. B. Costello read a Paper on "The Antiquities of the Tuam District"; and Mr. R. J. Kelly, B.L., J.P., read a Paper on a similar subject, both of which were referred to the Council for publication, and appear above.

THE EXHIBITS.

The Mace and Seal of Athenry, kindly lent by John J. Blakeney, Esq., Abbert; two Celts, bronze and copper, by the Rev. J. Kelly, c.c., Milltown; Dr. Costello exhibited a Sepulchral Urn, a Spear-head, and other objects of bronze and stone found in the locality; Mr. R. J. Kelly, B.L., J.P., exhibited a copy of the *Tuam Herald* for September 13th, 1843, containing an account of the Clifden monster meeting, and *verbatim* speeches of Daniel O'Connell, the Archbishop of Tuam (Dr. McHale), the Hon. Martin French, M.P., and Very Rev. Dr. Kirwan, P.P.; the *Tuam Herald* of October 6th, 1855, containing a report of the meeting of the citizens of Tuam, adopting the Towns' Improvement Act, under which the town is since governed; the *Tuam Gazette* or *Connaught Advertiser*, 1806; a Bank Post Bill of the Tuam or French's Bank of June 25th, 1813, for £3 18s. 3d.

Rev. W. D. Macray, who was received with applause, said he was the oldest member of the Society; he had joined two years after its foundation. Coming from Oxford to Dublin years ago, he was at first interested in Irish Antiquities by a well-known bookseller named John O'Daly, who, though he may have been unwashed outside, was internally saturated with Gaelic learning. He had been a member of the Ossianic Society from its start, and had always taken a deep interest in Irish Antiquities. On behalf of the Society he wished to propose a vote of thanks to the people of Tuam for their welcome, coupling with it the names of Mr. Kelly, Mr. Glynn, Dr. Costello, and that of Mr. James McDonnell for his kindness in granting the use of the Town Hall.

Mr. W. Grove White seconded the vote.

The gentlemen mentioned having briefly replied, the proceedings terminated.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10th, 1904.

The party left by special train at 8.30 a.m. for Ballinrobe.

Lunch was provided at Ballinrobe for the party as the guests of The Most Rev. Dr. Healy and the Local Committee.

Vehicles were then taken to Cong, passing the battlefield of Southern Moytura. After examining the abbey at Cong, under the guidance of His Grace the Archbishop, the party returned to Tuam by special train, arriving about 6.45 p.m.

The members accepted an invitation to an "At Home" by Dr. and Mrs. Costello, Bishop-street, from 8.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m., and greatly enjoyed the hospitality shown to them. A great number of objects of antiquity were exhibited and described by Dr. Costello.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11th, 1904.

The party left Tuam by the 9.25 a.m. train for Gort Station, arriving there at 11 a.m., where vehicles were in readiness to take them to Lough Cutra Castle, and through the demesne (by permission of Lord Viscount Gough) to Ardameelavane Castle and Fiddane Castle (A.D. 1603), and thence to the group of ruins at Kilmaeduaigh, the Round Tower, and Cathedral, the antiquities of which were described and pointed out by the Very Rev. Dr. Fahey, P.P., V.R.

After lunch at Kilmaeduaigh, the forts of Kilmorán and Caherglissane were seen—also cloghauns and cromlechs—on the way. The return journey was made by Crannagh Castle and Tillyra Castle to Ardahan for the 7.40 p.m. train for Tuam.

Mr. Edward Martyn kindly entertained the members of the party to afternoon tea at Tillyra Castle.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12th, 1904.

The drive to-day was to Knockma, starting at 9 a.m., to see the castle, cairns, and cahers; thence to the ruins of Ross Abbey, which were described and explained by Mr. Cochrane; and afterwards the remains of Killursagh Church. Lunch was provided at Ross Abbey.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13th, 1904.

The party started at 9 a.m., and drove to Creevaghbawn old church, holy well, and cell; through Moyne to Abbey Knockmoy, which was described in detail to the members by Mr. Cochrane, and to Barnaderg Castle; and returned by Ballinderry Castle and Cloonascragh Fort to Tuam.

The party were most hospitably entertained at Ballinderry Castle as the guests of Colonel John P. Nolan, M.P., for lunch.

The whole party left Tuam well pleased with their visit, and with the hospitable and genial manner in which they were entertained; they carry back most pleasant recollections of their visit to Tuam in 1904. Mr. Joseph A. Glynn and Dr. Costello were untiring in their work, and nothing could exceed their efforts to attend to the wants and convenience of the visitors. Mr. M'Donnell, Chairman of the Tuam Commissioners, and the other members of the Reception Committee, did their part; but all agree in giving Mr. Glynn and Dr. Costello the palm for the perfection of the arrangements—working from start to finish without jar or friction.

LOCAL COMMITTEE.

[*Confined to Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and the Galway Historical and Archæological Society, residing in and near Tuam.*]

His Grace The Archbishop of Tuam, *Vice-President (R.S.A.I.) for Connaught, Chairman*; J. B. Concanon, Esq.; H. Concanon, Esq., Solicitor; T. B. Costello, Esq., M.D.; the Rev. J. Kelly, c.c.; R. J. Kelly, Esq., B.L., J.P., *Hon. Local Secretary for Galway*; R. J. Kirwan, Esq., B.E.; James M'Donnell, Esq., Chairman, Town Commissioners; the Rev. Thomas Macken, Professor of St. Jarlath's College; the Rev. John Morgan, B.D., St. Jarlath's College; Patrick Murphy, Esq., r.c.; Colonel J. P. Nolan, M.P.; E. P. O'Flanagan, Esq., Solicitor; J. A. Glynn, Esq., B.A., Solicitor, Chairman, County Council, *Hon. Secretary of Committee*.

The following Fellows, Members, and Associates (*) attended the Meeting and Excursions:—

His Grace The Archbishop of Tuam.

Edward Martyn, Esq., Tillyra Castle, Ardahan.

*Mrs. Glynn, Beach House, Tuam.

J. E. Palmer, Esq., Rose Lawn, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.

Rev. Dr. Hanan, The Rectory, Tipperary.

R. Cochrane, Esq., 17, Highfield-road, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.

P. J. Griffith, Esq., 44, South Circular-road, Portobello, Dublin.

Valentine J. Kyle, Esq., Gortin, Co. Tyrone.

T. J. Mac Inerney, Esq., 8, Shamrock-villas, Drumcondra, Dublin.

Thomas E. Farrington, Esq., Baythorpe, Holywood, Co. Down.

R. A. Duke, Esq., D.L., New Park, Ballymote.

Rev. William O'N. Lindesay, Sealawn, Baldoyle, Co. Dublin.

William R. L. Lowe, Esq., Ramsgate, Gorey, Co. Wexford.

- Rev. D. Monahan, P.P., V.F., Tubber, Moate.
 Robert C. Laughlin, Esq., Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
 W. Grove White, Esq., 13, Upper Ormond-quay, Dublin.
 Rev. Danby Jeffares, The Vicarage, Lusk, Co. Dublin.
 George T. B. Vanston, Esq., Hildon Park, Terenure-road, Dublin.
 *Mrs. Vanston, Hildon Park, Terenure-road, Dublin.
 George O. Carolin, Esq., Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
 John Morton, Esq., 45, Wellington-road, Dublin.
 Thomas Mayne, Esq., 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 Thomas Plunkett, Esq., Enniskillen.
 Mrs. Gould, Newtown Park House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 Miss Powell, Bello Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 Miss Davys, Mount Davys, Lanesboro', Co. Longford.
 Miss Parkinson, Westbourne, Ennis.
 Edwin Fayle, Esq., Kylemore, Orwell-park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
 Matthew Dorey, Esq., 28, Sandymount-road, Dublin.
 Arthur Fitzmaurice, Esq., Johnstown House, Carlow.
 Samuel A. Quan-Smith, Esq., Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 *W. T. MacKenzie, Esq., Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 Mrs. Simpson, Castlerock, Co. Derry.
 *Miss Simpson, Castlerock, Co. Derry.
 Rev. Edward O'Leary, P.P., Portarlinton.
 *Rev. Father Kavanagh, P.P., V.G., Monasterevan.
 James Milling, Esq., Edenville, Bangor, Co. Down.
 *Mrs. J. Milling, Edenville, Bangor, Co. Down.
 *Edwin Lloyd, Esq., B.A., 97, Donore-terrace, S. C.-road, Dublin.
 *J. E. Vickery, Esq., Newgarden, Tuam.
 Rev. W. Dunn Macray, D.LITT. (Oxon.), Ducklington Rectory, Witney,
 Oxon.
 *Mrs. W. Edwd. Macray, Ducklington Rectory, Witney, Oxon.
 *Miss C. Reilly, French School, Bray.
 *Miss Williams, French School, Bray.
 *Miss H. Williams, French School, Bray.
 The Rev. J. Kelly, C.C., Milltown.
 *The Rev. F. Kernaghan, P.P.
 The Rev. Ed. A. Gillespie, Ballinrobe.
 The Very Rev. Dr. Fahey, P.P., V.G., St. Colman's, Gort.
 The Very Rev. A. Mac Mullen, P.P., V.G., Ballymena.

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OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1904.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV., VOL. XXXIV.

Papers.

ON THE McCRAGH TOMB IN LISMORE CATHEDRAL.

BY JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

[Read APRIL 19, 1904.]

THE Guide-books specially provided for last year's Munster Excursion of the Society afforded copious information about almost all the antiquities we visited; and when Dean Brougham received us at Lismore Cathedral, we were supplied by him and others with full accounts of everything there worthy of attention, with one exception. Our versatile and genial guide, Mr. Buckley, did, indeed, point out the McCragh tomb, and the remarkable sculpture upon it; and we hoped, and still hope, for a description of it from his pen, especially from an artistic point of view. Meanwhile I venture to offer some account of it, and of the family it belonged to.

So remarkable a monument could not have wholly escaped the notice of local historians. Accordingly, in Smith's "Waterford," published in 1746 (with the imprimatur of the Physico-Historical Society, perhaps our earliest precursor), a view of Lismore is given, including the Cathedral, of which it is stated that in it there were "no monuments of antiquity, except the sides and cover of an ancient tomb of one Magrath, buried here in the year 1557."

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Austin Cooper, the Antiquary, examined this old tomb about thirty-five years afterwards, and I have to thank Lord Walter Fitz Gerald for an extract from his MS. Journal of June, 1781, describing it. He gives the inscriptions nearly accurately, remarking that some parts of the principal one were defaced. He refers to a "worn-out inscription" on the cross; he notices the "heart stuck round with daggers," and "under it 'Gregori' and 'St. Gregory'" (but on the tomb this is not repeated). He enumerates eleven of the Apostles as represented on the two sides, but he omits St. Peter. He rightly gives both Judas and Matthias, but this Judas is not Iscariot, the Apostle into whose place Matthias was chosen by lot. He correctly names St. Karthag, St. Katherine, and St. Patricius, as well as our Saviour on the Cross, but places them on the sides instead of on the ends. It is evident that Austin Cooper saw all of the five slabs which form the tomb, but he does not say whether they were scattered or built up as at first.

Ryland, writing early in the following century, gives a little more information. He says ("Waterford," p. 337) this highly ornamented tomb "is now laid flat, but surrounded by the side stones," . . . "in the unfinished transept." He adds: "The date 1548 is legible, but the inscription which runs round the stone can be only very partially deciphered." He then gives only the names of the husband and wife recorded on it, adding the above date, which, however, is the second, and does not belong to them. He gives the surname of the man as **McGrath**, and falls into the extraordinary mistake of giving the wife's family name as **Thorne**, whereas it was Prendergast(!), and this was repeated in the Journal of the local Archæological Society in 1891, with the additional error of saying that St. Brigid appears upon the tomb: evidently a mistake for St. Carthag, who is figured with his name carved above on the east end of the tomb. The name Thorne originated, I have no doubt, from a misreading of the Christian name of the woman's father, Thomas, which appears in the genitive ("filia" being understood) as **thome**. Ryland notices "a character dressed in bishop's robes, offering up the host"; but neither the tiara nor the name inscribed suggested to him that the bishop was none other than Pope Gregory the Great.

Seventeen years later the tomb attracted the attention of a highly-skilled antiquary, Dr. John O'Donovan, who was engaged in the collection of memoranda for the Ordnance Survey of the County Waterford, now in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy. In a letter, dated June 29th, 1841 (quoted in "Memorials of the Dead in Ireland," vol. v., 1903, p. 475), he gives his reading of the principal inscription, which almost agrees with that to be supplied later on in this paper. He also gives a drawing of two Irish inscriptions, signed "R. Armstrong, 1841"; so he probably saw the drawing to be presently noticed as being also by the same hand. Nevertheless, he failed, like Austin Cooper

and Ryland, to recognize St. Gregory and his mass, and says the figure "is evidently intended to represent St. Carthagh offering up the host."

I have had the advantage of seeing a recent reading, with translation, of the five inscriptions, and a brief description by Mr. Spencer Harty.

In Farrow's "Minor Cathedrals of Ireland," an account of the Cathedral and its vicissitudes will be found, with illustrations; and Harris's "Ware" has an engraving. Dean Brougham contributed historical notices of it to the "Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette." But I can only glance at these and pass on to describe the tomb.

The tomb is of the shape known as an "altar," or "box" tomb, consisting of two sides, and two ends which support a covering slab or "mensa." It is in the north side of the nave, near the western wall, where are the ancient stones bearing inscriptions in Irish which have been fully described in the *Journal* and elsewhere.

It would probably be difficult to obtain satisfactory photographs of it (though steps have been taken to procure such), and rubbings, such as Dean Brougham kindly sent me, could not show the figures or ornamentation properly.

The accompanying illustrations have, therefore, been reproduced from a photograph reduced from a very elaborate drawing, now in Lismore Castle, kindly lent by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., formerly President of the Society. (See pp. 302, 303, 310, and 311.)

A magnifying glass brings to light in the two bottom corners of the drawing the words: "Length, 8·0; breadth, 3·8; height, 8·0" (being the dimensions of the monument), and "scale one foot to an inch"; and under the large lettering at foot the words: "Drawn from the original, and the dilapidations restored, by R. Armstrong, Clerk of the Cathedral, November, 1846."

This drawing, though skilfully executed and giving a good general idea of the tomb, cannot be implicitly relied on, at least as regards the details of the inscriptions, such as abbreviations, &c.

The two sides of the tomb (shown in figs. 1 and 2, pp. 302 and 303) have a series of carved figures representing the Twelve Apostles—Matthias being substituted, as usual, for Judas Iscariot. They bear a series of characteristic emblems by no means identical with those usually assigned, and over the head of each is carved his name (in Latin), so that there is not the usual difficulty of identification.

The figures of the Apostles represent their heads as uncovered, with flowing hair and large moustaches. They are in long robes with large sleeves. Each carries one or two distinctive emblems, such as are usually attributed to him in mediæval art. St. Peter holds the keys, St. Andrew his saltire, or transverse cross, St. John a chalice. Each of the other nine holds in his right hand some weapon or emblem, and in his left a square object with a handle from its lower side. This, I suppose,

is intended for a book, and it resembles the framed and handled horn-books in use in the sixteenth century.

The order in which the Twelve Apostles are ranged deserves attention. The three lists of this "glorious company" given in the New Testament, while agreeing in placing St. Peter first, and Judas Iscariot last, and in being composed of three groups of the same four Apostles, differ in several particulars. The chief representations of the series in European art follow no one of the Scripture lists. In Rome, the great church of St. John Lateran has twelve statues of heroic size ranged along its nave—St. Paul being placed second, and both Judas and Matthias omitted—and, similarly, in Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen's grand series of statues of the Apostles represents Protestant art. Nearer home, several smaller sets of statues may be found; but in Ireland few remain from mediæval times. One set at Cashel has lately been described by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, who has identified the Apostles and their emblems. In early Irish art the so-called Ardagh Chalice shows the names with a notable variation, namely, inserting St. Paul next after St. Peter, *vice* Judas displaced, or rather omitted. In Kilcooley Abbey, County Tipperary, there is a series of thirteen niches, now unfilled: that at the end being smaller than the others. Perhaps St. Paul was added, but possibly Judas was retained in a minor place. The general arrangement followed the early liturgies, and this seems to be the rule which determined the order in which the figures on the two sides of this Lismore monument are placed, commencing with Peter and Andrew, back to back; the names being carved over their heads.

Above these figures of the twelve Apostles, between them and the top slab, on a cornice, are some curious grotesque bosses showing the pelican(?), the *ixθys*, with sundry griffins and deaths-heads, &c.

Of the two ends (shown on p. 310), one is especially noteworthy as supplying local colour, without which the tomb might be supposed to be of English workmanship. The western represents the Crucifixion, with unnamed figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin standing on each side of the cross, above which are the sun, moon (darkened), and two stars. The eastern end shows three figures in niches under a triple canopy. The central is occupied by St. Katherine, who, even if not labelled, might be recognised by her wheel, and should not be mistaken for St. Bridget. The prominence assigned to her is probably to be accounted for by the Christian name of the lady of the tomb, as was not unusual. The figures on each side of her, both duly named, are St. Carthagh, the founder of the see, as to whose history and wanderings much has been written, and St. Patrick. Both are habited as bishops, and provided with—what they never had—very tall mitres; St. Patrick's having a prominent cross on it. Both have moustaches and short beards, and both are in the attitude of blessing. St. Patrick holds in his left hand a tall, triple cross, and St. Carthagh a crozier, with a floreated crook, curved into what may be a

shamrock; but cross and crozier are both very unlike the Irish form. The figures are valuable as illustrating the idea a sixteenth-century artist in Ireland had of early Irish bishops; and probably few earlier examples are now to be found.

At one of the eight corners of the supporting-stones other small figures appear, and in one case a floreated vase. In three of these there appear three figures, one over the other; or, as a herald would say, "in pale." In two more are two similar figures. These have no names supplied, and cannot be identified.

We have now to consider the carvings on the covering slab (see fig. 5, p. 311). At the four corners are the emblems of the four Evangelists, and between them round the edge of the slab runs the main inscription facing outwards, in four lines as numbered below. Commencing at the upper end, it runs as follows, except that there is no space between the words:—

(1) Hoc opus fieri feceru [*sic*]

(2) Jobes mcragh ꝛ uxor sua

Katherina thome pndyrgast fibi et

(3) posteris sui[s q]ui in ipso

(4) sepeliendi fut ano. doi. 1557.

In eo ecia septi' est donald mcragh, ano. do. 1548.

The first and fourth are those on the ends of the slab.

There are several abbreviations, and **p** = Pre of Prendyrgast; but only one mark of abbreviation appears. In one instance letters are "ligatured," *i.e.* in **do**. There are few dots between the words, none over the letters **i**, and stops for punctuation are not used. The capital letters are few, and capriciously used, not being assigned to the surnames nor to the name of God, and only to two of the four Christian names. The letter **s** is generally in the long form (like **f**), except when ending words; **r** appears once (in 'uxor') in a form differing from that generally used. 'Et' appears in full as well as abbreviated. The dates are not in Roman but in Arabic numerals.

The main inscription presents no difficulty to a translator, except in the last line, and there only because of doubt as to the reading: owing apparently to a defect in the stone, causing a gap. A crack across the south-east corner of the slab breaks the main inscription in two places. It records that John M^cCragh and his wife Katherine, daughter [= filia; understood] of Thomas Prendyrgast, caused this work (the tomb) to be made for themselves and their posterity, who are to be buried in it,

A.D. 1557. Then follows immediately the statement that Donald McCragh was buried A.D. 1548—that is, nine years previously—"In co ecia," according to the drawing, meaning, I believe, 'also in it.'

These words baffled Austin Cooper, who left a blank for them (as also in line 4 for 'suis,' where he gives an unintelligible 'miti,' instead of 'qui in'). He does not supply any translation.

Dr. O'Donovan, who read all of line 4, leaves a blank, or rather two stars, between this 'In' and 'etia,' placing a mark of contraction over the last letter, from which I conclude it stands for 'etiam.'

Mr. Harty reads, "In hac Ecclesia": (translating 'In this church'), perhaps to avoid the chronological difficulty above referred to.

Mr. Buckley makes it out to be "In coecis" = 'in the vaults' (of this church).

In such a multitude of opinions, I prefer the simple reading above given, and see no greater difficulty than in supposing that John and Catherine and their posterity were buried in the box-tomb as prescribed. The direction, I think, indicated only the 'whereabouts' of interment.

The middle of the slab is occupied by an elaborate and beautiful cross of eight points, terminating in fleur-de-lis. The stems of these are ingeniously interlaced in a circular band, on which is inscribed in the eight spaces intervening:—

pater aue credo quor aiab' ppic deus amen,

being the usual invitation to pray for souls, which sometimes applied to those of persons erecting their monuments while yet alive, as in the case of the well-known Portlester tomb in St. Audoen's, Dublin.

Where these bands, forming the cross, meet in the centre, they are plaited in a way which presents the appearance of a Swastika. On them are the letters I. C. (for Jesus Christus), and R. T. (perhaps an error for R. J. = Rex Judæorum, but possibly the initials of the stonecutter). Under the head of the cross and along the sides, back to back with the inscription proper, runs a ribbon with the words:—

de profundis clamavi ad te dne dne exaudi voce
meam et ant aures,

the well-known opening sentence of Psalm 130 (Vulgate version), except the last three words, which probably represent the "Fiant aures tuæ intendentes in vocem deprecationis meæ" of verse 2. Cooper read them as "fiant aures." At the intersection of this ribbon with the stem of the cross is placed a large heraldic rose.

The cross springs from a triangular base ornamented with foliage. Along the lower portion of the stem run the words:—

crux vincit omnia mala,

an appropriate motto, but not from Scripture. It is better than a stone-cutter's name as a trade advertisement, sometimes found in this position.

The spaces on each side of the stem, between it and the inscription round the border, are filled by two devices within shield-shaped borders, occupying about one-third of these spaces, next under the head of the cross, and under these the two notable figures to be presently described.

The shield to the right exhibits a plain cross under the "pieces of silver" with a set of the usual instruments of the Passion, omitting the cock crowing, which has a corner to itself below.

The other shield shows a heart—that of the Blessed Virgin Mary—pierced by seven swords or daggers, the guards of which form a circle, broken above and below by the letters M and A under crowns. These are probably for the two initial letters of MARIA, or possibly are indicative of the 'AVE MARIA' which follows. On an encircling ribbon are the words of the Angel Gabriel's salutation (from St. Luke's Gospel, i. 28), 'Hail, thou,' &c.:—

ave maria gracia plena domini tecum.

Near the corner, at the base of the principal cross, is a two-handled, three-legged pot or skillet, on which is perched a bird, which probably represents the cock whose crowing reminded Peter of his triple denial. This is often associated with the instruments, but here it is opposite the figure of Pope Gregory the Great, to be next mentioned: possibly intended as a reminder that the chief of the Apostles was not infallible.

The lower half of the covering slab presents the most notable features of the sculptures, and curiously has hitherto been unnoticed, or at least misdescribed. To the right is a representation which seems to be identified with the Resurrection by the words **ecce homo** on a band behind the head of our Lord, and by the letters INRI on a structure from which His body is rising, presumably from the tomb, which is curiously ornamented. He is shown similarly, with hands crossed and bound, in Ennis Abbey, circa A.D. 1460. (See *Journal*, vol. xxv., pp. 153, 154.)

Facing this, standing, or rather kneeling, sideways before an altar is the figure of Pope Gregory the Great; and the carving represents a subject which had not long before engaged the brush of Raphael, and forms one of his chief compositions shown in the stanze, or chambers, of the Vatican. It is known as the Mass of St. Gregory, and has been sometimes compared with the famous miracle of Bolsena. In the accounts of St. Gregory, it is said that an angel appeared to him, whence one is often associated with him in art, as is also sometimes a bird. Moreover, it is said that our Blessed Lord appeared to him in his Mass; and, therefore, it

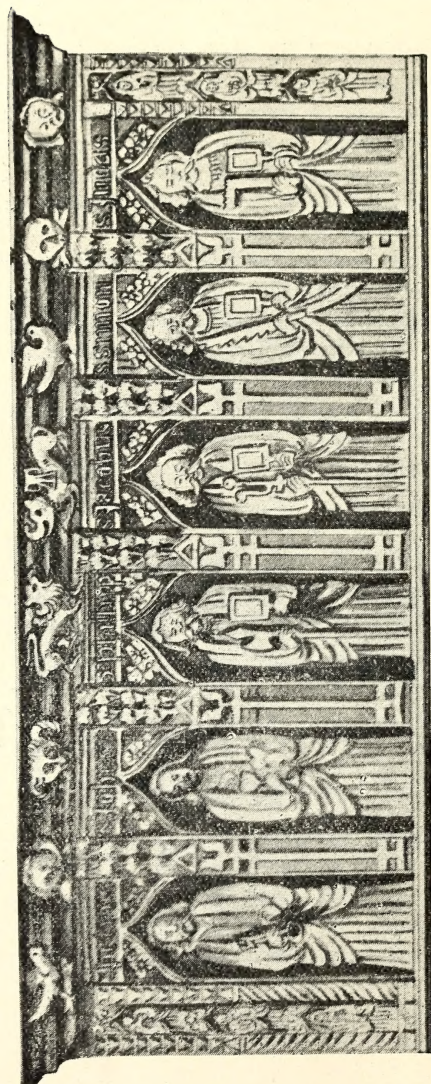


FIG. 1.—McCRATH TOMB, LISMORE CATHEDRAL—NORTH SIDE.

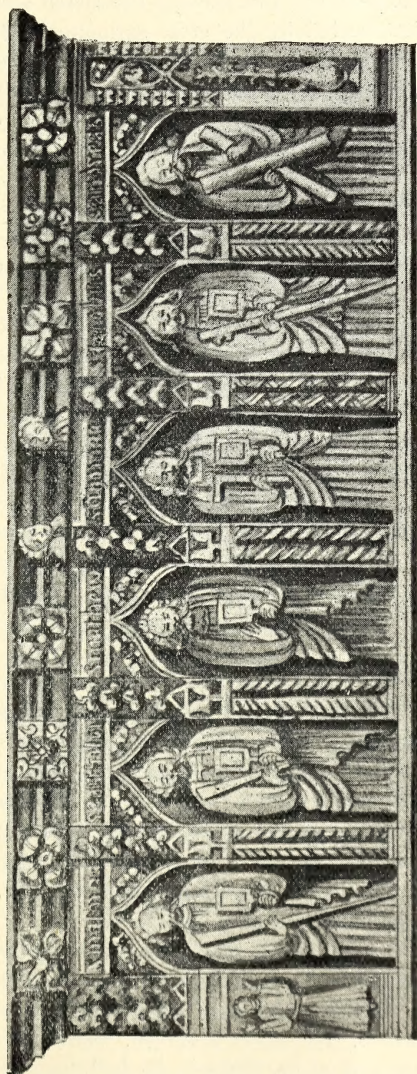


FIG. 2.—M^CCRAGH TOMB, LISMORE CATHEDRAL—SOUTH SIDE.

is probable that what has above been described as representing our Lord may owe to this tradition its position, exactly opposite St. Gregory and the host.

The small altar is decorated with two rows of quatrefoils along the top and bottom, and the middle, where not intercepted by the saint's figure, exhibits a fleur-de-lis and ermine. On the south side of the altar is a tall chalice, with the host bearing the sacred monogram.

A band above, intersected by the cross surmounting the papal tiara, bears the letters **S. Gregori**. So there is no room for doubt; and it is strange that so skilled an observer as Dr. O'Donovan, while dissatisfied with Ryland's notice of the inscription, should have followed him in describing the figure as "intended to represent St. Carthagh offering up the host."

Though the representation of the Pope can best be realized from the illustration, a few explanatory words may be acceptable.

In the "*Guide de l'Art Chrétien*" (published by Didron, Paris, vol. v.) there is a chapter about St. Gregory as one of the Four Doctors of the Church, and a plate gives a reproduction of the earliest known pictures of him (as also of his father), and a description of his several attributes in art. Curiously, these include a square nimbus—the earliest example—but no tiara, and the pallium, so that there is divergence by our artist. The latter represents the pope as having a moustache and short beard; but what looks like long hair is probably a fillet from the tiara. The hands are raised, apparently in prayer. The dress seems to terminate in two flounces, fringed with floreated lace. Round the neck, and flowing down the back, but without the usual crosslets, is what may be intended for a pallium. But the most striking accessory is a towering triple tiara, such as St. Gregory is not likely to have worn, if any such there was in the sixth century.

A later representation of Pope Gregory the Great, from a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon MS. in the British Museum, has been recently reproduced in Messrs. Garnett and Gosse's "*English Literature*," published by Heinemann. It purports to show St. Gregory sending out his missionaries for the conversion of England. He is there represented full-face, under an elaborate canopy, seated on an altar (?), wearing a low cap (very unlike our tiara), with a circular nimbus round his head, and a bird whispering into his right ear. A pallium surrounds his shoulders, and reaches to his feet, having eight crosslets.

It may be well to refer to St. Gregory's patronage of England, and recall the well-known remark attributed to him, "*Si non Angli Angeli.*" These may indicate that the erectors of the Lismore tomb were at least under English influence, like Miler Magrath, who boasts on his monument that, as a successor of St. Patrick, he had long served England's monarchs ("*Principibus placui*," &c.).

Altogether this figure of St. Gregory is of supreme interest, as

perhaps the earliest, if not the only, such representation now extant in Ireland, though distant from St. Gregory's time by nearly ten centuries, and from us by almost four.

It will be observed that this tomb was erected in the lifetime of the makers—in fact, was for some time a cenotaph. This was often the case in those days. For instance, the tablet commemorating Archbishop Miler Magrath, in the old Cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, was put up by himself in 1621, though he did not die until late in the following year. This may explain the concluding two verses of his tablet, which have puzzled many readers. They are translated in Harris's Ware's 'Bishops' as:—

“ Here where I'm placed I'm not, and thus the case is
I'm not in both, yet am in both the places.”

A full description of that monument, with a photograph, appeared in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* for 1903, and another by Lord W. Fitz-Gerald, also with a photograph, in the “Journal of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland” for 1902, pp. 252–5.

The Lismore tomb was erected for the founders and their posterity, a very usual arrangement in those days, now superseded by “family burial-place.” The formula “To —— and his posterity,” was long quite common, especially in the West of Ireland.

THE FAMILY COMMEMORATED.

It has been generally assumed that this tomb belonged to the family of Magrath; and, remembering that the notorious pluralist, whose name is commonly written as Miler Magrath, was long occupier of Lismore Castle, and during two distinct periods held the bishopric of Lismore, this was not to be wondered at.

Smith, in his “History of Waterford,” prints the bishop's name and the name on this tomb alike as Magrath.

Ryland, in his “Waterford,” prints the names commencing the inscription on the tomb in black-letter, with three capitals and the enclitic “c” of Mac as—

Jobes M^cGrath.

Cooper, in his copy of the inscription, writes it with a capital ‘M,’ followed by a small ‘c,’ as Meragh; and Dr. O'Donovan invents another variation ‘Macragh,’ inserting ‘a’ between those letters, thus completing the ‘Mac,’ but so divorcing the ‘c’ from the rest of the name, perhaps correctly influenced by his knowledge of Irish. Mr. Harty, Mr. Flood, and the local *Archæological Journal* read the name as the modern M^cGrath.

But, as a matter of fact, the name in both places where it is carved on the tomb appears (without any capital) as—

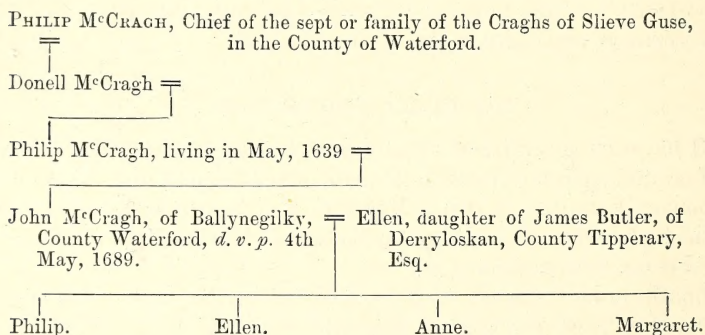
mcragb.

Anyone having to insert this name in an index would be puzzled to determine what place to assign it under the letter M.

Mr. Buckley tells me that there is in the ruined chancel of the (Abbey-side) Church of Dungarvan a tomb-slab bearing the name "Donald Macrat, qui obiit anno Domini mcccc," and Ryland mentions it, giving the date in figures 1400. This shows another way of spelling what was probably the same name, for Donagh Magrath, a great benefactor to the Austin Friars of Dungarvan, died on the 9th March, 1400.

I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, and late Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Mr. G. D. Burtchaell, Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood, and the Rev. W. D. Macray, F.S.A., for memoranda relating to the family which I have embodied in what follows:—

The only connected scrap of Pedigree of Mc'Cragh in Ulster's Office is the following:—



The Magraths were an old and influential family in the County Waterford, whose name is often written Crath, Craith, and Mc'Craith. Sledy Castle (Curragh na Sletty) was one of their strongholds, even as late as the eighteenth century.

The John of the tomb was constable of Mocollop Castle. He married Katherine, daughter of Thomas Prendergast, who in the presentments of the Grand Jury on 18th of October, 1537, was described as being "of the New Castell." One of the sons of this Thomas Prendergast was a priest before the Reformation, and "conformed" afterwards for a time, but is said to have "verted" back again before his death. The Prendergasts came originally from Wales, and were seated at Ennis-

corthy and elsewhere in the south-west of Ireland. Newcastle, County Waterford, was captured by Sir Henry Sydney in 1569.

Shane (our John) M^cGrath's sons figured conspicuously as followers of the Earl of Desmond from 1550 to 1569. On the 18th of November, 1569, the Earl of Desmond wrote from the Tower of London regarding the manor and castle of Mocollop to a grandson of the John of the tomb, son of his son John.

Another son of the former John was Rory, who fought at the desperate battle of Affane, County Waterford, in February, 1564-5, and who is described in the State Papers as "Rory mac Sheane MacCreagh, capten." In 1569 he was constable of Kilmanahan Castle, County Waterford.

In 1572 Donagh Mac Cragh was Archdeacon of Lismore. He was a layman, and was deprived on November 2nd, 1588. In 1580 Donagh Magrath (the same person ?) was prebendary of Mondeligo, as recorded in Cotton's "Fasti."

In the time of Queen Elizabeth there was a branch of the M^cCragh family, "of Mountain Castle, County Waterford," and several of them are mentioned in the "Fiants."

The marriages of two daughters of Daniel or Donall M^cCragh, of Mountain Castle, are recorded in the Funeral Entries in Ulster's Office, viz. Ellen m. John Power of Rathcormack, County Waterford; and Joan m. Charles O'Carroll, of Beahanagh, King's County.

The southern M^cCraghs, of the County Waterford, appear to have been quite a distinct sept from the northern Magraths, although the name of the latter was frequently spelled the same way. Mr. Burtchaell is inclined to think that Meiler Magrath took to this spelling of his name after he became Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in order to distinguish his family from the Waterford sept. Camden calls him "Meilery Creagh." He was called "Meilmorre M^cCraghe" and "Moylmoorre M^cCragh" by Tyrone in 1599, when writing to Con O'Neill (ms. Lambeth 632, quoted in Cotton's "Fasti," vol. i., p. 11). Dr. Brady found in the Barberini records at Rome his provision by the Pope to the See of Down (and Connor), 12th October, 1565, where his name appears as "Magre" and "Macra." In his funeral entry and will the name is as on his monumental tablet—Magrath.

We have tolerably full information about Archbishop Miler Magrath; and he was such a notable character, and so connected with Lismore, that I have thought it well to add a note recording the chief incidents in his long and eventful career. His family is sometimes mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters"; for instance, under the years 1440, 1469, 1471, and 1492. They were one of the four clans in Fermanagh not given in O'Dugan. They held some possessions named after them, Termon-Magrath, where they had a castle in the parish of Temple-carn, within sight of Lough Erne, but situate in a portion of the

County Donegal, which obtrudes itself within two portions of the County Fermanagh. In papers by the Earl of Belmore, in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1903, a photograph of the castle is reproduced as well as of the archbishop's portrait in the Clogher Collection, and of his monument at Cashel. Termon-Magrath included Lough Derg, otherwise known as St. Patrick's Purgatory, about which much has been written, and of which Lord Belmore's paper quotes a most curious and amusing account from the pen of one Francesco Chiericati, a Papal Nuncio, who visited Ireland in the time of Henry VIII., translated in the "Life of Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua," by Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Adey), 1903.

Miler Magrath's portrait (half length) is the first of a series of ten uniform in size (about 20 by 18 inches) belonging to the See of Clogher, which, on the revival of that see as a separate bishopric in the Church of Ireland, were in 1888 returned from the Palace at Armagh. It shows the bishop with moustache and squared beard. His arms are depicted above, and are, in a different form, twice represented on his tomb along with his archiepiscopal cross and episcopal crozier. They are given in the Funeral Entries, and as "of Lambeth" (why?), in Burke's Armory.

The Southern MacGraths are frequently mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters." In 1343 died Roderick Magrath or Mac Crath, Chief Poet. Under 1365 they are mentioned as Bards and Historians of Thomond; and one Rory of this family wrote a history of the "Wars of Thomond" in 1450, the original of which on vellum was in the collection of Sir William Betham, Ulster. See also under 1410, and 1415, and 1461. This family is said to have descended from one of the four brothers of Brian Boru, who left issue.

In 1401 a clan of the name was located in Tipperary, and a writer of that name is mentioned in O'Reilly's "Irish Writers." So lately as 1573 is recorded the obit of one of the family—styled "Chief professor of the Dalcassians in poetry, a man eminently learned in arts and skilled in husbandry." (See a memoir in the "Dict. Nat. Biog.," under the name 'Magrath,' by Dr. Norman Moore.)

In Sir A. Vicars' "Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland" to 1810, there is only one entry each under M^cCragh, M^cCraight, and M^cCrath, two under M^cCrea, and four under M^cCraith. These are all in the eighteenth century, and only that under M^cCraight is from north of Dublin. There is one of James Macrea, late Governor of Fort St. George in the East Indies, 1744. Under M^cGrah is one Dublin testator of 1760; M^cGrath has four. Magrath figures for twenty-four, from Milerius, Archbishop of Cashel, 1624, the first of that see proved. Most of the name were southerners, the only two from northwards being of County Roscommon. Only four, beside the Archbishop, date from the seventeenth century.

MILER MAGRATH.

As this notorious ecclesiastic was so connected with Lismore, and his name so associated with the monument above described, it seems desirable to append in chronological sequence a summary of the chief events in his remarkable career, especially as they have not been fully shown elsewhere. They have been chiefly taken from the Records, Cotton's "Fasti," Lord Belmore's papers in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, 1903, above referred to, Dr. Brady's "Episcopal Succession" (Rome, 1876). The Biography in the "Dict. Nat. Biog.," by Mr. Richard Bagwell, and authorities there cited, should also be referred to.

- [1521, about].—Born, son of Donagh, otherwise Gillagmana Magrath, of Termon-Magrath in Fermanagh (or a portion of Donegal there adjoining).
- [?].—"At first a Franciscan Friar."
- 1565, October 12.—Bishop of Down and Connor by Papal provision. [Brady] consecrated for it at Rome, "at the private charge of the Pope," and by the Pope in person.
- 1567, May 31.—"Conformed" at Drogheda; and made his submission to Queen Elizabeth before the Lord Deputy Sydney. (See Shirley's "Original Letters.")
- 1568? [but later].—In a report on Irish Bishoprics, printed by Cardinal Moran in his "Archbishops of Dublin," and reprinted by Dr. Brady ("Ep. Suc." iii. 337), the "Prince of Clogher" requested the Pope to remove two bishops whom he had provided to Clogher, and to substitute in their place, Miler Bishop of Down and Connor.
- 1570, September 10 (or 18).—Bishop of Clogher, appointed by Queen Elizabeth, who had also appointed to Down and Connor John Merriman, who was consecrated 19th January, 1569. So Magrath probably ceased to hold it. But he may have continued to hold Clogher after being advanced a few months later by Elizabeth. He seems to have been for several years Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, and also a Protestant bishop at the same time!
- 1571, February 3.—Archbishop of Cashel (with Emly), and held it till his death.
- 1580, March 14.—Deprived by the Pope of Down and Connor for heresy, &c. (Brady, "Episcopal Succession," i. 265.)
- 1582, November 11.—Bishoprics of Lismore and Waterford added in commendam and held with Cashel (except during three years of the Episcopate of Bishop Wetherhead, 1589 to 1592).
- 1608, Feb. 22.—Resigned these on obtaining instead, Jany. 10 previously, the Bishopric of Killala with Achonry, both in commendam, and held till death.

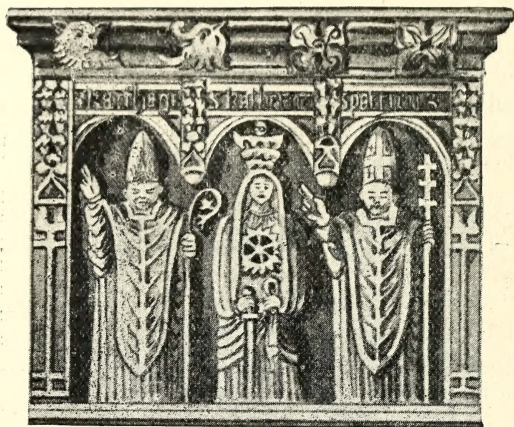


FIG. 3.—M^CCRAGH TOMB, LISMORE CATHEDRAL—EAST END.

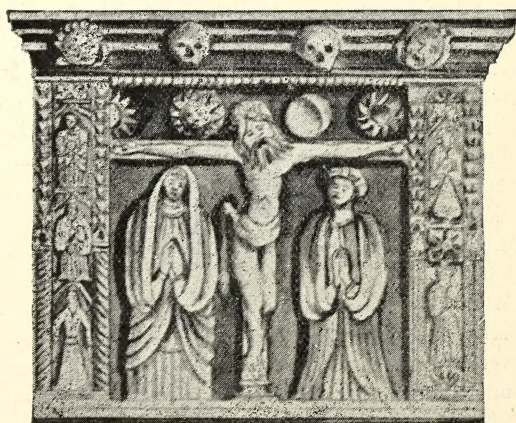


FIG. 4.—M^CCRAGH TOMB, LISMORE CATHEDRAL—WEST END.

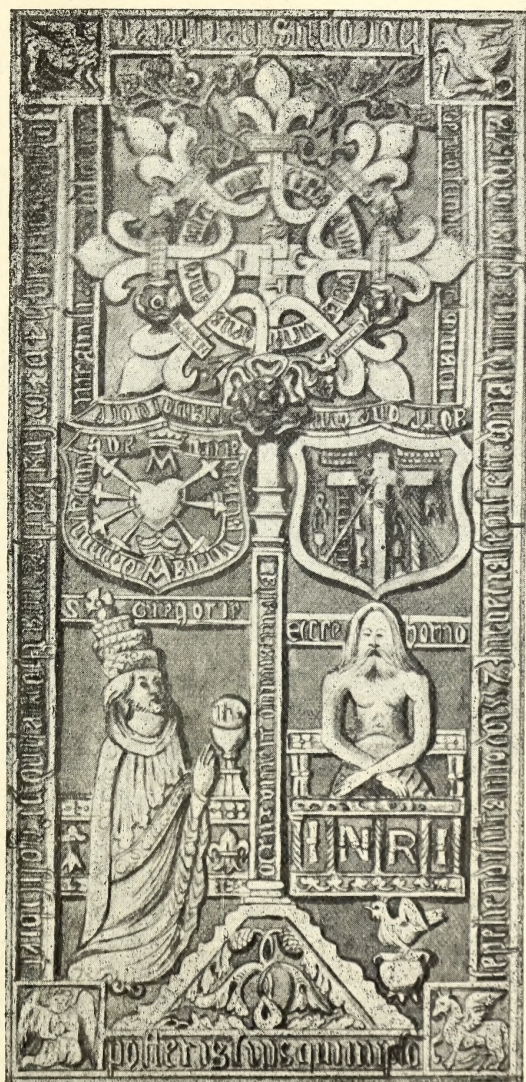


FIG. 5.—M'CRAUGH TOMB, LISMORE CATHEDRAL.
(The Covering-slab, or Mensa.)

[1610.—A Coadjutor-Bishop appointed to Cashel.]

1621.—Magrath erects his own monument at Cashel.

1622, November 8.—Makes his (nuncupative) Will (proved 1624); which is printed in Lord Belmore's Paper, above cited.

„ November 14 [or December].—Dies, aged about 100.

Archbishop Magrath must have been a great traveller for the age he lived in. In early life he was much in Rome. He visited England in 1570, 1582, 1591, and 1600. He lived much away from Cashel in various parts of Ireland, such as his county, Fermanagh, where he was a landed proprietor.

A difference of opinion exists as to whether the effigy of an Archbishop under the inscribed tablet erected by Miler while bedridden the year before his death, was really his own or an appropriated predecessor. Walter Harris and Grose seem to have been of the opinion that it was designed for him during his lifetime. On the other hand, Lord Walter Fitz Gerald considers the effigy much earlier than Magrath's time ("Memorials," 1902), and that opinion is shared by good judges. The arms under the effigy, and at its head, are, however, unquestionably those of Miler, in one case divided saltire-wise by the cross and crozier—a curious arrangement. These arms are given in the Funeral Entries.

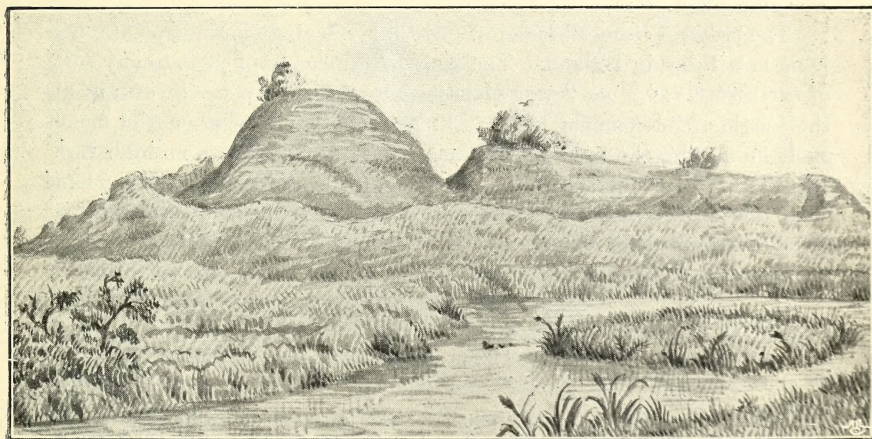
[For details about the Archbishop's family and descendants, refer to Lord Belmore's Papers, cited above.]

ON IRISH MOTES AND EARLY NORMAN CASTLES.

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read OCTOBER 25, 1904.]

As we pass through the plains of central Leinster, or parts of Ulster, and the eastern counties of Munster, our attention is sometimes arrested by a lofty flat-topped mound. Sometimes it is bare, save for the rich greensward, sometimes covered with brambles and those ragged bushes—which, as folk-lore asserts, “grow out of the dust of the dead, blowing about”—or “bosomed high in tufted trees.” We look at it and pass by, few even caring to ask the name of the “old fort.” We



MOTE OF DERVER, COUNTY MEATH.

might, indeed, ask in vain for more information, for among the many neglected branches of Irish archæology none is more neglected than the study of the motes. We might ask whether the mound was carved out of a hummock or escarp, or was heaped from the plain by the labour of countless slaves. Was it a tomb or a fortress? Did it stand, like its congeners in eastern Europe, “before the Olympiads, in the dew of the early dawn and dusk of time”? Was it made for a prehistoric hero, as legends asserted of Downpatrick mote—for Turgesius and his Norsemen, as Giraldus wrote—or only for a Norman subject of the Plantagenets? Let us try whether by groping into the past we may find an answer to any of these questions.

"NOTES"—The name "mote," or "moate," is often used for low earthen forts, and even for sepulchral mounds. In this, as in my two former Papers dealing with the subject,¹ I use it exclusively for the conical mound, circular, 25 to 60 feet high, with a flat or rounded summit, 40 to over 100 feet across, and girt with one or more rings and fosses. This I call a "simple mote"; when in addition there is a lower side platform, "annexe," "bailey," or "faitche,"² I call it a complex mote. A satisfactory nomenclature has yet to be evolved.

If we trace back the Irish "mota," we find it to be a loan-word from the Norman, in whose tongue "motte," or "butte," meant earth or dust.³ The motes that could get into the eye became, when heaped up, the motes (whatever their origin and date) on which the Normans raised their "bretasches," or wooden castles. The name is not derived from the moats, or fosses, or from the "mot," or counsel, of the place of assembly, but simply meant earth, or earthwork, without any connotation of height, shape, or object; it could even mean the low "mound by which water was embanked."⁴

The usage of "mote" for a low fort,⁵ as Mr. Hubert T. Knox points out, is no new thing in Ireland. The Anglo-Normans applied it to any sort of earthwork. "Mota" was sometimes used for a low earthwork, as at the Castle of Roscommon in 1279.⁶ Ath cliath chorrain got the name Baile an mhuta, the town of the mote, after 1300, though no high fort was there. The old translation of the Annals of Ulster "C" renders "the door of the rath" by "the mote doore." Moate, one of the possessions of Ballintubber Abbey, is called "le mothe" in Tudor Inquisitions, but no high mote remains there. Indeed, Mr. Knox (whose intimate

¹ This Paper presupposes the sections on motes in "Ancient Forts of Ireland, being a contribution towards our knowledge of their types, affinities, and structural features" (p. 6, and sections 128-148, pp. 129-137). See also "Further Notes" on the same, "especially as to the age of motes in Ireland" (*Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxiv. (c.), p. 267).

² O'Donovan adopts the word "faitche"—used in the *Senchas Mór* and various Annals for the green of a fort—to describe a bailey or annexe of a mote, but I think on no evidence, as the faitche is certainly (and is frequently named as) the appendage of a ring-fort. I, therefore, still use the non-committal term "annexe" as preferable to "faitche" and "bailey."

³ Cotgrave's "French Dictionary" gives "motte" as "a clod, lump, round sod, of turf or earth, a little hill, the hill as a fit seat for a fort, the fort itself." In Dutch, "mot" means "turf or dust"; in Italian, "mire," and is either a heap or a hollow, as we use "ditch" and "dyke" with opposite meanings. We find in Migne's "Lexicon" (1858) "Mota, eminentia . . . seu tumulus, cui inædificatum castellum—motte féodale, éminence naturelle ou artificielle dont le sommet porte un chateau, un tour, un donjon." Similarly "cruaich," in the description of the taking of Bunfinne Castle, means "tumuli terreni" (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xviii., p. 80).

⁴ Migne also gives for "mota" "agger quo continentur aquae," i.e. the outer ring of the fosse.

⁵ T. Crofton Croker ("Fairy Legends," ed. 1862, p. 15) considers the word "moat" as unsuitably applied to Knockgraffan. We find the word in Meath applied to true motes, low forts, sepulchral tumuli (like Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth), and little barrows.

⁶ "Pipe Rolls of Ireland," An. viii. Ed. I. I owe my notes from this valuable source to the kindness of Mr. M. M'Enery, of the Irish Record Office.

knowledge both of ground and records gives his statements great weight) goes so far as to say that where you find "mote" in a place-name in Mayo or the adjoining counties no high mote is ever found. We may give a few proofs of later usage of the term for a low fort. Stanihurst, in his *Chronicle*,¹ mentions in 1577 that "the maior (of Dublin) bestoweth a costlie dinner within a mote, or a rundell" (evidently a rath) at Cullenswood. In the deed of perambulation of the bounds of Limerick City, 31st August, 1609, we find as landmarks "the small hillock, mound, or mote made by the causeway," "the round, or moate," and "Walshestown, where there is a moat," all being low raths. In certain maps of the Down Survey, 1655-7, we see little sketches of raths, called moats, while the true mote of Kilfinnane is called an "Irish downe."² Similarly we find a fort near Lisburn, which gives the place its name, is thus described in a pamphlet of 1691,³ "Lisnegarva, Gamesters' Mount, a mount, moated about, and another to the west." In modern townland names few are the coincidences of the name "mote" with the actual high fort. The "mots" of Slane and Trim, of which so much has been asserted, and so little established, were easily made, destroyed, and the latter rebuilt. The mote at Roscrea was apparently completed before a messenger could go thirty miles, and return with permission to build it.

The word occurs as a place-name in thirty-three townlands—eighteen in Leinster, nine in Connaught, five in Munster, and one in Ulster—very different proportions from the occurrence of the forts. This shows that the usage was based on language, not on the remains; and all these facts make it clear how little even the record of the making of a "mote" need necessarily prove the construction of a "mount."⁴

IRISH FORT NAMES.—The early Irish had a rich vocabulary of words for forts. We find, for example, in the "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," cathair, dangan, dun, dingna, liss, longport, port, and rath. This might lead us to suppose that in the eleventh century shades of meaning now irrecoverable were attached to these words; but other documents suggest the contrary. We find in the *Dindsenchas* that the ring-fort of Dun Ailenn is called a "brugh, cathair, forradh, grianan, mur, and righdun";⁵ the forts of Tara being called "cathair, cladh, dangan, dindgna, dun, liss, mur, and rath." The "Book of Fenagh" calls the great stone fort, within which the church was built,⁶ "dangan, royal dun, stone cashel, and cathair."

¹ Vol. i., p. 254.

² "Down Survey, Limerick" (A), No. 59, description, P. R. O. I.

³ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v., p. 159.

⁴ For example (in the Irish Pipe Roll, 27 Ed. I., No. 26), where large stones are quarried to make a wall round Newcastle M'Kynegan, "and a mote," in An. xxv.—xxvi., Ed. I., 1297-8.

⁵ (Ed. W. Hennessy), p. 113. See also Ordnance Survey Letters of Cavan and Leitrim, 14 B. 16, p. 185, R.I.A.

⁶ (Ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, 1894, p. 418.) For example, in the

The Latin writers were evidently equally uncertain in their translations; Dun is rendered "Munitio" by Adamnan; Munitio cetherni being Dun cethirn, or the Giant's Sconce. We find "Munimentum Celtarii" for Dun Celtair in the ancient Life of St. Brigid attributed to Cogitosus. Rath is rendered "murum" by Jocelin of Furness,¹ "fossa" in the Tripartite Life (where Fossa Rigbairt is Rath Righbhaird),² and Arx (Arx Libteni for Rath libhthen) in the Life of St. Aidus of Killare. Most of our modern scholars fail to establish individual meanings for the various Irish words for forts.

The local names show that no special word was set apart for high motes; the latter were called by various names. We find "Dun" used for the motes of Dun Celtchair, or Downpatrick, the Dun of Naas, Duns-
ginne, at Lismore, Dunohil, Dundermot, Dunaghy, Dunegore,³ and the "Down" of Kilfinnane. "Rath" appears at Rathceltchair, Crown Rath, near Newry, the Rath of Magh Adhair, Rahue, Rathmore, and Rathcreevagh; "Liss," at Lismore, Lisboy, and Listerlin. Mullach is used for a mote at Mullagasty, near Tipperary.

If there be any special word for a high mote, it may be "tulachán;" this was used for motes in Leinster, along with "knockán" (which is still in use),⁴ by Harris in 1745, but it often means a drift hill or escarp. The Dindsenchas uses "tulach" for both the residence and burial-mound of King Rarann's daughter, near Reerin;⁵ while Gilla Coemáin's "chronological poem" (eleventh century) says that Conn "of the hundred battles" died at the tulach of Tuathamar,⁶ which elsewhere is called a fort. The Annals of Ulster tell how Maelsechlain "abandoned the tulachán" near Kells to the King of Aileach; and we may, perhaps, find another term in the "tulchin," or top of the fort of Tara luachra, as named in the Mesca Ulad.⁷

"Dumae" is sometimes used for forts in the Dindsenchas; the Duma na ngiall, or "mound of the hostages," at Tara, was residential; but others were sepulchral mounds, or often outlooks. The Duma Eirc and several others are named in the poem on Acaill by Cinaed

"Metrical Dindsenchas" (ed. E. Gwynn, Todd Lecture Series, R.I.A., vol. viii., p. 7), Temair II.: "The abode was a keep (dun), was a fortress (dindgna), was a pride, a rampart (mur)"; and a few verses lower it is called a cathair, a rath, a "lofty and conspicuous spot whereon are dwellings and strong keeps" (dindgna). See also *Journal*, Series IV., vol. ii. (1872-3), pp. 155-175. The "dindgna" is a puzzle in these poems. It is "colour-bright," and "gold gleams upon" it—was it the house on the mound?

¹ "Vita S. Patricii," chapter clx.

² "Book of Armagh," f. 15, aa, ed. Dr. Reeves.

³ Rev. Dr. McCarthy identified Donegore with a Rathmore, where a battle was fought in 682. See Index to "Annals of Ulster."

⁴ Ware (ed. Harris), vol. ii., chap. xvii., sect. 2, "the mounts," called "knockan and tulachan." See also Dr. Joyce, "Irish Names of Places," vol. i., p. 376.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 418.

⁶ "Tripart. Vita" (ed. Stokes, Rolls Series), p. 535.

⁷ Ed. Hennessy, p. 47.

O'Hartigan, who also uses the word for the rings between the fosses of a fort.¹

The word Drum seems at times to imply a fort, as where Drum leathglaise is used for Dunleathglaise. Drum Derbh, or Derver, has a fine complex mote,² and two forts of the King of Cashel are called Drumcaoin in the "Book of Rights." Perhaps even the nine "ridges" (drum) of Nendrum were the ring-mounds still to be seen round its hill.³ For Maeve destroyed the "drom thulcaibh" along with the dangans, duns, and cahers, in the Tain raid.⁴

PREVIOUS STUDY OF THE MOTES.—The neglect of the mote is characteristic only of later Irish students; at first the opposite is true. Dr. Thomas Molyneux, in "A Discourse concerning the Danish Mounts and Towers in Ireland," in 1725, and, still more, Thomas Wright, in "Louthiana," 1748, devoted much space to the subject. For several generations no work of equal merit appeared on the low forts; and even yet the honest work of these pioneers holds a foremost place among our authorities on the motes; for, apart from theory, they did good field work. Molyneux, however, never consults the Irish Annals, but only such authorities as Olaus Wormius. He confuses cairns with burial-mounds like Newgrange, and motes like Downpatrick with raths like Emania, "the King of Ulster's fort, situated not far from the town of Ardماغh." He recognises the pre-Norman origin of the forts and round towers, but attributes both to Ostmen.

Walter Harris, on the contrary, being conversant with Irish records, did not fall into the mistake of laying down rules without exceptions, and (in 1745) inclines to attribute "a share, and only a share" of the forts to the Danes.⁵

Wright was unacquainted with the works of native historians: the great fort near Dundalk recalls no memories of Cuchullin and the galaxy of Red Branch heroes; it only suggests Spenser's remarks on Thingmotes. Despite his strange theories (deriving, for example, Balrichan from "the Hebrew rachan," finding a stone circle in Louth that commemorated the generations from Adam to Noah, and following Molyneux in describing the three cells in Newgrange as dedicated to Odin, Thor, and Freya, while stating that a cairn chamber was a cell for Christian priests to say Mass in), his actual field notes were not garbled or distorted to fit theories, as with some of his successors.

Less trustworthy was the school of antiquaries that made the statistical and parochial surveys under the shadow of Vallancey early in the last

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 289, 470; Todd Lecture Series, R.I.A., vol. viii., p. 47.

² For view of Derver mote, see "Ancient Forts," fig. 26. See also name in Ann. F. M. and MacGeoghegan's "Histoire d'Irlande," tome i., p. 11, chap. ii., p. 286.

³ "Calendar of Oenghus" (ed. Stokes, Royal Irish Academy), p. cvii.

⁴ Battle of Rosnaree.

⁵ Vol. ii. (ed. 1745), cxviii., section 2.

century. They could quote their "prophet's" theories about the cupped fibulæ being used to pour libations to the sun and moon, or talk learnedly about Pharamon, son of Boudh; Aonach, "a word derived from Shamannach," the goddess of fairs; or Mog and Sodorn, the wise deity of the tombs, "worshipped at the Mag Adhairs"; but they could not always describe accurately what lay before them, and so based bad theories on inaccurate sketches. They have in a few cases given descriptions of value, and several of these are of the motes.

As the nineteenth century advanced, the remains and records of life in ancient Ireland got better known, and the interest of students shifted from the motes to the ring-forts. This was hardly wonderful, for Tara, Emania, Rathcroghan, Aileach, Ailenn, and the forts of Brian's predecessors near Killaloe, together with the vast stone forts attributed to the doomed Clan-Huamora, were all ring-forts and not motes. At last the study almost died out, and for half a century even the all-embracing pages of our *Journal* contain little about the motes.

When, in dealing with the general subject of Irish forts, I had to include motes,¹ I attempted to state my views on these with all possible brevity and caution. Despite this, no other portion of my book received so much criticism. So little were Irish field archaeology and records known in connexion with the motes, that some critics wrote confidently that I had fallen into error, in considering that some Irish motes were prehistoric and others pre-Norman, through my ignorance of the writings of some recent English antiquaries. So far, however, from my statements being "outside perturbations,"² they may, I believe, be strongly established by our records, and the objects found in the motes; further, we find the distribution of motes, the contemporary Norman historians, and the earliest Irish records refuting the alleged sole Norman origin of the mounds. The object of my Paper is not merely to refute a theoretical opinion, advanced by those who have been too ready to theorise about Irish motes without any special study. I wish here, as always, rather to methodise our present knowledge, and clear the way for others to do better work in this neglected but interesting subject.

EARLY ORIGIN OF SOME MOTES.—In dealing with the question of the origin of motes, the first thing to be examined is whether the type be prehistoric. This is easily answered in the affirmative, for motes, both simple and complex, remain both in Austria and Prussia, some of which have yielded antiquities attributed to the eighth or even the twelfth century before Christ³—articles of the "Mycenæan" civilisation. The cases illustrated at Stonegg and Geiselberg, in Bosnia and Czerewics, and

¹ "Ancient Forts of Ireland," sections 128, 134, 138. *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi., p. 709. *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxiv. (c), p. 267.

² *Journal*, vol. xxxii., p. 429.

³ See Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. iii., citing Radimski. Borlase points out that the complex motes may be the "castra ac spatia" of Tacitus. In Germany the "bailey" is called the hagel or hook.

Zanka in Hungary, may suffice.¹ These, however, do not restrict the type to early times, for ring-walls of equal date² occur in those countries similar to the cathairs and raths which in Ireland continued to be made down to the eleventh and thirteenth century of our era, if not even later.

Though little has been done with the spade in the exploration of Irish motes (save blind diggings for imaginary treasures), enough has been found to prove the very early date of several. Let us confine ourselves to the complex motes as being unmistakably residential.

A bronze axe was found at the mote of Dromore.³ The mote of Greenmount, in County Louth, has been supposed to be the Feara Aird Cianachta or Feara Ard,⁴ where the sons of Cian defeated the Ultonians in (it is said) A.D. 226. The idea of battle clings to its local name, Drum'há, Drum catha, or "Battle ridge." Wright has figured this mote in "Louthiana,"⁵ when the outworks round the bailey were more perfect than at present. There was a chamber, which was discovered and broken into in 1830; this was reopened in October, 1870, by Major-General Lefroy. He found in it no traces of human burial, but animal bones, charcoal and burned earth. In the debris he found a bronze plate, an early bronze axe, and a strap or belt-mounting of bronze, inlaid with silver, on the back of which had been scraped in runic letters the words "Domnal Selshofoth a soerth theta"—Domnal Seal's-head owned this(?) sword. M. Vigfusson pronounced the lettering to be of the eleventh century. An apothecary's weight was also found, which had probably slipped in when the cell was opened in 1830.⁶

Mergerstown—or, as it is popularly called, Merginstown—lies to the south-east of Dunlavin in Wicklow. It has a round-topped mote, and an entrenched "bailey," with a slight battlement, a ring and fosse, and traces of a second ring. Round it were found cists with skeletons—some crouching, with their heads on their knees, some extended—with clay vessels beside them, containing traces of corn, and their feet in all cases pointing towards the mote.⁷ This was the more marked that there were two groups of cists, the bodies in one group lying north and south; in the other, east and west. Urns were found, and one, with its cist, was removed by Mr. Mahony to Grange Con, and carefully preserved. Near

¹ "Ancient Forts of Ireland," fig. 2.

² Among many others, note the Hradischt of Stradonic with Bronze Age finds, and the fort attributed to the Aedui (*Revue Critique*, 1903, p. 86).

³ Ordnance Survey Letters, Down, MSS. R.I.A., 14, c. 21, p. 81.

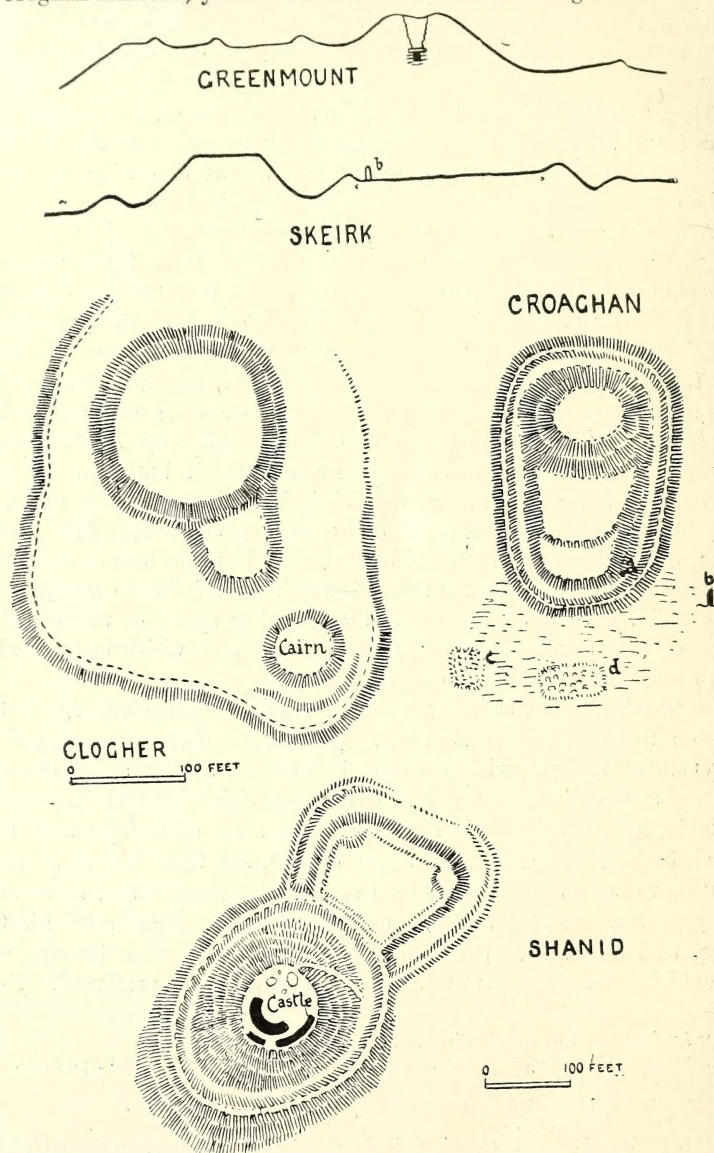
⁴ Cal. Oenghus, pp. 32, 54.

⁵ "Louthiana," plates x. and xi. It is also mentioned by Bishop Pococke in his Tour in 1752 (ed. Dr. George Stokes), p. 3, "a mount on the brow of a rising ground fortified with a fossee (*sic*), and there is a height in it at the north."

⁶ *Journal*, vol. i, Ser. iv. (1870-71), p. 471, by Major Lefroy.

⁷ This is also found in the case of burials near Austrian motes. At the tumulus near the cairn called Leacht an Irrus in the Mullet, Mayo, a sitting skeleton had its face towards the cairn (Ordnance Survey Letters, 14, E. 18, pp. 209, 213).

the mote was a cupped stone. Another mote, in the plain to the north of Croghan Kinsella, yielded two urns found in the ring of the bailey.



SECTIONS AND PLANS OF MOTES.

The reference letters are—*a.* Urn Burial.
c. Burials in Cists.

b. Urn Burials at Pillars.
d. Burials without Cists.

Two groups of burials were also discovered in the field near the fosse; the bodies in the western group were enclosed in cists.

Loggan mote at Wingfield in Wexford has an oval bailey 10 or 15 feet high, having the mote at the north end, and girt with a rampart and fosse. To the south is a small pillar, beside which an urn was dug up; it was, unfortunately, broken by some idle boys at the finder's funeral. Near the south-east part of the rampart three urns were found enclosed in cists, and about 300 yards to the west was found near a hollow mound a group of cists, with human bones, and not far away two urns with ashes, and smaller vessels inside.¹ All these finds were evidently of the Bronze Age.

Skeirk mote, not far from Ballybrophy station in Queen's County, also yielded urns and traces of burials, beside pillar-stones, not in the mound, but in the entrenched bailey. The monument, like all the above examples, was a complex and evidently residential mote,² with mount bailey, fosse, and ring.

Rathmore, despite its name, is a simple mote in Kildare. In September, 1901, it was deeply dug for gravel for the roads, and disclosed at different heights thin layers of animals' bones.³ They were supposed to be the remains of funeral feasts; but it is equally probable that the fort had been raised from time to time, and that they were the refuse of various successive residences.

SEPULCHRAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOUNDS.—The confusion of motes with sepulchral tumuli has been alleged to be a reproach to Irish Archæology. It would, however, be, at present, imprudent to the last degree to lay down imaginary rules. First, we have abundant evidence, both from the remains and from Irish literature, that burial in the residential fort was very common;⁴ therefore, the discovery of a burial in a mote or rath could not, in the slightest degree, prove that the earthwork was made for a tomb. The above examples of motes show how hard it is to lay down a rule. All, save the last, are shown by the bailey, fosses, and rings, to be residential. In the case of Magh Adhair mote, Clare, we meet the alleged sepulchre of a Firbolg chief, and an undoubted residential rath used as a place of inauguration by the local princes. More complete confusion between tomb, fort, and thingmote could hardly exist than in this mound.⁵ Dowth and Newgrange are certainly sepulchral (the tombs are open; the opening of the crypt of Knowth is also recorded);

¹ These notes on the Wicklow and Wexford motes are from a paper on "Feartas," read by Mr. G. H. Kinahan before the R.I.A. in Feb., 1901, and fuller field notes which he has since kindly sent to me. He gives several other instances of burial in "Pagan Moats or Knockans," and adds, "I believe that the majority at least of the motes or moats were pre-Anglo-Norman."

² Sir Charles Coote's "Statistical Survey of the Queen's County," p. 92. I give G. V. Du Noyer's section from the MSS. of the R.S.A.I.

³ *Journal*, Kildare Archæological Society, 1902.

⁴ "Ancient Forts," sections 144, 145. O'Laverty's "Diocese of Down and Connor," vol. iv., gives a long list of forts in which urns were found.

⁵ This confusion also appears in the Dindsenchas, Cairn Amalgaid being stated to have been made to be the centre of a meeting, a watch-mound, and a tomb, while Carn Mail in Louth was made to overlook a battlefield. Sections 96 and 135.

but externally they all resemble flat-topped raths or motes, and Newgrange is even girt with a fosse, but not with an earth-ring, only with a circle of stones.¹ The complex mote of Clones had no sign of fosses in 1840, but old people remembered the time when its ditches were filled up to enlarge the garden in its bailey.² The fortified motes on the Bayeux Tapestry, and those of Donaghpatrick, Greenmount, and Downpatrick, have rounded tops. Thus, the suggested means of distinguishing by the presence or absence of fosses, the rounded or flat top of the "mount," and the presence of burials, all prove useless as tests to distinguish the sepulchral mound from the true mote. In general, the sepulchral tumulus has no fosse, battlements, or bailey; no other or more confident assertion dare be made by anyone who has considered the subject carefully. It is only by cautiously guarding against dogmatic statements that advance can be made, for any "confusion" is better than pseudo-certainty, based on misunderstood or equivocal facts.

EARLY RECORD OF SOME MOTES.—Exponents of the Norman origin of Irish motes have been as strangely neglectful of the study of our native records as of the field archæology and topography; and they do not seem to have examined the records even of Norman writers, contemporaries of the first Norman invaders of Ireland. Some blame, perhaps, attaches to Irish antiquaries for so constantly resting early facts on the authority of our latest (if greatest) annalists—the Four Masters. It is natural that those who have not examined earlier records, and been satisfied as to the general fidelity of the transcription and adaptation by the monks of Donegal, should be doubtful and impatient when no authority but a work of the reign of Charles I. is given for early historic and pre-historic matters. Accordingly, I adopt what to some Irish students may seem a hypercritical and over-elaborate way of advancing the written evidence bearing on the motes. There can be no question that many authentic records exist of great forts at the site of great motes, and where, in some cases, no Norman castle was established. These we will take up for each of the three (four ancient) provinces in which motes occur, for none of the Connaught tumuli known to me are complex, or give any evidence of being residential.

ULSTER—DOWNPATRICK, DOWN.—The great fort of Dundaleathglais, Dunleathglas, Dunceltchair, or Ratheeltchair, the largest of our complex motes, has the fullest records of its early origin. Tighearnach,³ a most reliable writer, who died in 1088, and used early material, records the "expugnacio Duin Leathglaise" at a date fixed in other annals as between 493 and 497. We find abundant early records in various annals

¹ It is strange that both great tumuli and residential motes should abound in Meath and Louth. Some racial or "historical pre-historic" reason may underlie the fact.

² See Canon O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. iv., p. 26, and also "Ancient Forts," section 128, and fig. 26.

³ Ed. Whitley Stokes (*Rev. Celt.*, 1896, vol. xvii., p. 122).

at 525, 583, 733, when the fort was again stormed, 748, 1111, when "Dundaleathglas was burned, both the rath and a third of the town";¹ there can be little doubt that Rathceltchair is meant here. Cinead Hua Articain, who died in 973-4,² in his poem of "The Deaths of Heroes," sings how "Celtchair perished . . . to the east of Dunleathglaisi." The fort of Duin Leathglaisse is mentioned, in connexion with Sillan, who died 610, in an annotation in the Wurtzburg copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, a MS. of the late eighth or ninth century.³ The "Book of the Dun Cow," *ante* 1100, and the "Book of Leinster," *ante* 1160, give many particulars of the Red Branch hero, Celetar, or Celteair, of Rathceltchair,⁴ who is placed in pre-historic times about the opening of our era. Jocelin of Furness (1181-1186) describes the fort as having existed in the middle of the fifth century, near the Church of St. Patrick, at Down, "a neighbouring mote (monticulus) among the marshes of the sea."⁵ A Norman castle was made of earthworks, palisades, and a long rampart, a *weak* structure in a corner of the town, "in urbis angulo tenuiter erexerat," as Giraldus writes. It was built by De Courcey in 1177,⁶ and was evidently not the large and strong mote still remaining, "the greatest monument of barbaric times in Ireland."

DUNDERMOT, ANTRIM.—Borlase identifies Dundermot as Dunaghy. Duneachdach was very probably Dunaghy, and had an important fort, the residence of the King of Uladh, whence, in the depth of winter, 942, he was carried off by Muirheartach, "of the leather coats," King of Aileach, on his famous "Circuit of Ireland."⁷ The parishes of Dunaghy and Dundermot adjoin; but the fort called Dunaghy is insignificant compared with the neighbouring Dundermot, which latter is a fine complex mote, so is more likely to be the royal fort of the "Circuit."

GRANARD, LONGFORD.—This is the largest simple mote in Ireland, and is possibly mentioned as the "summit" whence St. Patrick pointed out Raithin, "de cacumine graneret," as stated by Tirechán s (*ante* 700).

¹ "Ann. Ulton."

² "Chronicum Scotorum," "Annals of Ulster," and "Tighernach," p. 337.

³ "Ann. Ult." Preface by Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, p. cxxxiii.

⁴ "Book of Dun Cow." See "Tain bo Cuailnge" (ed. L. W. Faraday), and "Feast of Bríuriu" (ed. Henderson); "Book of Leinster," p. 118, *i.e.*, legends which were old in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

⁵ It was called from the marshes Downeroskø in 1612, as noted by Sir James King, O.S. Letters, Down, 14, c 21, p. 103.

In about 1645, Rev. Edmund MacCana mentions "the little hill called Dundalethglas . . . outside the city on the N.E." (Itinerary, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii.).

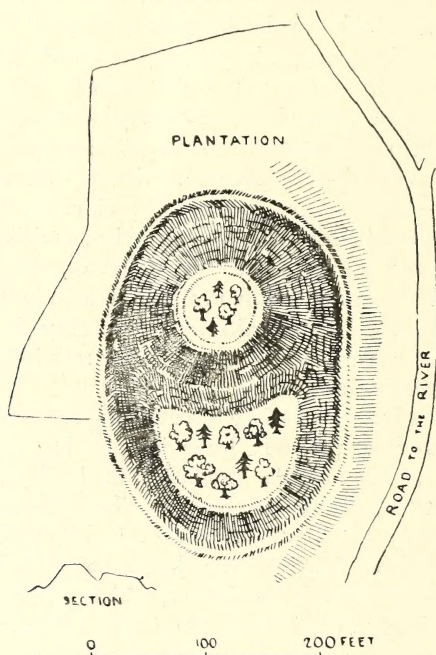
⁶ Giraldus, "Invasion," Book ii., cxvii. Ann. F.M. "Trip. Vita," p. 257.

⁷ "The Circuit" is an undoubted work of Cormacan Eigeas, the Bard of Muirheartach, who was on the raid in 942, and died six years later. See ed. O'Donovan, 1840 (Irish Archaeological Society, p. 31). A good plan of Dundermot is given in Mason's "Statistical Survey of Antrim," vol. i. See also "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 1125. O'Laverty considers Duneachdach to be a mote and bailey like Dromore at Duneligh.

⁸ Tirechán's notes are published with the "Trip. Vita," by Dr. Whitley Stokes, vol. ii., pp. 91, 311. This latter work, though later than 936, and possibly of the following

Granard was granted to the saint by Coirpre's sons, and a massacre of Cenel Coirpre took place at Granaret in 742. The Dindsenchas mentions Granaret as near the venerated tree of Craebh Uisnig.¹

MUNSTER—LISMORE, WATERFORD.—The fine complex fort, still called Lismore, was formerly also known as Dunsginne.² To it fled St.



THE MOTE OF DUNSGINNE, LISMORE.

Carthagh, or Mochuda, in 636,³ and near it he founded a monastery which rose to great note. The place (the church was not mentioned) was plundered in 832 by foreigners.⁴ The castle was built by Prince John, 1186, at the opposite side of the monastery from the mote: The castle was of stone, and one turret, manifestly of the period of its foundation,⁵ is embodied in the present building; a second was needlessly destroyed in a restoration.

century, uses older materials, such as the work of Kieran of Belachduin, who died 770. Tirechán was disciple of Ultan, who died 656.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, vol. xv., *Rev. Celt.* (1895), p. 277. Presbyterian tradition, in 1840, stated that the mote was made by the Chutes (O.S. Letters).

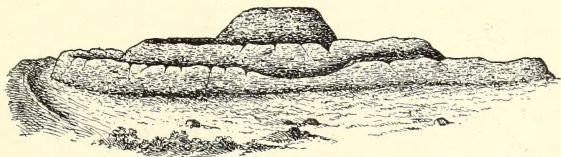
² For Dunsginne, see Keating's "History of Ireland" (ed. Duffy), pp. 12, 397.

³ Vita S. Mochudæ (Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 539, supported by Tighernach.

⁴ "Ann. Ulton." (Rolls Series, the O'Connor edition being full of pitfalls). The Annalist mentions the churches of the places other than Lismore wrecked in this raid.

⁵ See view in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, part 2, p. 539, and *Journal*, vol. xxvii.,

KNOCKGRAFFAN, TIPPERARY.—This is a large complex mote, and is named as “Grafan” among the forts reserved to the King of Cashel in the “Book of Rights”¹—a work alleged to date from the fifth century, but in its present form hardly older than its editor, Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel, who was slain in battle in 902, and his contemporary, Selbach, who wrote some of the poems therein. The fort was a chief fort of the O’Sullivans; and after their expulsion the Normans built a castle in 1182. The “Book of Rights” also mentions “the houses of Rafann,” which fort took its name from the mother of Fiacha Muillethan,² an early king. The “Annals of the Four Masters” call the Tipperary fort Cnocraffon, and Cnocgrafton, and possibly, though separate in the list in the “Book of Rights,” they may be near each other. In any case both were in Munster, whereas the fort of Rafann, in the eleventh century poem in the Dindsenchas (Temair V.) is mentioned with Reerin, near Athy, in Kildare.



THE MOTE OF KILFINNANE (TREADA NA RIOGH).

KILFINNANE, LIMERICK.—The great mote, with its high triple rings, is certainly the Treada na riogh (triple fort of the kings), near Drumfinghin, named in the “Book of Rights.” The surrounding great forts in Limerick can nearly all be identified with those in the list, and in Selbach’s poem. Kilfinnane is called “an old Irish downe” by Petty in 1657.³ No castle existed here till very late in the Middle Ages—so far as records go, not till long after 1400.

MAGHADHAIR, CLARE.—A characteristic simple mote near Quin. It was, as often told, the place of Inauguration of the Dalcassian Princes.⁴ The fort green was insulted by Flan, King of Cashel, in 877, as told in the pre-Norman “Wars of the Gaedhil.” The expedition is noted in the “Annals,” and mentioned in an undoubtedly ancient poem of the king’s bard, Flan mac Lonain.⁵ The place is often named; it lay outside the Norman territory, and no castle is recorded or known to have stood at

pp. 349, 353; also Documents Relating to Ireland (cited henceforth as C.S.P.I.), 1218, No. 851. For the mote, see *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 272.

¹ Ed. J. O’Donovan, pp. 87, 89.

² She is, however, elsewhere called Moncha. See *Revue Celtique*, vol. xi., p. 43; and though Irish mythology allowed a multiplicity of mothers, I cannot recall a case in quasi-history.

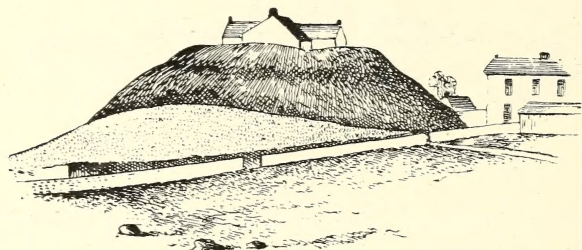
³ Map 59, Limerick, 1657, P.R.O.I.

⁴ *Journal*, vol. xxi., p. 462. *Proceedings, R.I.A.*, Ser iii., vol. v., p. 55; also “Wars G. and G.” (ed. Dr. Todd), pp. cxiii. and 67.

⁵ Partly published in “The Story of an Irish Sept,” 1896, p. 82.

or near it. The Macnamaras, in fact, held it from the earliest times to the middle of the seventeenth century.

LEINSTER—NAAS, KILDARE.—This is also a large, simple mote; not far away is another reputed mote, so much defaced that it shows no indisputable trace of fortifications, and it may be a mere gravel hill. The actual fort is attributed by the Dindsenchas to the legendary Princess Taitinn in A.D. 277. The "Tripartite Life"¹ states that St. Patrick (in 465) camped on the green of the Dun of Nas, "to the east of the road to the north of the dun," and mentions the well. The so-called "Will of Cathaeir mor," a fiction, but a very early one, long prior to 900,² mentions the fort—"the impregnable Nas he shall strengthen it." A poem of the same minimum date in the "Book of Rights" says, "Forward to his house went the King of Laighin (Leinster) with the heroes till he reached the fort of Nas." One of those archaic "geasa" in the same Book lays a taboo on the same king, "not to come to Nas with full



THE DUN OR MOTE OF NAAS.

retinue." The "Annals of Ulster" and the Four Masters mention its ruin in 705, quoting an ancient poem which implies that the royal residence was a large single-roofed house on the dun: "Thou wert safe, except thy roof, O Dun of Nas."³ The plain of Liffey . . . to-day is a scorched place." The "Life of St. Fechin" also contains an allusion to the fort of Nas before 664, when the saint obtained the release of several persons kept prisoners there. "The bonds of the captives were broken in the dun, and Fechin came out with the hostages on the lawn (urla) of the Dun of Naas."⁴ Its "lords" are mentioned in 861, and the chiefs deserted it in 902.

The Normans built a castle at Naas in 1186, but the ruins are at some distance from the mote.⁵ The Augustinian Abbey was called "The Monastery of the Mote" down to Elizabethan times; it was founded in

¹ Page 185.

² Prefixed to the "Book of Rights."

³ "Roofed duns" are mentioned in the "Voyage of Maelduin" (ante 1100), *Revue Celtique*, vol. x. (1889), p. 55, from "Lebar-na-h-Uidhre." The same romance, p. 477, vol. ix., mentions also "a dangan high and strong and a great house therein."

⁴ *Revue Celtique*, vol. xii., p. 349. Can the "urlainn" be the bailey?

⁵ See Canon O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. i., p. 576.

1484. The older house of Canons Regular dated from the late twelfth century.

RAHUGH, WESTMEATH.—A great mote with two rings existed as a rath as early as the foundation of the Monastery of St. Aedh mac Brice, *circa* 570. Of several records one tells how in 851 a great convention of chiefs was held at the Rath of Aedh mac Brice.¹

DURROW, KING'S COUNTY.—In the valuable rhymed list of "the Dindgnai of Erin" (Temair V.) in the Dindsenchas,² dating in the reign of Maelsechlainn, High King of Erin, 980, died 1023, we find among lists of names a more picturesque entry alluding to this fort after Usnach in Westmeath, "Dermag of the oak woods and drums" (ridges). This was possibly the great mote which, covered with shrubs, masses of masonry, and vaulted foundations, marks the site of the later castle. An early poem attributed to St. Columba mentions a "Grianan" as included in the "high" mounds round the monastery of Durrow. It lay "westward of the Sine" (a known site), and corresponds in position to the mote.³ Here Hugh de Lacy "profaned" the beloved termon of St. Columba⁴ by building a new castle in 1181. Here the saint's revenge fell on him when he was murdered with an axe, and his headless body rolled into the fosse. It is, however, evident that one of the principal forts of Ireland stood here at least two centuries before the "profanation."

DONAGHPATRICK, MEATH.—This place was also held by de Lacy, but the building of no castle is recorded. It has a complex mote with a rounded top, a bailey, and three deep fosses with high rings, standing near St. Patrick's Church. The "Tripartite Life" mentions the place, and the homilies in the Leabar Brecc⁵ relate how, as Patrick travelled through Meath, after the assembly of Tailtenn, Conall, or Cremthan, son of Niall, gave his "stead" (so Dr. Whitley Stokes) or "court" (so the Latin translations) to the saint, who established a rath and church there named Donaghpatrik. The Annals⁶ in 745 mention the "profanation" or "forceful entry" (sarughadh) of Domnach Patraic, when "seven prisoners were crucified." "Sarughadh" is used for any act of violence; we find it applied to King Brian's expulsion of the Danes from Iniscatha in 975, and even to a seizure of 100 cows in 1257.⁷ It is properly translated 'violent entry' in MS. Clar. 49. "Sar" is 'outrage or disgrace,'

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxvi. (1896), p. 331, and "Annals of Ulster."

² "Todd Lecture Series," R.I.A., vol. viii., p. 41.

³ See *Journal*, vol. xxix., pp. 220, 221.

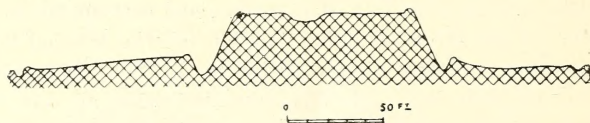
⁴ It was granted to Columba, *c.* 550, by a chief Brendan and his son Aed, Ardrigh of Ireland. See also O'Hanlon's "Lives," vol. vi., p. 306. Dermag is mentioned in Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba."

⁵ Published with the "Trip. Vita," vol. ii., p. 465 and 466, alluded to in vol. i., p. 71.

⁶ "Ann. Ulton." The word "sarughadh" does not mean technically "profanation," but "violence," literally, "in spite of." See *Revue Celtique*, vol. xviii., p. 77.

⁷ "Ann. Loch Cé."

Calendar of Oenghus. "Saruighim," 'to injure, oppress,' in O'Brien's Dictionary. "Sarugad," 'act of wronging, violating, overcoming, contempt of orders or privileges,' Glossary of Brehon Laws. The direct meaning is 'violation,' or 'violence,' and as such it appears in our literature for 'assault, defeat,' and even 'cattle-robbery.' The attempt to confine the violence at Domnach Patrick to a church is not necessitated by the Irish text; neither was 'crucifixion,' nor even 'torture,' a very probable act against monks or clergy in pre-Danish times; nor would it have been passed by with so little notice by monkish annalists. Several deeds in the "Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr in Dublin"¹ describe the church lands of Donaghpatrick. They commence in 1227 with one of Hugh, son of Hugh de Lacy; but, though many particulars about the site and bounds are given, no castle, but only a "court" (*curia*),² is mentioned (the very word in the Latin "Life") as standing near the church.



SECTION OF THE MOTE OF SLANE.

SLANE, MEATH.—A great simple mote with two fosses enclosing an annular space stands on the summit of the hill close to St. Patrick's monastery. In the "Life of St. Patrick" by Murchu maccu Maetheni (*c.* 698)³ we are told that the saint on his way to Tara camped at Fertaferfeic (Slane), which was called "from certain fosses dug (said a fabulous tale) by the slaves of Feccol Ferchertni," a pre-Christian prophet of Bregia. Slane fort also appears in the "Temair V" poem, *ante* 1023.⁴ The Normans under Richard Flemmyng "made a mot"⁵ at Slane in 1176; but the Irish destroyed the house (*meison*) and slew its garrison. As the "mot" held 100 men, with women, children, and horses⁶ (or 500 men, as elsewhere), and was, it seems, easily destroyed, it was evidently an enclosure slighter but more spacious than the "mount." It very probably

¹ Ed. J. T. Gilbert, pp. 19, 27-30.

² Migne's "Lexicon" gives "*curia*" as equivalent to "mota."

³ Ed. Rev. A. Barry, p. 19, and also given by Dr. Stokes with the "Trip. Vita." Maetheni wrote at the request of Aed, Bishop of Sleibthe, who died 698. The work is found in the "Book of Armagh," written 807-812. Numerous entries in old authors identify Slane with Fertaferfeic. The "Annals" call Ere, Bishop of Slane, "Bishop of Fertaferfeic," 613. The "Calendar of Oenghus" adds "beside Sid Truimm." Was the *sidh* the mote on Slane hill? See also Colgan, "Trias Thaum," pp. 20-60.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵ "Song of Dermot and the Earl" (ed. Goddard Orpen), lines 3174, &c. The Slane fort is mentioned in the continuation of the "Annals of Tighernach," 1176: "They attacked the caislen of Slane, and slew Richard Plemendach and 500 men."

⁶ "Annals of the Four Masters."

stood on the site of the Flemmyngs' later castle and the present mansion at the foot of the hill near the Boyne.¹

LOUTH.—The mote was figured by Wright before it was planted. It was then called the "Fairy mount," suggesting a "sidh" among Irish speakers. There was a "royal fort" in Lugmadh in 1164, where dwelt Donat O'Carroll, chief of Oriel; he harboured certain "profaners" of the "bachal Isu," the famous crosier of St. Patrick, and (it was believed, by the vengeance of the saint) fire spread from his residence, and destroyed the town.² The Normans built a castle at Louth in 1203.

FAUGHART, LOUTH.—The imposing mote at Faughart is believed to have been the residence of St. Brigid's father. Extensive souterrains, roofed with slabs and yielding clay vessels, were found in the field round its base, and imply its early origin. "Fochert in Murthemne" is named in the *Tain bo Cuailnge*³ as the place where Cuchullin threw the holly-hafted spear back to his once-loved foster-brother, with fatal results. "The hill is named Fithi for ever"; unless the "hill" was a mote, no fort is there mentioned. The alleged Norman castle of Faughart was really built in Fothered Onolan in Wexford.⁴ There are three forts at Faughart—the mote called Motafadart, the others, Motaantsean and Rath-saileach. The first is 40 feet across the platform; near it fell Edward Bruce in the deadly battle called after Dundalk.

WERE SOME MOTES DANISH?—We have now seen that several motes were pre-historic, and several more were certainly pre-Norman. The question next arising is—Were some motes made by the Danes? Giraldus attributed all the motes to them and to the time of Turgesius; but the only importance we can attach to his statement was that the motes had been made long before his time, and were then "empty and deserted." The great mounds in Denmark are not very similar to Irish motes, and are often, if not generally, sepulchral. Even were they similar and evidently residential, the mere fact of their occurrence in Denmark would not prove the Irish ones to be made by Danes, any more than by Gauls, Germans, or Austrians, in whose countries identical motes remain. Had they been Danish, motes ought to abound round the cities of the Ostmen; but for fifteen miles round Limerick not a mote is to be found. Tradree and Corcovaskin, both Danish settlements, have no motes. Dublin, Cork, and Dungarvan, are not centres of mote groups. The Ostman territory round the first—the Dyffinarskidi, extending from Leixlip and Clondalkin to the north of Fingal—has only a couple of so-called motes, and those

¹ Down Survey, Meath, Map 47, P. R. O. I. For the mote and castle see *Journal*, vol. xxxi., pp. 406, 430.

² "Annals of the Four Masters": the "*Liss of Louth*" is named *ante* 524 in the "Book of Leinster, p. 361.

³ Ed. Farraday, p. 72.

⁴ Giraldus, "Invasion," Lib. i., vol. cxxiii., and Register of Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, 308.

not high ones; none near the city. So the negative evidence is strongly against the Danish origin of high motes.¹

The belief that they were occupied by the Danes rests, however, on firm basis. We have tangible proof, such as Domnal Sealshead's sword at Greenmount, and historical proof in the record of the Wars of the Gaedhil. The latter must be rather cautiously received, for, though accurate in the main lines, it evidently grossly exaggerates the state of subjection of the Irish, in order to exalt their heroic deliverers, Mahon and Brian. However, softening down sweeping statements, it is evident that the passage, "There was not a harbour nor 'port' (camp), nor dun, nor dangan, nor 'dingna' in all Munster without fleets of Danes and pirates," represents a substantial truth. The next section tells of "duns and dangans built through Munster and through Erin by the invaders." The duns at Dublin and Limerick are named, and the former was full of spoils gathered "from dun and dangan and diongna (Dr. Todd translates this 'mound'), and from artificial caves."²

The "Annals" mention the plunder and burning of places where motes exist. Dundaethglaise (825 and 941), Lismore (832), Clones (836 and 1095), Lowth (830, 839), and Granard (1066); but they only tell of forts built by the foreigners at Luimneach (Limerick, 968), Corcagh (Cork, 848), Atheliath (Dublin, 851), the longport of Linnduachail (841), the dun of Turgeis near Lough Ree (*ante* 845) and the dun of Amlave, at Clondalkin, burned in 866. Their nature is not indicated anywhere.

DUBLIN.—It is rather hard to establish the position of the Danish fort of Dublin. Belief and probability point to the site of the later castle; but the Danish garrison, during a twenty days' siege in 987, could "only get sea-water to drink,"³ which would hardly have been the case if it stood on the "pyll" of the river Poddle. The Thingmote and other mounds were probably sepulchral—some certainly were so—like the little tumuli near Clontarf station. The Ostmen's town lay on the north bank of the river, near the Four Courts and the old Danish church of St. Michan. The "terracing up" of Dublin Castle may have been done with a levelled earthwork; but I prefer to leave the subject to students of the history of the city (who have too long been content to walk after the older writers), merely indicating the difficulties. Indeed, the want of fresh water, and the unimpeded view from the fortress⁴ of the great fight of 1014, called after Clontarf, but more truly "the battle of Dublin," suggest

¹ I cannot find even the slightest evidence for the confident statement (ingenious enough, but unsupported) that the Danes were really the De Danann. The Danish tradition is also found in the Hebrides, and may be a derivative of the theory of Giraldus and Molyneux. No evidence has been shown for a "Tuatha De Danann theory" among early antiquaries. The "Caesar's camps" in Gaul, "Huns' graves" in Denmark, "Attila's camps" in Germany, all embody upgrowths of like popular tradition, founded on hints from history. The great "Cromwell myth" in Ireland is a priceless example of modern popular myth-making of a similar kind.

² Ed. Todd, pp. 41, 113.

³ "Annals of Ulster."

⁴ "On the Battlements of the Grianan" ("Wars G. and G.," pp. 191, 193).

a fortress to the east of the present castle and on the beach of the estuary.

The "Thingmote," as all know, stood between the present church of St. Andrew and Trinity College; not on the site of the former, as stated by Dr. George Stokes. It was one of a group of tumuli, "the hogges over the stein," as the "Song of Dermot" calls them, one of which was opened near Trinity College in 1646, and the bones of a man found.¹ There is no direct evidence to show that the Thingmote was made for its later purpose, and it was probably a tomb. It appears in records only from 1240, when "Thengmotha in parochia S. Andree Thengmoth" was granted by John Thurgot to the adjoining Abbey of All Hallows, where Trinity College now stands, some seventy years after the Normans took Dublin from the Ostmen. In 1575 "the road leading to Hoggen Green" was called "Teigmote." The mound was called "a fortified hill by the College" when seized by Lord Ormonde's mutinous soldiers in 1647; "a mount or hill set by the city to Sir William Davis," and "the mount near St. Andrew's church," on the map of 1672.² It long remained, but unfortunately was used to fill in the present Nassau-street. So recorded facts merely mark its later usage as a Thingmote, and that it was one of a group of tumuli near the stein or long pillar-stone; and so most probably it was no residential mote. So commonly did the Irish hold their aenachs (or great fairs and gatherings) round burial-mounds, as at Carman, Taitinn, and Magh Adhair, that the "Danes" possibly found the "mote" a centre of assembly, even when they founded the city.

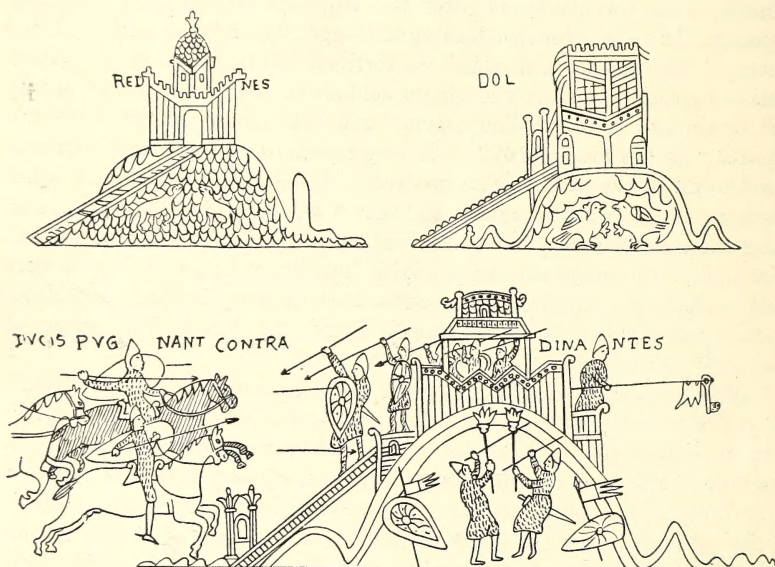
WERE SOME MOTES NORMAN?—To anyone reading Dr. Christison's thoughtful and valuable work on the "Early Fortifications of Scotland,"³ the fact that true motes were made in late mediæval times must be familiar. For example, he quotes decisive testimony from the "Life of St. John, Bishop of Terouaine in Belgium," in the eleventh century, showing that motes were then of rather recent construction. The Bishop came to the fortress which had been "built many years ago by the lord of the town after the fashion of the country. . . . For it was customary for the rich men and nobles of those parts (because their chief occupation is the carrying on of feuds and slaughters, in order that they may have the greater power for either conquering their equals or keeping down their inferiors) to heap up a mound of earth as high as they were able, and to dig round it a broad, open, and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole edge of the mound, instead of a wall, with a barrier of wooden planks stoutly fixed together, with numerous turrets set around. Within was constructed a house, or rather a citadel, commanding the whole, so that the gate of entry

¹ "Louthiana," Part II., p. 15.

² "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," by Charles Haliday (ed. Prendergast, 1882), pp. 163-4. See also "Register of All Hallows, Dublin." Enrolment of 1575 deed in Patent Rolls, xxii., James I., and Carte Papers (Bodleian Library), vol. xvii., p. 133.

³ Ed. 1898, p. 4.

could only be approached by a bridge, which, springing from the counter-scarp of the ditch, was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by sets of piers, two or even three trussed on each side, over convenient spans, crossing the ditch with a managed ascent, so as to reach the upper level of the mound, landing on its edge on a level at the threshold of the gate." This mound was so high that when the Bishop was half way down the bridge, he was still 35 feet above the ground. From this height, by malice of the devil and the weight of the crowd, the bridge broke and threw all into the fosse; but by the sanctity of the bishop all escaped unhurt. This remarkable account is equally illustrated by several representations of palisaded mottes shown on the nearly contemporaneous Bayeux tapestry.



THE MOTES OF RENNES, DOL AND DINAN.

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

The Merovingian strongholds had oblong, earthen walls, with a stockade, palisaded mounds, and a lofty "butte," or "motte," supporting a wooden tower, and with deep and wide fosses.¹

I have, from the analogy of the ring-forts, been strongly inclined to the belief that some of the Irish motes might be as late, or later, and some even Norman. The main difficulty is how the Normans, with their small bands, and ability only to scatter, not to coerce, the natives,² could have raised these great earthworks; but if we hold this belief, we do it without the support of any unmistakable record, for the "mot" (even in the "Song of Dermot") may have meant a low entrenchment.

¹ Rev. S. Baring Gould's "Deserts of France," vol. ii., pp. 110-111.

² Mr. Mills (Deputy Keeper of the Records) points out that the conditions under

Of late a belief has grown up that because the Normans made motes all, or at least the majority, of these structures in Ireland must be Norman. For example, Mrs. Armitage, in a learned paper on the English motes,¹ with the approval of more than one leading antiquary, writes:—"From Ireland we obtain evidence of the same kind. The mote-and-bailey castle is to be found in Ireland, but only in the English Pale, that is, the part of the country conquered by the Normans in the twelfth century. . . . There can be no doubt that the Normans were the builders of motes in Ireland." Now, I had read this essay before the publication of my "Ancient Forts of Ireland"; but I did not see fit to modify my statements, because:—(1) The author does not seem to have consulted early Irish records, (2) or to have noted their decisive evidence as to the existence of great forts, in long pre-Norman times, in the places where motes and baileys are now found; (3) or that Giraldus Cambrensis and Jocelin of Furness allude to the great motes as existing long before their time, and (especially the former) never compare them to the motes which, according to the above essay, were being made everywhere around the writers. (4) Giraldus describes several forts raised soon after the invasion of Ireland, but not a single high mote appears among them; and he attributes the deserted high motes to Turgesius. (5) The motes are not confined to the English Pale, even in its widest acceptation, but occur in places which the Normans never held, and do not occur in important Norman settlements. (6) The author seems unaware of early objects found in the mote and bailey forts.

In no ignorance, then, of the work of English antiquaries, but on account of their ignoring nearly all Irish evidence and topography, have I been obliged to reject their conclusions, so far as regards Irish high motes.

The theory of the sole Norman origin of Irish motes argues from the particular to the universal. It is based on the mention, in the "Song of Dermot and the Earl,"² of Flemmyng having made a "mot" at Slane, and Tyrrell having lost the castle of Trim, the "mot" of which was levelled by the Irish. At each of these places an important ancient fort stood centuries before the advent of the Norman. Slane we have dealt with, but (apart from other mention) the "Tripartite Life" mentions the dun of Feidlimid, son of Laoghaire, son of Niall, as at Athdruimm, or

which the great Irish motes were evidently made did not exist in the reign of Henry II. I find plenty of evidence for the later servile condition of the "nativi" and "hibernici" on the Norman manors, as, for example, that deed in the "Black Book of Limerick" (p. 205) where Roger Waspayl is granting to Matthew, the parson of Ratheneser church (near Rathkeale), the lands between Rathgul and the great water of Del. Waspayl carefully reserves the "nativi" for his own use. *Circa* 1210-1224. There is not, however, any mote on the manors round Rathkeale.

¹ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxiv. (1899-1900), p. 276; and *Journal*, vol. xxxii., p. 429.

² Lines 3174, &c., and 3330, &c.

Trim.¹ Thus, in the eleventh century, the fort was reputed to be of the fifth century. If the Normans utilised a mote at Trim, we can understand the allusions in the "Song of Dermot" to the "dongun," dangan, or mound, "chastel," or bailey, and "mot," or outer ring. The latter was rapidly destroyed by the Irish, and soon afterwards as rapidly re-fortified by Tyrell. No large mound could have been thus dealt with. So with Slane, so with Roscrea,² the "motes" could have been of no great size, as we have shown. No other evidence seems forthcoming to support the hitherto unsupported theories as to the Norman origin of Irish motes. Till such evidence is produced I must be content to hold, with O'Donovan and the older antiquaries, the view I expressed in my book, that "some motes may be Danish or Norman"; and, for the reasons I have given above, "some motes were of early, and possibly prehistoric, date,"³ as seems well established by the "finds" of antiquities in several motes, as well as by a great mass of written records.

THE NORMANS SAY THAT THE IRISH MOTES WERE LONG PRE-NORMAN.—It is not a little amazing that writers advancing the theory of the Norman origin of the Irish motes should never have thought of consulting the Norman writings of the time of the invasion, which are so familiar to Irish students. Giraldus Cambrensis was not only the contemporary but the friend, nay more, the relative, of several of the first Normans in Ireland. He twice visited the island (1183 and 1186), seeing some of the events he records, and seeing probably dozens of the new castles in the course of construction. Yet he describes the motes with great care, in order to attribute them to the Danish king Turgesius, 340 years before his time. "He" (says Giraldus) "encastled (*incastellavit*) in suitable positions the whole land in every direction, whence they were ramparted with deep ditches, and very high; they were round, and many of them with triple defences, and up to this day you will find many perfect, yet empty and deserted."⁴ Comment on this is needless.

Jocelin of Furness is equally explicit. A friend of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, he wrote at his request a Life of St. Patrick, between 1181 and 1186—for he does not allude to the translation of the relics of the three patron saints (Patrick, Brigid, and Columba) in the latter year. With a sad disregard for the Norman theory, he tells how Patrick, having miraculously broken the fetters of a captive, placed them "in a spot in Down, where now is built the Church of St. Patrick," and "on a

¹ "Trip. Vita," p. 67.

² Roscrea. See below, p. 339.

³ "Ancient Forts of Ireland," p. 7.

⁴ "Topography," chapter xxxvii., "Unde et fossata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque et pleraque triplicia castella, etiam murata, et adhuc integra, vacua tamen et deserta . . . multa reperies." Perhaps this refers the *alta*, *rotunda*, and *triplicia* to the fosses, and reads, "fenced castles also still entire," &c. However, the "*etiam*" of Giraldus may not be really emphatic. We recall "*arctæ sunt et altæ necnon et rotundæ*," as showing his love for "too disjunctive conjunctions."

neighbouring mote (monticulus) surrounded by marshes of the sea, still called Dundaleathglas"—the fort of the two fetters.¹

MOTES NOT COINCIDENT WITH NORMAN COLONIES.—As in the case of the Danes, so in that of the Normans, the distribution of the high motes does not bear out the assertion that the latter knights habitually, or exclusively, made such structures. There are no motes in the important early Norman settlements in Mayo, and more southern Connaught;² not even (as I have noted) at Ballymote. There are none in Clare;³ the Normans made a castle there at the ancient Boruma fort, in 1208,⁴ and "encastled" Clarin, Bonrat, and Corcovaskny, but no mote occurs. None can be found in Limerick⁵ on the sites of the early castles and seven early manors.⁶ None in the settlements of northern Kerry and Cork.⁷ None at the sites of important early castles broadcast in Waterford, Cork, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Westmeath.

On the other hand, we might multiply instances of motes occurring at places in Clare, Ulster, and Wicklow, where no settlement of English was established in the earlier centuries of English Lordship; of motes standing apart from, but near, early castles, as at Lismore, Ardee, Dunsoghley, Kilkea, and Naas; of motes of the first importance, such as Kilfinnane, Magh Adhair, Skeirk, Donaghpatrick, Dundermot, and several in Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, where no early castle is recorded.

The colony of de Courcey lay along the eastern coast of Down,⁸ and does not seem to have extended inland to the neighbourhood of the great motes of Dromore, Clogher,⁹ and perhaps the Crown Rath. Even where a recorded early castle stands on a mote (as we have seen), there is often evidence of the long previous existence of a fort at the spot.

MOTES CONNECTED WITH VENERATED TREES AND STRUCTURES.—Before turning to the question of the structure of the earliest castles, we may consider two points of interest relating to the motes. The history of the veneration of the Irish for ancient trees has yet to be written; what

¹ "Vita S. Patricii," chapter xxxviii. "In loco ubi nunc in Dun aedificata est ecclesia S. Patricii . . . monticulo vicino circumcluso palude pelagi . . . Dundaleathglas."

² See important paper by Mr. H. T. Knox, *Journal*, vol. xxxi., p. 179, and vol. xxxiii., p. 58. The colonies commenced before the end of the twelfth century. See Geoffry de Costentin's grant of Tirmany, 1200 (C.S.P.I.). In 1204, Meyler FitzHenry is ordered to "strengthen the castles in Connaught" (*Ibid.*, 137, 153, and 222).

³ Arnold Ketin got grants of Corcovaskin, Tradree, and Hy Aimrid (Huamerith), by 1199 (C.S.P.I., vol. i., 106).

⁴ "Ann. Clonmacnoise."

⁵ For example, on the huge manor of Iniskefty, *ante* 1203, C.S.P.I., vol. i., 187.

⁶ *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxiv. (c), p. 268, gives a list.

⁷ As early as 1200, C.S.P.I., vol. i., 124.

⁸ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (original issue), vol. ii., p. 138.

⁹ If, as O'Donovan thinks, the "Annals" used by the Four Masters, under A.M. 4328, intend Clogher by "Rath Clochair," it implies an early belief that the fort was pre-historic.

concerns us here is the connexion of certain forts, some certainly motes, with such "worshipful trees."¹ Granard was near the great ash-tree of Craebh Uisnig, in Longford; Magh Adhair, in Clare, at the "Bili," or venerable tree, where the Dalcassian princes were inaugurated; Ardbraccan, in Meath, was at or near the ash-tree, "Bili Tortan."² The O'Niall princes were inaugurated at the Bileda, or "worshipful trees," at the fort of Tullaghog, in Tyrone; the Ulidian, at Craebh Thelea (Crewe hill, Glenalvy); "the branching tree of the flat-topped hill" (? mote); and the chief of Hy Fiachra Aidne, in Galway, at the "Ruaidh bheiteach" (red birch-tree), in the stone fort of Roevehagh. Other venerated trees, however, are not mentioned as near forts. We briefly mention the yew, "Eo Rossa," in Fermanagh, called "The Trinity's mighty one" (an echo of "the trees of the Lord . . . the cedars" in the glorious "Psalm of Nature"). The ash, "Bili Dathi," grew in Westmeath; the oak, "Eog Mughna," in Magh(n)Ailbe (either Moyalliff, in Tipperary, or Moynalvy, in Meath); if at the latter place, it was near a famous mound (dingna) or monument, which had the "Lia," or pillar-stone—one of the "dindgnai" of Meath—which fell in 998, and was cut into millstones. Perhaps, as at Magh Adhair (and for that matter in Shechem, when Abimelech was "inaugurated" king), the oak and the pillar were near each other, and even at a fort. The beautiful trees on the motes of Cloneurry and Clonard, and those formerly on Louth and Greenmount motes, suggest that in some cases the trees owed to their position on ancient forts their "worship and renown." At least the fact, though still problematical, deserves notice in connexion with the motes.

Another fact is the occurrence of churches, sometimes parochial, and sometimes bearing the names of motes lying close to such earthworks. To mention only a few, there are churches near the motes of St. Mullins', Carlow; Listerlin, Kilkenny; Kilfinnane, Limerick; Lynally and Rathlihen,³ King's County; Dunohil, Knockgraffan, and Kilfeacle, Tipperary; Skeirk, Queen's County; Ardnurcher and Kilbixy, Westmeath; Donaghpatrick and Slane, Meath; Faughart, Louth; and Downpatrick. Some of these churches, like Slane, Donaghpatrick, Kilbixy, and Kilfeacle, stood long before the Norman invasion, and were possibly attracted to the fort, certainly not to any later castle. Literary evidence abounds for the granting of forts to early churches. In the cases of the ring-forts,

¹ See Dindsenchas (*Rev. Celt.*, vol. xv., p. 277) for Craebh Uisnig, Bili Tortan, Eo Rossa, Bili Dathi, and Eo Mughna. Tighernach and other Annals, Bili Maigh Adhair, 981, and A.F.M. 1051; Bileda Tullaghog, "Ann. Loch Cé," 1111; Craebh Thelcha, *Ibid.*, 1099; Roevehagh, A.F.M., 1143; Lia Ailbe, "Ann. Ult.," 298. A "Bile Mace Cruach, or Forrach Patraic," is named in "Trip. Vita," p. 189.

² "Trip. Vita," p. 185, "near to Bili Tortain he built a church, which now belongs to the community of Ardbreacain."

³ Canon O'Hanlon gives a note on Rathlihen, with a view of the church and mote. "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. vi., pp. 611, 613. He comments on the occurrence of motes near churches, vol. ix., p. 399.

it was natural to build the church in their enclosures; but if a mote were granted, it would have obviously been an inconvenient, not to say impossible, site, so that the church would, even in that case, have been built near, rather than upon, the mound.

EARLY NORMAN CASTLES.

So far as Ireland is concerned, the question as to what sort of castles were made by the first generations of Norman settlers has been greatly neglected. The materials even at present available give us not a little information, which it may be well to collect and consider, though much indeed may be added to our materials hereafter. We put first the information to be found in the English Pipe Rolls recorded at the time of the invasion. The Normans found no castles ready to hand; the forts were not very suitable; and the Irish "did not care for castles,"¹ preferring, and with good reason, the fastnesses of the woods, marshes and bogs, where the skill and disciplined valour of the Norman availed but little. To "encastle" the country, and thereby put it in chains, would be a work of time; so, meanwhile, temporary camps and forts arose, or existing forts were palisaded.² We may also remark that even a century later, the outworks of some stone donjons were practically identical with the earlier castles, *i.e.*, fosses and pale-topped mounds, with wooden towers at intervals—one would think a most unsuitable kind of fortress in a wild country, closely surrounded by watchful foes.

In 1171, Roger de Herleberg of Lancaster made two wooden castles (*castella lignea*) for the use of the Irish Government; they cost £14 11s. Robert Tronte of Carlisle was more reasonable: he only charged £7 3s. 3d. for three wooden towers and seventy planks. A thousand shovels, and iron enough for 2,000 more, as well as 60,000 nails and 100 axes, were next despatched.³ This shows how much the fortifications consisted of earthworks, palisading, wooden towers, and brattishes. The Irish Pipe Rolls, even in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., contain similar entries.

The "Song of Dermot,"⁴ though possibly later than Giraldus (perhaps 1225), embodies the memories of Regan, the Latin "secretary" of King Dermot MacMurrough. Let us first examine its evidence as to the earliest castles. Line 176 mentions the king's dangan, "A vn son dengin lad troue." The Irish impede the English advance by "three fosses, wide

¹ Though "castles" at Galway, Collooney, and Dunlo are named in the continuation of Tighernach under 1124, and at Tuam, 1163.

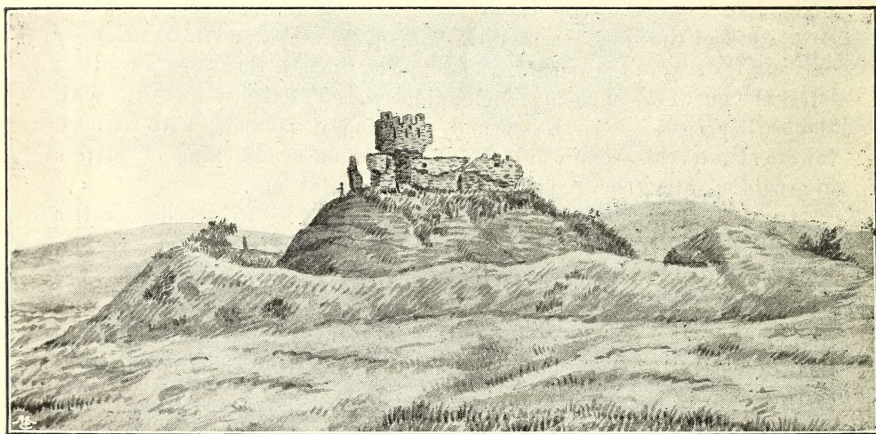
² Of course the older Irish forts were also palisaded. For instance, in "The Boroma," in the "Book of Leinster," after the burning of Naas, Alinn, Maistiú, and Rairiú, we meet the "razing" of Baire Bresail. "This was a fortress of undecaying wood," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiii., p. 41.

³ "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," vol. i., No. 3 and No. 27 (1170-1).

⁴ Edited by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen.

and deep," with a stockade or "haie" on top (566), and with hurdles at the foot (1017). The structure, called an "old fort" by Giraldus, is a "langport," where the phantom army appeared (1000). The English make a "chastel" at Domdonuil (1405), which, according to Giraldus, was a very slight work. Dublin Castle was "a castle and dongun." Richard the Flemming put up a mote, "un mot fist cil ieter," at Slane (3174-3195), and the Irish destroyed the house (meison) there. The country was, however, planted with chastels, cities, dunguns, and fermetes or fortresses (3201).

The fortress of Trim consisted of a dongun, chastel, and stockade. Its "mot" was levelled by the Irish (3270), and was possibly a slight earthwork, to judge from the ease with which Tyrell refortified the forcelette or fortress (3338) on his advance. If the donjons be not stone towers (King Dermot's was almost certainly not one), then no stone walled castle is mentioned, only walled towns, like Limerick¹ Waterford, and Dublin.



MOTE AND CASTLE, SHANID, COUNTY LIMERICK.

Though Giraldus often mentions the foundation of castles, he does not always indicate their character. The English camped in an ancient fort ("castellario quodam antiquo") in Ossory. He mentions the stone ramparts and ditches of the cities, and at other times, "slight fortifications" made of boughs, sods, and stakes. Hugh de Lacy fortified Meath with better castles ("castellis egregie communivit"). The Normans formed extensive, designs to "encastle" certain districts—designs so extensive that we feel compelled to believe that the fortresses were slight, or that Irish forts were utilised—"Crebra castrorum constructione stabiliatur et muniatur," he writes. A crowd of castles,

¹ "Invasion," Book I., cc. 4, 13, 25; II., cc. 2, 21, 23, 35, and 38.

Killare, Timahoe, Narrach, Clonard, Limerick, Ardfinnan, "Tibrach," Naas, Tristledermot, Leighlin Bridge, Lismore, Durrow, Kilkea, and a crowd of nameless castles on Hugh de Lacy's land, were in progress, chiefly in the year 1185-6.¹ We only hear of small bands attending the Norman leaders, and, as we have noticed, they had no great command of forced labour; so we can hardly suppose that they did more than select and strengthen the deserted older forts.²

Limerick, Ardfinnan, Lismore, and probably Durrow and Leighlin Bridge, were possibly of stone:³ the remains of masonry on so many motes, such as Ardnurcher, Shanid, Knockgraffan, Kilfeakle, Dunohill, Durrow, Clones, Louth, Killany, Faughart, Ardee, and others, were early attempts to strengthen the older earthworks with safer structures than bretasches and hayes. The motes must have been long consolidated to have been able to bear up such a castle as (say) Shanid or Dunohill on their summits; and as we look on their great masses (as an engineer would estimate a railway embankment), we feel that they were raised under very different circumstances from those of the early Normans. These soldiers were few, kept busily occupied, and had no vast servile population to impress. Those who built the great motes must have had comparative peace and unlimited command of labour.

It is the simplest solution, and satisfies most, if not all, of the known facts to suppose that the Normans took the pre-existing motes (as we know they did the ring-forts and promontory forts), and strengthened the works; at first, with palisadings of boughs, wicker, and planks, then with bretasches, then with stonework. Where the soil of the mote was firm a tower was erected on top. Where the Normans doubted that it would bear the weight, the stone building was placed in the bailey. Extra rings or "mots" were added, perhaps a wet fosse was made with other outworks; eventually it may be stone walled courts were made, and even stonework "motes"—as in the case of Newcastle M'Kynegan, in Wicklow, where, as we learn from the Pipe Roll, £79 was allowed in 1296 for quarrying large stones "to make a certain wall round the same castle and a mote."⁴

THE MOTE OF ROSCREA.—The last recorded building of a mote and bretasche was that at Roscrea, in July, 1245, to which I have more than once alluded. A raid of Murchard O'Brien into northern Tipperary brought the Justiciary to Roscrea. A castle had long since been erected, thirty-three years before; but some further defence was required, so a mote and britagium,⁵ or wooden castle, was hastily made on the lands of

¹ Giraldus, "Invasion," II., cc. 23, 32, 35, and "Annals of Ulster," 1185-6.

² The Crown had even to intervene, and threaten to resume the grants of all persons holding lands on the marches of Ireland, to force the owners to fortify their lands properly, October 28th, 1200. C. S. P. I., No. 125.

³ The case of the ring tower at Waterford hardly concerns these notes.

⁴ "Pipe Roll," 27 Ed. I., No. 26, "et motam."

⁵ Britagium, Bretesque, Bretèque, Bretasche, "Bretachia, castella lignea, quibus

the Bishop of Killaloe.¹ The Justiciary sent to explain to the Bishop that his act was "for the public good." The prelate was not mollified; he was probably² far more in sympathy with the fierce Dalcassian who was disturbing the king's peace than with the representative of the Crown. The churchman, despite the fact that the interests of the Crown were involved, prepared to hurl the most formidable curse and excommunication at the intruders on his land, when the unfortunate Justiciary, by ample apologies and promises, stayed the spiritual sword, and was left to deal with O'Brien without being under the ban of Church as well. It is evident from this record that there was no time to heap up a large mound for the support of the wooden tower.

A few more notes on thirteenth-century castles will show how long the type continued to be made. Bunratty in Clare was built in 1248 to 1250, and was a typical fortress. It had more than one stone tower, and in 1287, after the fall of its owner, Thomas de Clare, the Escheator made extensive repairs. He was "allowed £11 10s. 8d. for making 25½ perches of a fosse round the castle of Bonrat, and making a palisade on the same fosse." He was also "allowed 103 shillings and 9 pence expended on work of the castle aforesaid, viz., in covering the great tower and the chamber near the water, and buying new locks for the gate, and repairing other houses within the said castle, and in constructing and raising a wooden tower beyond the gate." In the same Pipe Roll, £10 was allowed for a britagium at Carkenlys³ (Cahirconlish) in Limerick, though at that very time it is described as "rampart-guarded stone solid cathair cind lioss," and mention made of the "bridge gate," "bawn," and "caher."⁴

About the same time a fortified manor in Munster is described.⁵ The important manor of Inch, held by Thomas fitzMaurice under Edward I., was "surrounded by a stone wall"; it had "a hall constructed of pales, with an earthen wall, and thatched, a kitchen of planks, a chamber and a cellar built of stone, and thatched; a chamber for women, and a chapel with worn-out pales covered with straw." It was sworn to be "worth nothing," and to require forty shillings a year to maintain it, and it seems to have closely resembled an Irish caher, with its group of buildings, whether in the fifth century, as described in the "Tripartite Life," or in the late seventeenth century, as in the O'Davoren's partition deed of Caher-macnaughten.⁶

One palisaded mote was in use so late as September, 1649. Oliver

castra et oppida muniebantur" (Du Cange), wooden towers and ramparts, or "Brattishes."

¹ C. S. P. I., vol. iv., p. 255, "Irish Exchequer Records."

² Being himself a Dalcassian, and one of the Kennedys.

³ "Pipe Roll" (Ireland), xvii. Ed. I., No. 20.

⁴ Macgrath's "Wars of Torlough."

⁵ C. S. P. I., vol. iv., p. 255, anno 1298, June. Lands of Thomas FitzMaurice.

⁶ *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 120.

Cromwell, in a letter to Lenthal from Drogheda, writes—"Divers of the enemy retreated into the mill mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft and strongly palisaded."¹

CONCLUSIONS.—Thus we have gone over the tradition and history of the motes—from Cuchullin to Cromwell, from the raid of Cualnge to the taking of Drogheda—endeavouring to ascertain the age of the motes no less than the nature of the early English castles. We have found—(1) that mention of a fort at the site of an existing mote is common in pre-Norman documents; (2) that early writers considered such motes as Slane, Downpatrick, Naas, and Knockgraffan, to be prehistoric, *i.e.* of the first to the third century, and that this is borne out, nay, shown to be moderate, by finds of Bronze Age objects in the complex motes; (3) that various motes existed in early times, the records of dates being—Downpatrick, *temp.* St. Patrick, and in Annals from 495; Slane, *temp.* St. Patrick and 698; Lismore, 634; Naas, before 705; Donaghpatrick, *temp.* St. Patrick and 745; Rahugh, 851; Magh Adhair, 877; Kilfinnane and Knockgraffan, before 902; Dunaghy, 942; Durrow, before 1029; that in 1185 Downpatrick was attributed to the fifth, and the general class of Irish motes to the early ninth, century; (4) that no evidence seems definitely to record the construction of a high mote by the Normans in Ireland; (5) that we have a long list of early Norman castles where motes do not exist, and a list of many motes where no castle remains.

How far these deductions affect the theory of the origin of non-Irish motes I am not concerned—they seem conclusive for Ireland. Doubtless, motes were made at any rate as late as the eleventh century in western Europe; but we have no such records for Ireland, though the erection of such motes may be as late within our borders. Even were the generally late date of motes established, it could not shake the evidence for the very early date of some in Ireland. Beyond this, early tradition, history, and excavations fail to help us. With a profound sense of the rudimentary character of this paper, I venture to put it forward rather as a statement of doubts and difficulties and a stimulus to students, than as having any claims to finality, or pretending to settle even the main questions which gather round the high motes of Ireland.

¹ Letter, September, 1649.

APPENDIX.

I.—VARIOUS HISTORIC NOTICES BEARING ON MOTE SITES.

430-460. St. Patrick camps near the fosses at Slane, the dun of Naas, the dun of Trim, the dun of Downpatrick, and the "court" of Donaghpatrick. The "height" of Granard is also mentioned.

493. Downpatrick (Dunleathglas) fort stormed. 512. Derver (Drumdeirbh) named. 550-560. King Dermot, son of Fergus, resided in the fort of Kells. 570. Great meeting at Rahugh (Rath Aedha). 610. Sillan mentions Dunleathglass. 637. St. Carthage flies to Lismore (Dunsginne) for refuge. 698. Murehu maccu Mactheni mentions the earthworks of Slane as pre-Christian. 705. The roof of the dun of Naas burned off. 742. Massacre at (Granaret) Granard. 747. Violent entry of Donaghpatrick. 776. Fort green of Galtrim (Caladhtruim) mentioned. 832. Lismore plundered (not the church). 836. (Cloneois) Clones. 877. Fort green of Magh Adhair, "the very place of inauguration," insulted by Flan, King of Cashel. 900. Before this date Cormac, King of Cashel, edited the "Book of Rights," and inserted poems by his contemporary, Selbach, in which (Treada-na-riogh) Kilfinane "at Drum-finghin" and (Grafan) Knockgraffan are named, as well as Naas. 942. (Duneachdach) Dunaghy (or Dundermot fort) entered, and the King of Uladh taken. 973. Cinaed Hua Articain the poet died. The poem "Temair V.," after 980 (possibly before 1000), *ante* 1023, mentions (Drumcalaid) Galtrim, Naas, Slane, and (Dermag) Durrow among the "Dindgnai of Erin." 1000 to 1050. Sword of Domnall Sealshead deposited in mote of Greenmount. 1025. Clones ravaged. 1066. Granaret plundered. 1164. Chief's residence at (Lugmadh) Louth burned. 1176. "Mots" made by the Normans at Trim and Slane. De Lacy killed on the castle of Durrow. 1181. Kilkea Castle made near a mote. 1184. Killare Castle at a mote. 1192. (Athanurchair) Horseleap, Kilbixy, Kilfeakle, and Knockgraffan Castles at motes. 1181-6. Geraldus describes the motes as deserted, and dating from before 830. Jocelin describes Dunleathglas "mote" as earlier than St. Patrick's mission. 1199. Granard mote refortified. 1200. Castles already stood in Connaught.

II.—CHIEF MOTES OF IRELAND.

ULSTER.

ANTRIM.—Donegore (Ordnance Survey Map, 50), 40 feet high. Dundermot (27) crescent annexe. Dunamoy (45), 50 feet high. Ballykeel (37) fan annexe. Galgorm (37) "square" annexe.

DOWN.—Downpatrick (37), 60 feet high; ramparts, 2100 feet around; oval annexe, round mount; largest Irish complex mote. Dromore (21), 44 feet high, "square" annexe. Crown Rath (46), "square" annexe.

TYRONE, Clogher (58-59), irregular annexe, with cairn.

MONAGHAN.—Clones (11).

LEINSTER.

LONGFORD.—Granard (10), largest simple mote.

LOUTH.—Killany (10), square annexe. Faughart (4). Raskeagh (4).

MEATH.—Slane (19), with surrounding fosses. Dunsany (37) defaced. Derver (10), square annexe. Donaghpatrick (17), crescent annexe; deep fosses.

WESTMEATH.—Moate (30). Ardnurher (31), crescent annexes, cut out of a ridge. Rahugh (38). Rathcrevagh (38). Castletown (32), 50 feet high; crescent annexe. Fore (4), "square" annexe.

KILDARE.—Morristown Biller (23), round mount and oval annexe. Rathmore (20). Naas (19). Reban (30), a deep "square" entrenchment; mount to west. Old Connell (23). Great Dowdenstown (24), 37 feet high, with side terrace fosse and ring.

KING'S COUNTY.—Durrrow (9), defaced.

KILKENNY.—Portnascully (45), 50 feet high. Listerlin (36). Callan (20), 40 feet high; "square" mote, annexe small. Knocktopher (31), 40 feet high.

CARLOW.—Ballyknockan¹ (16). Millmote (7). St. Mullin's (26). Castlemore and Castlegrace (8).

QUEEN'S COUNTY.—Monachoghlan, near Aghaboe. Skirk (21), with annexe and pillar-stones. Killeslin (32)

WICKLOW.—Merginstown (15), crescent annexe. Newtownmountkennedy (13). Umrygar (42).

WEXFORD.—Ardamine (12). Loggan (2), oval annexe. Ballisbeg (2). Ballymoatymore (20).

MUNSTER.

CLARE.—Magh Adhair (34).

LIMERICK.—Kilfinnane (56), three rings. Shanid (19), crescent annexe.

TIPPERARY.—Dunohill (59), annexe. Kilfeacle (59), 45 feet high, annexe. Knockgraffan (77), 55 feet high, irregular annexe. Mullagasty, near Tipperary (57).

WATERFORD.—Lismore (21), crescent annexe.²

Dinn Righ, or Duma Slainge, the early residence of the kings of Leinster, appears in several pre-Norman documents, such as the "Book of Leinster," p. 127 b: "Dumu Slaine." It is there regarded as prehistoric.

² Illustrations of Downpatrick, Donaghpatrick, Dunohill, Tipperary, Rathcreevagh, Derver, Kilfinnane, Clones, and Magh Adhair motes, with plans of the first, and those of Lismore, Killaney, and Dromore, will be found in "Ancient Forts of Ireland," p. 130, sect. 128. I have to thank the Royal Irish Academy for the use of the illustration from the Bayeux Tapestry, and Dr. Joyce for the blocks representing the motes of Kilfinnane and Naas from his own sketches.

[APPENDIX III.—EARLY CASTLES.

III.—EARLY CASTLES.

DATE.	CASTLE.	AUTHORITY. ¹	NOTES.	AS TO MOTE, IF ANY.
A.D. 1176	Cennanus (Kells).	F. L. U.	Record of earlier fort held by King Dermot, <i>c.</i> 550–560. ²	
	Athdruim (Trim).	D.	Early fort (V. T.). The Norman fort had a chastel, dongan, and stockade.	
	Slane.	U. F. L. D.	Record of early fort (D.), and pre-Christian earthworks (V. T.).	Early mote, not at castle.
	Caladruim (Galtrim).	U. F. L. D.	A battle took place on the green of the fort, 776 (U.).	Early mote.
1176–7	Derrypatrick.	U. F. L. D.		
	Dundaethglas (Down).	U. F. L. D. G.	Early fort in many records. Norman castle, “weakly fortified.”	Early fort, not in town.
1178	Kells.	C. T.		
1181	Tahmehee.	G.		
	Norrach.	G.		
	Cluanarech (Clonard).	G.		Mound, evidently sepulchral.
	Ardfinan.	G.	Stone castle, built by Prince John.	
	Lismore.	G.	Records of early fort. Stone castle at town.	Early mote, not at town.
	Tibrach (ny).	G.		
	Naas.	F.	Early fort in many records, <i>ante</i> 902 (D. R.).	Early mote.
	Durrow.	F. G.	Early fort, Dermach, <i>ante</i> , 1029 (D.).	Early mote.
	Limerick.		Stone towers, built by Prince John.	
	Tristledermot.	G.	Built by Walter de Ridelesford.	
	Kilkea.	A.	Dr. Joyce identifies the mote as one of the two forts, Raerinn, ³	Mote, not at castle.
	Leighlinbridge.	G.	Built by de Clahull.	
1184	Cellfair (Killare).	U.		Mote.
1186	Various castles in Meath.	L.	Built by Hugh de Lacy.	
1191	Rathcuanartaigh.	L.		
	Athnurchar.	L.		Mote.
	Cilbixsighe.	L.		Mote.
	Kilfiacle.	F.		Mote.
	Knockgraffan.	F.	Early fort of Grafan, <i>ante</i> 900 (R.).	Early mote.
1195	Imleach (Emly).	F.	Four castles burned.	
1196	Cell Santan.	U. L.	Early rath of Dundabhenn. ⁴	Sandal mount.
1199	Karakitel.	C.		
	Karkinliss (Caherconlish).	C.		
	Escloun.	C.		

¹ The references are—C., “Calendar of Documents, Ireland”; Clon., “Annals of Clonmacnoise”; C. T., “Continuation of Tighernach”; D., “Dindsenchas” (ed. W. Stokes); F., “Annals of the Four Masters”; G., “Giraldus Cambrensis”; I., “Annals of Innisfallen”; L., “Annals of Loch Cé”; R., “Book of Rights” (ed. O’Donovan); T., “Tighernach” (ed. W. Stokes); U., “Annals of Ulster”; V. T., “Vita Tripartita” (ed. W. Stokes).

² And a reputed prehistoric fort (see A. F. M., A.M. 3991).

³ “Social History of Ireland,” vol. i., p. 89.

⁴ The reputed fort of Congall Claen, King of Uladh, 637 (see *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, original Ser., vol. ii., p. 56, n.; and “Dindsenchas,” section 121).

III.—EARLY CASTLES—*continued*.

DATE.	CASILE.	AUTHORITY. ¹	NOTES.	AS TO MOTE, IF ANY.
A.D.				
	Granairét (Granard).	L.	An early fort (U.).	Early mote.
	Iniskefty (Askeaton).	I.	Early fort of Gephthine, <i>ante</i> 900 (R.).	
	Athlone.	L.	Stone castle, with "tower" and "bawn" (C.).	
	Castroenoc.	C.		
	Castro Iconing.	C.	An early fort (F.).	Mote.
	The Obber (Nobber).	C.		
1201	Roscommon.	L.		
1203	Geishill.	C.		
	Meelick.	L.		
	Lughmadh (Louth).	C.	Record of early fort (U.).	Early mote.
1204	Connaught.	C.	Meyler Fitz Henry strengthens castles.	
1206	Kilmallock.	C.		
1207	Boruma.	Clon.	In the Borowe, an early fort, <i>ante</i> 950.	
	Birra (Birr).	F.	Probably an early fort; a meeting held there, 826.	
1209	Rathwire.	F.		
1210	Carrickfergus.	C.		
1212	Roscrea.	F.		
	Caoluisge.	L.		
	Carlingford.	F.		
1213	Cuilrathan.	L.	"Built of stones from tombs, clochans, and cumdachs."	
	Clones.	U.	An early fort, razed by the Gentiles, 837 (U.).	Mote.
1214	Dorlas (Thurles).	C.		
	Clonmacnoise.	L.	Earlier than 1214.	
	Athboy.	L.	" "	
1215	Cromoth (Croom).	C.	" 1215.	
	Dungarvan.	C.	" "	
1216	Ratoath.	F.		
	Killaloe.	F.	Stone castle (Clon.).	

I have given the recorded Norman castles for a period of forty years, to compare with similar Tables of early Norman castles in England. The result is, that out of some sixty castles, over forty have no trace or record of a mote at the site; ten have motes where important pre-Norman forts are recorded to have stood; six have motes, there being no early record known to me of a fort at the place; one has a mound almost certainly non-residential and non-defensive. The corroboration which this Table gives to the views of those opposed to the "Norman theory" of the Irish motes is not a little striking.

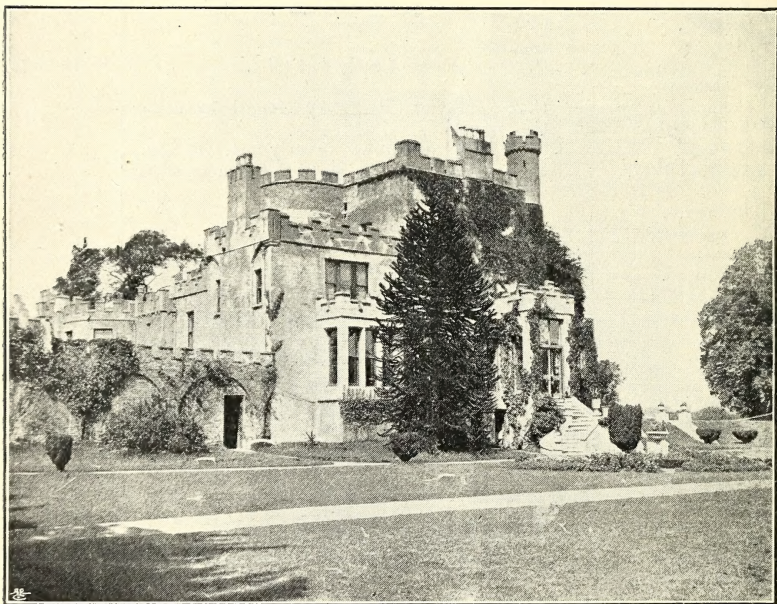
¹ For authorities, see footnote (¹), p. 344.

CLONEGAL: ITS VALLEY AND ITS BATTLE.

BY CANON FFRENCH, M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, 1897.

[Read MAY 30, 1904.]

CLONEGAL is not only the name of a valley and a parish, but it is also the name of a considerable village, that once was a fair- and market-town, boasting its distillery, brewery, tan-yards, and a notable market for the sale of woollen stuffs. This village is built near the head of the valley, and almost under the shadow of Mount Leinster, which lifts up its giant head through the blue haze in the background. Its broad



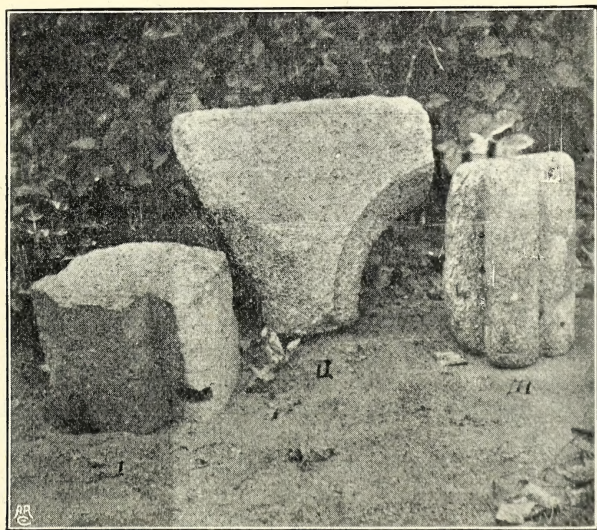
HUNTINGTON CASTLE. (SOUTH SIDE.)

street of comfortable slated houses and neat shops, adorned with a double row of forest trees that cast their shadows over its pathways, extends down the side of the hill until it meets the River Derry, which is spanned by an ancient bridge; and then it runs for a short distance up the hill on the opposite side of the river. At the head of the village, the towers of the Protestant and Roman Catholic places of worship are visible through their surrounding trees; and at a short distance the old, grey ivy-

covered castle of the Esmonds (now the residence of H. Robertson, Esq., M.P.)—a most picturesque old castle with immensely thick walls built of small stones. It has a well in the vaults to provide against a siege, and a strong iron gate between the double doors of the entrance still remaining, all reminding us of the time when massive walls and battlemented-towers and strong arms within them were needed for the protection of those of whom it has been said:—

“ the good old rule
Sufficeth them: the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.”

Some hundreds of years ago there were two other buildings, which must have added greatly to the beauty of the scene. Not far from the



I.—STONE, WITH HOLE FOR HINGE OF DOOR (ARD BRITAIN).

II. and III.—CUT STONES FROM ABBEY OF ABBEY DOWN.

village at one side were the ruins of the Augustinian Abbey, and at the opposite side of the village there then existed the Castle of Clonogan. Of the Augustinian Abbey of Doune, or Abbey Down, but few vestiges are now to be met with. It is said to have been founded by the Danes, who perhaps at one time extended their dominion inland from the coast as far as Clonegal; and possibly it may be from them that the valley derives its name of “The Meadow of the Gaul, or Stranger.”

In the earlier editions of Ware, this ecclesiastical foundation was called Dun Abbey, or the Abbey by the Dun; and the outline of the dun, or

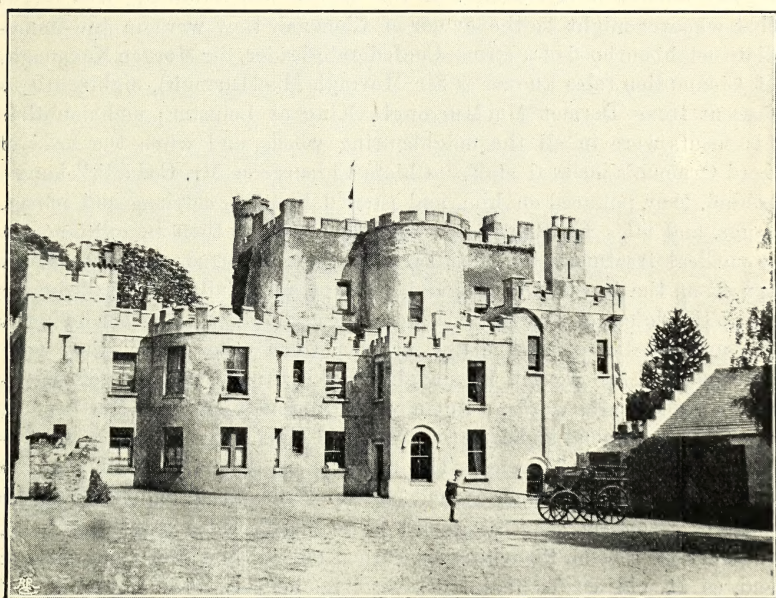
fort, under whose protecting shadow the abbey was erected, is still plainly visible. The few remaining cut stones have been placed for preservation on the Rector's lawn. One of them seems part of the groining of an arch, and another was evidently the centre stone, from which sprung the two Romanesque opes of the east window of the abbey. The other ecclesiastical remains in the valley are but few. Two or three cut stones are the only vestiges of the oratory of Ard Briton (the height of the Briton), on the townland of Orchard, where at one time some ancient ecclesiastic from Wales devoted himself to prayer. The Church of Clonegal is modern, but the site is most interesting. It was appropriated to sacred purposes so long ago as the time of St. Patrick, and the original church was built on a dun, or mound, which formed the base of a small fortress, and was surrounded by a deep moat enclosed by a rath, evidently the gift of some ancient chieftain, who had devoted his residence to God.

The churchyard contains the stone socket of an ancient Irish stone cross; and in 1902, at a depth of about ten feet below the present surface, an ancient quern or hand corn-mill (now in the vestry of the church) was found on digging a grave—possibly the very quern used by St. Fiace, the first Rector of the parish, who was set apart by St. Patrick to be one of the first bishops of the Irish Church. The pre-historic and pre-Christian remains in the valley are not numerous. On the side of Newry Hill there is a pillar-stone, under which probably the native Irish judge at one time sat to hear cases, as a little beneath it there are the remains of an ancient Irish residence still called Rath-na-Doran; and we know that the Dorans were the Brehons, the hereditary judges of Leinster.

In the townland of Moylisha there is a grave known as "Labba na Shee," the bed or grave of the fairies, where doubtless were laid to rest one or more of that weird race who pass like a shadow across the pages of Irish history—the Tuatha-de-Danaan, who retreated before the more muscular Milesians into the depths of the forest, or into earth-houses, and who are handed down to us as fairies living in the green hills. I once tried to excavate this grave, and at considerable expense employed two men to undertake the work. They worked away under my supervision until the shades of night compelled them to desist. I returned the next morning to find the place all filled in again. In the night two of the neighbours, who knew their fears, howled at the back of the house where they were sleeping, until they frightened them to such a degree that they were seen rushing from their house in their night garments with shovels in their hands, with which they quickly undid all that I had got them to do the day before. In the grounds of Huntington Castle there is an interesting bullan, or rock-bason, with which we must conclude our list of pre-historic remains. Now let us return to Clonogan Castle.

Clonogan Castle, of which nothing now remains, but the site, was

once a place of considerable importance, and must have dominated the valley. No doubt it was originally a Kavanagh castle, for, in a lease of the Abbey of Doune, granted in 1567 to that strange adventurer Thomas Stuckeley (then Seneschal of the County Wexford), the lands are styled the "Lands of the Abbey of Doune, in the O'Morrow's Country." Consequently, Clonogan Castle must have been in the O'Morrow's Country also, as it was not far distant from the Abbey of Doune; and situated as it was in the midst of the Kavanagh strongholds, it would have been impossible for any sept but the Clan Kavanagh to have held it. Yet the valley was not originally theirs—it was the patrimony of the O'Neils of Leinster. In "a Deveyse for the reformatyion of Laynster,"



HUNTINGTON CASTLE. (WEST SIDE.)

presented to the king in 1540, this castle is called "The Castell of Clonogan, the Kinge's Castell," so that it seems probable that the Crown obliged the Kavanaghs to give it up when taking from them the Castles of Clohamon and Clonmullen, which were made royal castles, although the latter castle—that of Clonmullen—remained practically in the Kavanaghs' hands, as they were appointed its hereditary constables.

Quiet and peaceful-looking as the valley is now, it was not always so, for at one time the northern pass into Wexford was through it. Poulmounty at one end of the Leinster range, and the valley of Clonegal at the other, formed the two passes from the north into the County

Wexford, and consequently in the convulsions that followed the Insurrection of 1641, it was the theatre of much military activity; and when Lord Ormond left Dublin, in 1642, at the head of an army of 2,500 foot and 800 horse, with "two brasse culverines and four brasse field pieces," for the purpose of opposing the Confederates, he rested his troops at Clonegal, and doubtless felt more sure of a friendly reception there than he would elsewhere, as it was situated on the estate of Lord Esmond, the founder of Huntington Castle, an old and trusted military commander, who was as strong a supporter of the unfortunate King Charles I. as he was himself, and who was at that very time commanding the Royal troops at Duncannon Fort. This confidence seemed to have led to a certain amount of carelessness on the part of his following, who forgot that whoever might be the owner of Clonegal, they were in the immediate neighbourhood of a strong Confederate leader, Sir Morgan Kavanagh, of Clonmullen (also known as Sir Murragh MacMurragh), eighteenth in descent from Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster; and doubtless his scouts were in all the neighbouring woods, and when the head of Lord Ormond's medical staff, "Chiefe Chirurgion Mr. Coddell," lagged behind, they pounced on him, and carried him off, carriage and horses, drugs, and all. Knowing as we do now the ideas then in existence as to medical treatment, we must say that they conferred an unintentional benefit on the Royalist troops, and, perhaps, materially aided in bringing about the defeat of the Confederates; for certain it is, whether owing to the unwonted supply of drugs, or from some other cause, they were defeated, and Sir Morgan Kavanagh lost his life at the battle of Bailinvegga shortly afterwards. But a very different visit from the friendly one of Lord Ormond and his army was paid eight years after—in 1650—to the village of Clonegal. The military usurper, Cromwell, who, in order to reform the monarchy, cut off the king's head, and established a military despotism that recognised no authority but his own, and who, in order to reform the churches, turned out all the Protestant clergy; and, as an old writer quaintly says, "he beheaded the churches, and stripped them clean bare," was about to make himself felt there as he did to the remotest corners of the country. His troops, under Colonels Reynolds and Hewson, having taken Tullow Castle, which was then commanded by Colonel Butler, a detachment of them marched from that to Clonegal, into the very heart of the country held by the hill tribes, and there tradition tells us that these tribes made a last and desperate stand, a brave but fruitless effort to withstand the invader. Nothing seems to the writer of this sketch more remarkable than the feebleness of the opposition that was, as a general rule, offered to Cromwell. It can only be compared to that offered to King Henry II. when engaged in a similar enterprise; and in both instances, the ease with which the conquerors took possession of the country may be attributed to the same cause.

The inhabitants of Ireland were so deeply engaged in their never-

ending quarrels with one another that they had no energies left to devote to repelling an invader, and numbers were longing for any strong hand which would have power enough to give peace to the land. Doubtless, also, many thought that Cromwell, like others, would have been satisfied with an empty conquest, and would have returned to England, leaving things to go on much as they did before. But, however the dwellers in the valleys may have failed to realise the situation, the Kavanaghs, the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles of the hills seemed to have foreseen what was coming, and determined to make, at all events, a stand, before the Cromwellian roller passed over them. For that purpose they mustered in force in Clonegal. Tradition does not tell us who commanded them, but, in all probability, it was Colonel Daniel, or Donnell, Kavanagh, the last of the chieftains of Clonmullen, who was called after his grandfather, the well-known Donnell Spaineach, and who himself, after the defeat, escaped to Spain, and died unmarried there. The traditional account of this forlorn hope of the hill tribes, which is still green in the memories of the older inhabitants, tells us that the Cromwellian troops marched from Tullow along the old road through Orchard (a place where one of the last of the Bards, "Fleming," once gathered his pupils around him, and the site of whose residence is still known as the "Schoolhouse Field"), and, passing from that over the hill of Monaghtrim, they found the village of Clonegal lying at their feet. The mountain men lay in ambuscade behind the houses at either side of the street, hoping to take the Cromwellians by surprise, and to throw them into disorder; as soon as the advancing troops had passed into the street, they rushed upon them. The Cromwellians received them with perfect coolness, and instantly formed so as to present an unbroken front to the enemy as they poured in at either side of the street, and then opened on them, at close quarters, a deadly fire of musketry. The carnage was dreadful; and when the mountain men found that the surprise was a failure, they fled; discipline prevailed against courage, as it has often done before and since. The remains of one division attempted to cross the Derry, but the Cromwellian vanguard, which had previously passed over the bridge, lined the banks, and the Derry was soon "red with blood and choked with dead." The remains of another division fled to Kilearry, which was then a little village adjoining Clonegal. It was immediately surrounded, and it is believed that not one escaped; and, doubtless, it was the feeling of bitterness caused by this attempted surprise that led the Cromwellians to treat with such severity the Clonmullen sept, and to so strongly garrison all the surrounding castles.

They placed a garrison at Clonegal, doubtless in the Castle of Clonogan, for we find, three years after the battle of Clonegal, in 1653, Dudley Coleclough, Esq., petitioned the government for payment for the goods and provisions made use of by the garrison at Clonegal. They had also garrisons at Carnew and Clohamon, and "other places in the

counties of Wicklow and Wexford." There can be little doubt that, if the lines of the Cromwellians had been broken, the mountain men would have exterminated them; but the long street of Clonegal was not a suitable place even for an attempted surprise. We must suppose that the width of the street was always much the same as it is at present, and it was too wide to make the attempt to throw the Cromwellians into confusion likely to be successful. There is room enough outside the houses for two pathways, two rows of trees, and for troops to form, so that unless they were panic-stricken, the attempt was likely to be a failure. Mr. Charles Topham Bowden, an English officer, who visited Clonegal one hundred years ago, has preserved in his "Tour," a mention of this local tradition, which is substantially the same as that already given; and he has also placed on record a stanza of an old Irish song descriptive of the battle, which was translated for him into English by the Rev. Mr. M'Daniel, who was at that time the Roman Catholic curate of the parish:—

"The sun of thy glory for ever is set,
 Ill-fated Hibernia, in darkness profound;
 With the blood of thy heroes Kilcarrig is wet;
 Desolation and death roam at large all around.
 The streams of old Derry, which silver were called
 By the sweet bards of Orchard in happier days,
 Are tainted with murders, and crimson'd with gore,
 Choked up with carnage, and stopt in their ways."

You will observe that a hundred years ago it was necessary to translate into English a local song, as Irish was the language spoken; but in later years, not one word of Irish was understood in the valley. I will illustrate this by a story. My old coachman, who has been thirty years in my service, was born and reared in Clonegal. When the last census was taken, I asked Pat had he filled the paper, "Yes, sir," he said. "What language did you say you spoke," I asked? "Irish," he said. "Why, man," said I, "you never heard a word of Irish spoken. What do you think they speak in England?" "If, sir," said he, "they speak like me, they speak Irish." This was said with such determination that I was obliged at once to give in, and let it pass as a fact that the whole English nation spoke Irish.

"Desolation" was indeed a very fitting description to give to the patrimony of the Clonmullen sept, for Cromwell seems to have determined to take every precaution that they should give him no further trouble, and he transplanted the whole tribe, so that from Newtownbarry to the Nine Stones high up on the side of Mount Leinster, not one farmer of the name of Kavanagh remains to tell where once that warlike sept was located; the plough passes over the green field where once the strong castle of Clonmullen stood; and although the beautiful mountain

valleys that are to be found between Newtownbarry and the Nine Stones are now inhabited by hardy, thrifty, industrious farmers, the population is of comparatively modern growth, and the old men will tell you that their fathers and grandfathers told them, that when they settled there, the land had lain so long desolate, that the furze bushes had grown into forest trees, in which the magpies built their nests. When the military despotism of Cromwell had passed over, and the king got his own again, there was not one of the Clonmullen Kavanaghs who could claim the beautiful patrimony of their ancestors; for, as I have already mentioned, the last of the chieftains of Clonmullen died childless in a foreign land, and the estates of the family were granted to Arthur, Earl of Anglesey. I have called those estates a beautiful patrimony, because it would be difficult to find a much more picturesque and charming mountain-scene than that which can be enjoyed by those who drive from the well-built, thriving, and beautifully-situated little town of Newtownbarry to the Nine Stones. The contrast between the highly-cultivated valleys and the purple heath-covered mountains, on which the lights and shadows are ever playing, forms a lovely picture; and when visitors have arrived at the highest point to which they can drive, the whole county Carlow, and miles beyond, lie spread out in one vast panorama before them. Mr. Bowden, of a hundred years ago, was as much impressed with the beauty of his surroundings and the courtesy of the inhabitants as visitors are at the present day; and he seems, during his very short visit, to have thoroughly enjoyed himself. He stopped at the hotel of Leonard Brown, a large house in the village, which has been purchased within the last few years for a clergyman's residence. Mr. Bowden admired everything that his very short sojourn enabled him to see, particularly the residences, close to the village, of Mr. Durdin, of Huntington Castle, and Lieutenant Rowan, of Lower Kilcarr. He also admired the pretty thatched cottage called Upper Kilcarr, where, subsequently, Mr. Tighe (of the Woodstock family) and his wife, the gifted poetess, and author of "Psyche," lived.¹

¹ Authorities quoted:—The State Papers; "Loca Patriciana," by the Rev. J. F. Shearman (*Journal*, 1874-5); Bowden's "Tour"; "Historical Collections," Dublin, 1758, &c.

THE BATTLE OF DUNDONNELL (BAGINBUN), A.D. 1170.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN.

[Submitted AUGUST 9, 1904.]

I HAVE already, in the pages of our *Journal*,¹ given my reasons for identifying Baginbun with the place where Raymond le Gros first landed in Ireland and entrenched himself for nearly four months, waiting for the coming of Strongbow, and I need not repeat the reasons here. I have, however, an important addition to make to my former proofs, ample as I think they were. In my previous article, I said that the Irish name *Dun Dómhnaill* (Dundonnell) clearly indicated by our authorities (the “*Expugnatio Hibernica*” of Gerald de Barri, and the “*Song of Dermot*”), as Raymond’s landing-place, has been lost. Well, I think I have since found a clear trace of it.

In the year 1898, I searched in the careful Transcript, made by my friend Captain Philip Hore, of the accounts of the rents of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, rendered in the latter part of the thirteenth century (1279–1294), and I found several references to a district called *Crosdovenold*, which would be the regular Anglo-Norman form of *Cpop-Dóimnail*, always in connexion with place-names in the neighbourhood of Baginbun. These references to *Crosdovenold*, or some of them, have since been printed in the first volume of Mr. Hore’s “*History of Wexford*” (New Ross), pages 13, 18, 22, and 172. See, too, the volume containing the “*History of the Great Island*,” p. 199, note, and p. 219. Mr. Hore prints the name *Crosdonenold*, or *Crosdonenald*, but the first *n* should clearly be written *u = v*. *Dovenald*, or *Duvenald*, was the ordinary Anglo-Norman form of *Dóimnail*. *Crossdonnell* formed an appurtenance of the Barony of the Island, *i.e.* Hervey’s Island, or De Barry’s Island,² or the Great Island, as it is now called, in the parish of Kilmokea; but that the rents appurtenant to the Barony of the Island did not all issue out of lands situated in the Island itself, but included lands near Fethard, appears from an examination of the denominations and acreage given. In the first place, the acreage of the Great Island is given in the Down Survey as 448 Irish acres, and in the Ordnance Survey as 790 statute acres, including reclaimed land; whereas, according to the Earl’s accounts, the rents appurtenant to the barony issued from lands amounting to 902 Irish acres, and this not counting the two carucates (240 acres) in the south part of the island

¹ For the year 1898, pp. 155–160.

² Luke de Barry was appointed custodian of the Island in 1312 (Hore’s “*History of the Great Island*,” p. 221). We afterwards find the names—Durbard’s Island, Durbarr, Dunberis, and many others, all applied to the Great Island. (See the Society’s *Annuary*, 1868–9, p. 39, *note*.)

which had been granted rent-free to Dunbrody.¹ So that of the denominations mentioned, an acreage of not quite two carucates could have been actually situated in the Great Island. In the second place, of the denominations themselves, two of them may certainly, and several of them may probably, be identified with places in the neighbourhood of Fethard.

These denominations, with their probable Irish equivalents, their acreages, and probable situations,² are as follows:—

Arding: Ἀρδῶν; 1 carucate and 13 acres, probably in the Island.

See a reference, under date 1382, to the weir of Ardyng in the Island, County Wexford. Hore's "History of the Great Island," p. 222.

Grange: Γραῖς; 1 carucate, probably Grange, a townland in the parish of Fethard. The Earl appears to have worked a farm at "the Grange" and at Balic Connor, or Baliconoh, &c., where he enclosed the haggard with a ditch and palisade. This may have been Balycoynner, &c. See below.

Ballihobre, Ballyowyr in the Inquisition, 1306; 1 carucate 14 acres, perhaps Baile oðap (pronounced Ballyower), now the townland of Balliniry, Baile na h-uòpe (an oblique form of the same word), in the parish of Fethard: cf. Joyce, vol. ii. pp. 285–8, 5th ed.

Balycoynner, Balicognnogh, Balic Connor, Ballicunogh, Balicunough; 1 carucate, perhaps Baile an chonaib = 'the town of the fire-bote': cf. Joyce, vol. ii. 351, perhaps now the townland of Connagh in the parish of Fethard.

Crosdovenold: Cpop Doimnail; 1 carucate, probably the district including Dundonnell (Baginbun), now the townland known by the modern name of Ramstown.

Gortinfinor, Gortinfineria: Γουρτίν Πιονναβπαχ, where Πιονναβπαχ is genitive of Πινναβαρ, either a person's name or a whitish place (Joyce, vol. ii. 273–5); perhaps now the townland of Gorteens, in the parish of Fethard.

Culnagh, Culinnagh: Cuillionac = a place abounding in hollies. (Joyce, vol. i. p. 514).

Balidowyskre, Baly de Wyskyr, Balidowsker: Baile dub uirge; perhaps the name is now represented by the parish of Owenduff, which would have the same meaning. It is bounded by the river Owenduff or Blackwater. There were 2 carucates in this place and Culnagh, which was probably adjoining. The latter seems to have been near Ballykearoge. See Hore's "History of the Great Island," p. 223, when Quylnagh (probably) = Culnagh.

¹ "Chart. of St. Mary's," R. S., vol. ii., p. 152.

² In identifying place-names mentioned in English (or Latin) documents, my plan is to collect all the variants available, and from them reconstruct the probable Irish original. With the aid of this, it is often easy to detect the modern form in the district indicated, and much safer than to rely on fancied resemblances between earlier and later English forms.

Randouan: *pinn dubain*, the well-known Irish name for the Hook Point.—R.S.A.I., 1854–5, pp. 197–9. The Hook Tower and 12 acres of land close by were afterwards held by the Sovereign and Commonalty of New Ross, by the service of 18*d.* a year appurtenant to the manor of Old Ross. See Inquisition (1411), Car, MSS. 611, p. 14, transcribed in Hore's "History of New Ross," p. 219.

Dungulph, Dromecolp in the Inquisition of 1306, is also mentioned in this connexion: *Oun Colpa* = the fort of heifers; now Dungulph, in the parish of Fethard; Drunkulip, or Drumkulip, in the foundation Charters of Dunbrody.

Kylmehanoc, Kilmehenoc: *Cill mo Chonoc*; now Kilmannock in the parish of Kilmokea, adjoining the Great Island.

Thus, of these eleven denominations grouped under the barony of the island, two, viz., Dungulph and Rinndubhain or the Hook, are certainly not far from Fethard, and four others (not counting Crossdonnell), viz., Grange, Ballyhobre or Ballyowyr, Ballycunough, and Gortinfinor, are probably quite close to Fethard. Therefore, as we cannot identify Crossdonnell with any place in the island itself, where indeed there is no room for it, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the island, it may almost certainly be regarded as representing the townland with the modern name of Ramstown, including the headland (*Baginbun*), which was known to the Irish at the time of the landing of Raymond le Gros as Dundonnell. The two carucates in the south part of the island held rent free by Dunbrody, the lands of Ardyng, containing 1 carucate and 14 acres, and the castle with its demesne, are enough to account for the 448 acres of the island itself.

As to the difference of the names Crossdonnell and Dundonnell, Mr. Hore suggests¹ that a cross was probably erected to commemorate the first pitched battle between the invaders and the native Irish; and that the spot was subsequently known as Crossdovenold. This may have been so, and the statement in the note to Hooker's translation of the "Expugnatio" (edition 1587) might be quoted in support of this view; viz.: "that there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof [*i.e.* of the first landing of the English], and were named the Banna [*recte* the Bagg²] and the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived." Common fame, as I have elsewhere pointed out, confused the landing of FitzStephen at Banua (often corruptly written Banna or Banne) with that of Raymond, at the place afterwards known as Bagg and Bunn, and now written in one word Baginbun; but may have been correct as to the origin of this last curious name. *La Bague* (the ring

¹ See his "History of Wexford, Duncannon Fort, and the Southern Part of the Barony of Shelburne," p. 429, *note*.

² See Leigh of Rosegarland's "Chorographic Account of Wexford," 1684 (*Journal*, 1858–9, p. 461).

or jewel) and *la Bonne* are not improbable names of Norman ships. Without, however, assuming that these monuments took the form of crosses, it is possible that the name Dundonnell was confined to the headland, on which there was a Celtic dun, and that the neighbouring district to the south of Fethard was called Cross-donnell, as being originally ecclesiastical land, belonging to the Bishop of Ferns, and forming part of what became known as his manor of Fethard.¹

The explanation of the fact of these outlying lands near Fethard being included in the Barony of the Island is probably as follows:—

Hervey de Montmorenci's lands appear to have been comprised in the modern Baronies of Bargo and Shelburne. From his subsequent gifts it is evident that these were, roughly speaking at any rate, "the two cantreds next the sea, between the towns of Wexford and Waterford," mentioned by Gerald de Barri.² Some of his lands in Bargo he granted to Christ Church, Canterbury, and, in 1245, the Prior and Chapter of that house transferred them to the Convent of Tintern, Wexford,³ founded by William the Marshal, in the year 1200. Of his lands in Shelburne he granted a large portion, extending from the southern part of the Great Island to near Fethard, to the monks of Buildwas, in Wales, to found a Cistercian Monastery.⁴ Their rights were afterwards (1182) transferred to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and the Abbey and Barony (as it was called) of Dunbrody grew up in that district. He probably made some lay grants, in return for military service, as well; and we know that a large district between Fethard and the Hook, by whomsoever granted, formed the Manor of Kilelogan, and belonged to the Preceptory of Templars there. Hervey himself appears to have resided on the Island, which was therefore called "*Insula Hervici*." He accordingly made it his *caput manerii*, to which the rents and services of his remaining lands were appurtenant. Thus, the Barony of the Island was locally cut in two by the Barony of Dunbrody. Hervey became a monk in Christ Church, Canterbury, and left no descendants; and his remaining lands, constituting the Barony of the Island, must have passed by grant, or escheat, or re-grant from the Crown to Strongbow's heirs in the lordship of Leinster, and so, on partition in 1246, to the Earls of Norfolk.

Assuming this identification of Baginbun with Raymond's landing-place to be established, let me briefly recount what happened here—not drawing on my imagination, but merely relating what I can piece together from the primary authorities, and from an examination of the spot. It was about May Day in 1170 when Raymond, son of William Fitzgerald, of Carew Castle, near Pembroke, landed, with ten men-at-arms

¹ See Hore's "History of Fethard," p. 309, &c.; and the "*Inspeximus* of John St. John, Bishop of Ferns, 1223–1243," "Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin," R. S., vol. i., p. 171.

² "Expug. Hib.," R. S., vol. v., p. 233.

³ "Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin," vol. ii., pp. lxxii and lxxx (*u.*), 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 151.

and seventy archers, at that little creek where we have just come to shore.¹ He was a young man of Strongbow's household; and was sent forward by Strongbow as earnest of his promise to assist Dermot McMurrough to recover his kingdom of Leinster, while Strongbow himself was completing his preparations. Raymond is described by his cousin, Gerald de Barri, as of little more than average height, but very stout. Hence he was often called Raymond le Gros. He had rather curly, yellow hair, large, round, grey eyes, a somewhat prominent nose, and a high-coloured, jovial, pleasant countenance; and, although undoubtedly corpulent, he made up for the heaviness of his body by his light-heartedness and high spirits. He was a man of simple habits, not luxurious in either food or dress, patient and hardy, and equally inured to heat or cold. He was careful of his men, and would spend the nights in going the rounds of the sentinels and challenging them, to keep them on the alert. It was owing to his vigilance that the men in his command had the good fortune of rarely, if ever, being overwhelmed in rash undertakings, or being caught by surprise. He thought so much of the welfare of his troops that he welcomed the position of command, because it enabled him to serve them. "In short," says his admiring cousin, "he was a kind and prudent man, a skilful and daring soldier, and a consummate general."

When Raymond with his tiny force landed here, the fortunes of the earlier invaders were at a low ebb. Maurice de Prendergast had deserted Dermot, and had returned to Wales with 200 men. Robert FitzStephen was probably at this time absent in Thomond, assisting Donnell O'Brien, Dermot's son-in-law, in his revolt against the Ard Ri. Dermot himself had been forced to give hostages to the Ard Ri, and had secretly promised to bring in no more foreigners. Of course, he did not intend to keep his oath; but it was not worth while breaking it for the sake of Raymond's tiny band. Accordingly, no one joined Raymond except Herve de Montmorenci, with three men-at-arms. Another notable person in Raymond's company was Walter Bluet, to whom Raglan Castle is said to have been given by Strongbow, in consideration of his services in Ireland.

Raymond on landing was, therefore, in a somewhat perilous position; so he determined to entrench himself on the spot, and await the arrival of Strongbow. The first thing to do was to throw up that double rampart and ditch which can be seen, after all these centuries, cutting off the whole headland. It is about 240 paces long, and is still in parts about 12 feet high. The next thing he did was to raid the adjoining districts for cattle to provision his little garrison. He could then, when occasion required, retire with his cattle within his lines, and await the event.

The event came soon enough, in the shape of a determined attack by the Danes of Waterford. With the warning they had received in the

¹ This part of the Paper was read on the 29th of June, 1904, at Baginbun, to the members of our Society who took part in the Archæological Cruise of that year.

fall of Wexford in the previous year, they may well have feared that their turn would come next. It would be better to extirpate this little band of foreigners, entrenched so near the mouth of their fiord, before they were reinforced by further troops. They had heard of the exploits of FitzStephen, and they knew what masters of the art of war were these Norman kinsmen of theirs, with whom, however, they had lost all sense of kinship. Therefore, they did not despise Raymond's little force, though it numbered hardly one hundred men. They took counsel with their neighbours, with whom they seem to have been on good terms, and organized a force of some 3000 men. O'Phelan, chieftain of the Decies, a large district adjoining their territory on the west, assisted them, and a contingent came from Ossory across the Suir, and even from Idrone in the modern county of Carlow. As neighbours to Dermot, the tribes of Ossory and Idrone were naturally his sworn foes. They all crossed the river, probably where the ferry now plies between Passage and Ballyhack, and having formed into three bands marched towards Raymond's camp. The two accounts of the ensuing battle which have come down to us, though not exactly inconsistent with each other, differ somewhat in details. Reconciling them as best we can, we conclude that Raymond, having driven the cattle within the lines, determined to sally forth and meet his opponents in the open. His little band, however, could not resist so great a multitude, but turned and fled back to the camp. So closely, indeed, were they pursued, that some of the enemy got inside the entrenchments before the barricades could be closed. Then Raymond, seeing the jeopardy that he and his men were in, faced the foe, and transfixing with his sword the first of his pursuers. It was probably at this crisis that a curious incident, preserved in the "Song of Dermot," occurred. The cattle, we are told, scared at the turmoil, rushed wildly through the entrance of the fort, and met the impetuous onset of the attacking party.

" This was the first company
That sallied from the fort, I trow,"

says the Norman rhymist, with a touch of humour. It is perhaps more probable that the cattle were stampeded by design. At least, this was a ruse not unknown to the Irish of a later day, and was practised as recently as 1798, at Enniscorthy. It also closely resembles the ruse more than once adopted in the Boer war by De Wet when in a tight place. Whether driven by accident or design, the maddened cattle put the ranks of the Irish into confusion; and then Raymond, who had in the meantime rallied his men, raised his battle-cry of "St. David!" and, throwing himself upon the disordered crowd, turned what seemed very nearly a crushing defeat into a complete victory.

The carnage, though nothing to our modern ears, was terrible. According to Gerald, upwards of 500 were killed, and when the victors were weary of striking, they threw vast numbers over the cliffs into the

sea. In the quaint words of an early translator of the "Expugnatio"—
 ' Here the pride of Waterford fel; here al his myght went to noght.
 Her-of come [to] the Englysshe hope and comfort; and to the Iresshe
 dred and wanhope; for hyt was never ther-to-for I-herd that of so fewe
 men so grett a slaght was done."

The glory of victory was quickly tarnished by a deed of barbarity. The English had taken seventy of the principal townsmen of Waterford prisoners, and the question arose what was to be done with them. According to Gerald, Raymond and Hervey took opposite sides on this question. Raymond pleaded for mercy towards those who were no longer resisting, and urged that they should be held to ransom. Hervey argued that mercy was out of place while the people generally were unsubdued; that they had come to conquer and not to spare; that the prisoners were more numerous than the guards, and would be an ever present danger in their midst in the event of a further attack. Finally, the crueller counsels prevailed, and the wretched captives had their limbs broken and were cast headlong over those cliffs into the sea. If we are to believe the Norman rhymers, the captives suffered a further indignity. A woman was employed as executioner, a camp-follower who had lost her lover in the fray; and "with an axe of well-tempered steel" she cut off the heads of the captives before their bodies were thrown from the cliffs.

Is it any wonder that the recollection of this battle, in which the vanquished were to the victors as thirty to one, should have burnt itself into popular imagination, or that this spot was for centuries linked in memory with a battle fateful for Ireland, as recorded in the "olde ancient rithme":—

" At the creeke of Baginbunne
 Ireland was lost and won"?

CLONLIFFE.

BY DILLON COSGRAVE, B.A., O.C.C.

[Communicated APRIL 19, 1904.]

THIS name is given to a district situated, since the passing of the Boundaries Act, 1903, within the city of Dublin, but until then lying, for the most part, immediately north of the city on both sides of the highway to Drogheda and Belfast, and south of the River Tolka. Dr. Joyce explains the name as meaning 'meadow of herbs'; but Cardinal Moran, in his notes to Archdall's "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," referring to the ancient religious foundation here, interprets it 'plain of the Liffey.' If the latter interpretation be correct, it is possible that the present district of Clonliffe, which is some distance from the Liffey, was once more extensive, and comprised much of the present northern portion of the city. The adjoining townland of Clontarf is said to have taken its name from the Tolka, although at first sight one would be disposed to connect the word with the Irish, *torc*, 'boar,' which appears in the name of *Torc Mountain*, near Killarney. It is a curious fact that the name *Drumcondra*, which is the designation of a townland lying beyond the Tolka from Dublin, has usurped the place of the name *Clonliffe*, the latter name being applied nowadays only to *Clonliffe-road* and the *Diocesan Seminary of Holy Cross*, which stands in the demesne of old *Clonliffe House*.

The district is divided on the Ordnance Survey Map into three townlands, *Clonliffe East*, *Clonliffe West*, and *Clonliffe South*. The last of these, *Clonliffe South*, was situated altogether within the municipal boundary, even before the passing of the recent Act. It extends from the *Royal Canal* on the north to the *North Circular-road* on the south, and from *Lower Summerhill* on the east to near the harbour branch of the *Royal Canal* on the west. The *Circular-road* dates from 1768; and *Clonliffe South* has, for the most part, been covered by houses and streets since almost a century ago. If, however, we examine the excellent map, dated 1673, in Haliday's "*Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*," we shall see that all this part of Dublin, from the Tolka even to the Liffey, appears almost as a blank, and was altogether a rural district, the only roads marked being the highway to *Swords*, and that to *Clontarf*. The latter thoroughfare was more inland than the present *North Strand-road*, being indeed the road to *Ballybough Bridge*. It ran, nevertheless, close by the sea shore at that time. Far out to sea lay the *Island of Clontarf*. The mainland was brought to within a short distance of it by reclamation from the sea about 200 years ago.

The island, which must have been conspicuous during the Battle of Clontarf, was a place of isolation during the plague of 1650. It is a prominent object in the old maps of Dublin, with its "Iland House"; but it has disappeared completely under the sea within the last few years.

On the map of 1673 is marked a single building, "the Redd House," on the Clontarf-road; it seems to have stood near the present Clarke's Bridge over the canal at Summerhill. The district of Clonliffe probably included the site of Aldborough House. This imposing building, which is situated near the present boundary of Clonliffe South, was erected at the end of the eighteenth century by Edward Stratford, second Earl of Aldborough, whose family built Stratford-on-Slaney in Wicklow. He built a great house in London about the same time, and died in 1801. The ambitious structure in Dublin was a most complete mansion, containing even a theatre. It soon passed out of possession of the Aldborough family. A minor title of the family, Viscount Amiens, is commemorated in Amiens-street. The family became extinct by the death, in 1875, of the last Earl, at Alicante, in Spain. Aldborough House has seen many vicissitudes. About ninety years ago it was a Feinaglian School, called after Von Feinagle, a German, whose system of education, relying principally on the exercise of the memory, had then a great vogue. He died in Dublin in 1819. On maps of that time the house is marked Luxemburg. It was a military barrack a few years ago, and is now a department of the General Post Office. A much older house in this part of Dublin is Castle Forbes, Upper Sheriff-street, which bears the date 1729. Indeed, the only house in Dublin, known to the present writer, bearing an earlier date than this, is one in Sweeney's-lane, near Ardee-street, which bears date 1720.

The townlands of Clonliffe East and West, which were until recently extra-urban, for the most part, are separated from each other by the Drumcondra-road. Clonliffe West, which is west of that road, lies, for the most part, between the two thoroughfares connecting Drumcondra with Glasnevin, Botanic-avenue, and Whitworth-road. The former was called a few years ago Corey-lane, a corruption of Cody's-lane. The latter, like Whitworth-place adjoining, was called after the Whitworth Hospital, now called the Drumcondra Hospital, which was opened in 1818, the building having been begun in the Viceroyalty of Charles Earl Whitworth, famous some years before that as the British Ambassador to whom Napoleon announced in person that he intended to break the Peace of Amiens. This road is often popularly called the Bishop's-road, from the Right Rev. the Hon. Charles Lindsay, the last Protestant Bishop of Kildare, who died in 1846, whose property it adjoined. The neighbouring fields, called the Bishop's Fields, were the scene of a fatal duel in 1825, when Mr. John Bric, an able and popular young barrister, a native of Kerry, and an adherent of O'Connell in his

agitation for Catholic Emancipation, was killed by Mr. William Hayes of Cork, who died only a few years ago at a very advanced age.

Clonliffe East extends from Drumcondra-road to Ballybough Bridge, and lies generally between the Tolka and the Royal Canal; but there is a smaller townland between Jones's-road and Ballybough-road, bearing the singular name of Love's Charity. This and the adjoining Love-lane, now Sackville-avenue, are called after a family of the surname of Love, who owned property here. A short distance from Ballybough Bridge is Philipsburg-avenue, which perhaps derives its name from Philipsburg on the Rhine, where the Duke of Berwick was killed in 1734. It is called Ellis's-lane on old maps, and was the principal avenue of a suburb once inhabited by the older colony of Jews in Dublin. Some of the older houses of Ellis's-lane have the entrance not in front but in the side, which is said to have been a Jewish custom. The Jewish burying-ground, now disused, is situated between Ballybough Bridge and Philipsburg-avenue, and on the wall of the little mortuary chapel, which immediately adjoins the road, the strange inscription, "Built in the year 5618," confronts the passer-by. It corresponds to the year 1857-8 of the Christian era, beginning 24th September, 1857, and ending in the same month of 1858.

The present long, straight road called Clonliffe-road is about 100 years old. It was preceded by a more narrow and winding thoroughfare called Fortick's-lane. Clonliffe House and the demesne, which is now attached to Holy Cross College, were then called Fortick's Grove; and the name of the owner, Tristram Fortick, may still be seen in an inscription on an old almshouse at Little Denmark-street in the city. It was Frederick Jones, popularly known as Buck Jones, who restored the old Irish name of Clonliffe to the demesne. From him is named Jones's-road, which runs from the gate of the demesne to Clonliffe Bridge over the Royal Canal. This bridge has no stone containing its name or date of erection, as the other bridges have on the Royal Canal; but it is named as above on the Ordnance Survey Map, and is of somewhat later date than the other bridges, as the maps of a century ago show Russell-street and the path through the fields which preceded Jones's-road extending to the water's edge, but unconnected. There is a curious story about the path in question in Gilbert's "History of Dublin," of a barrister named Comerford, a guest of Jones, who had a presentiment, unfortunately fulfilled, that he would be drowned in the canal when returning from Clonliffe to town. Yet he persisted in returning by the path instead of by Drumcondra or Ballybough-roads. Jones, who was a native of County Meath, was an energetic and competent manager of the principal Dublin theatre of his day. He died in 1834. After his time, the house was for some years a barrack of the Revenue Police, a force now extinct.

In 1859, the present Diocesan Seminary was founded. The fine college and chapel have altogether dwarfed old Clonliffe House, which still stands in the grounds, yet this has interesting memories too.

Jones, who was an active magistrate, made strenuous efforts to apprehend Larry Clinch, a daring robber, who, with his gang, had attacked and burned the Belfast mail coach at Santry in 1806. Clinch, in retaliation, actually attacked Clonliffe House in force with his men. As some such onslaught had been apprehended, Jones had taken the precaution of securing a guard of the Tipperary Militia in the house, with an officer, Lieutenant Trant. After a battle, which reads like a wholesale shooting affray in the early days of California, the robbers were routed, and left two of their number dead. The bodies of these were exposed that they might be claimed by their friends; but as nobody came forward to do this, they were buried at the extremity of the road near Ballybough Bridge.

Amongst the poems of the late Thomas Caulfield Irwin may be found one entitled, "The Ghost's Promenade." Old Clonliffe House is made the theatre of a romantic tragedy, which, if it had any foundation outside the poet's brain, must have taken place before the time of even Tristram Fortick. The road and house are thus described:—

" There was a long, old road anear the town,
 Skirted with trees :
 One end joined a great highway ; one led down
 To open shores and seas.
 There was no house on it save only one
 Built years ago :
 Dark foliage thickly blinded from the sun
 Its casements low."



BOURCHIER TABLET, KILKENNY.

THE BOURCHIER TABLET IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF ST. CANICE, KILKENNY, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THAT FAMILY.

BY RICHARD LANGRISHE, FELLOW.

PART I.

[Read MAY 26, 1903.]

THIS most remarkable tablet, probably unique in Ireland for the number of armorial bearings displayed upon it, was originally placed in the north chapel of the choir of St. Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny; and in the pavement beneath were laid slabs ornamented with the Bouchier knot. This statement appears in the "History of St. Canice's Cathedral," by the Rev. James Graves and John G. A. Prim, published in 1857.

Some ten years later it appears to have been removed, as were most of the monuments in the cathedral, to preserve them from injury during the restoration works.

It appears that the learned authors of the above-mentioned History were permitted by the Dean and Chapter, when the monuments were about to be replaced on completion of the works, to arrange them in the nave according to their dates, which accounts for that of which we are about to treat being now placed on the wall of the north aisle, near the transept. One of the slabs bearing the Bouchier knot is fixed in the wall beneath.

The tablet was erected by Sir George Bouchier (third, but eventually second, surviving son of John, twelfth Baron FitzWarine, and second Earl of Bath) and Martha, his wife, fourth daughter of Lord William Howard, first Baron Effingham, in memory of their children, Charles and Frederick Philip.

The account of the arms sculptured on the tablet given in Graves and Prim's History is exceedingly meagre, being nothing more than any casual visitor with some knowledge of heraldry might write down on seeing it for the first time. It, therefore, seemed to be worthy of a fuller account being written of it, showing how the Bouchier family became entitled to the several coats thereon, and their connexion with Kilkenny.

The inscription, which is in the usual black-letter characters of the sixteenth century, reads as follows :—

"Qui clari fuerant filii spesq' alma parentū,
Bourcheri Charolus Fredericusq' Philippus
Ossa immatura simul flebilis nunc contigit urn'
Morte puer juvenis virq' senexq' cadit.
Quorum alter obiit xvii die Septembris, 1584.
Alter viii die Martii A° 1587."

Mr. Graves translated it thus :—

“ Charles and Frederick Philip Bouchier, who were the fair sons and fond hopes of their parents. The mournful urn now covers their immature remains together. By death falls the boy, the youth, the mature man, and the aged. One of them died on the 17th day of September, 1584. The other on the 8th day of March, 1587.”

The portions of the second last line which are underlined are illegible, having probably been broken away in the removal of the tablet, as they are given in full in the History of the cathedral.

The dexter or “baron” side of the shield is Quarterly of 10. (1) Argent, a cross engrailed, gules, between four water bougets sable, for Bouchier; (2) Gules, billetée or, a fesse argent, for Louvain; (3) Per fesse dancettée, quarterly ermine and gules, for FitzWarine; (4) Gules, a fret or, for Audley; (5) Gules, three oak-leaves slipped, argent, two and one, for Cogan; (6) Sable, a chevron barry-nebuly, argent and gules, for Hankford; (7) Argent, two bendlets wavy, gules, for Stapledon; (8) Argent, on two bars gules, three bezants, for Martin; (9) Gules, a fesse dancettée ermine (but cut as five lozenges conjoined in fesse), for Dynham; (10) Gules, three arches argent, two and one, for Arches.

The marshalling of the coats is incorrect: as will be seen from the subjoined pedigree, they should be placed in the following order:— (1) Bouchier; (2) Louvain; (3) Hankford; (4) Stapledon; (5) FitzWarine; (6) Audley; (7) Martin; (8) Cogan; (9) Dynham; (10) Arches.

The shield is also incomplete, a large number of the coats of heiresses intermarried with having been omitted, some of these being very notable, as will be shown hereafter. The arms on the sinister or “femme” side of the shield are those as then and now borne by the Dukes of Norfolk. Quarterly, (1) Gules, on a bend between six cross crosslets fitchy, argent, an escutcheon or, charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure, flory counter-flory of the first, for Howard; (2) Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale, or, in chief a label of three points, argent, for Plantagenet, Earl of Norfolk; (3) Chequy, or and azure, for Warren, Earl of Surrey; (4) Gules, a lion rampant, or, for Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. This quarterly coat in the funeral entries is differenced with a mullet, placed on the fesse point, for William, Lord Howard of Effingham, who was the third son of the second Duke of Norfolk, who left issue.

There are three exemplifications of Sir George Bouchier's arms in Ulster's office, and one of those of his son, Sir John Bouchier. The first, being the record of Sir George having been made a P.C., is not impaled, and exhibits eight coats only, four of those on the tablet being omitted, and two not there added, viz.—(1) Bouchier; (2) Louvain; (3) Plantagenet, Earl of Gloucester; (4) De Bohun; (5) FitzWarine; (6) Audley; (7) Dynham (the charge tricked here also as lozenges); (8) Arches; a

crescent for difference, showing that his elder brother, Henry, had died without issue. The second is the funeral entry of his wife, Martha Howard, and the third is his own funeral entry; the dexter half in each case is quarterly of eleven, viz.—(1) Bouchier; (2) Louvain; (3) Hankford; (4) Stapledon; (5) FitzWarine; (6) Cogan; (7) Audley; (8) Martin; (9) Dynham; (10) Arches; (11) Daubeney; a mullet argent for difference, Sir George having been the third son. Both these exemplifications are impaled with Howard, quarterly, as on the Kilkenny tablet, but with a mullet sable, for difference, as Lord Edward and Lord John Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham's elder brothers, having died without issue, he became the third son, having issue. The marshalling of the coats in these funeral entries is correct, but that Cogan should have been placed after Martin. The fourth exemplification in Ulster's office is that on the funeral entry of Sir John Bouchier, which contains the quarterings of Bouchier in the same order as in those of his father and mother; but there is no impaled coat, as Sir John never married.

The family name of Bouchier seems to be of fanciful construction; it first appears in the Patent and Close Rolls, temp. Ed. II., as *Le Bourser*, and more commonly as *Le Bousser*. *Le Bourser* is evidently a corruption of the French *boursier*, a bursar, or a treasurer; and the founder of the family most probably attained to affluence through being the agent and treasurer of some magnate of his time, of which some evidence is forthcoming, to be mentioned later on.

The first of the family mentioned in the Patent and Close Rolls is John de Bousser, who, on the 15th January, 1315–6, 7th Ed. II., was appointed with two others to take assizes in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. On the 12th August following, he had another commission with two others, as John le Bousser, to try certain offenders, and was named on the same date in a commission of oyer and terminer, as John Bousser. He continued to be named in frequent similar commissions down to the last mention of him in the commission of assize in April, 1329, generally as John de Bousser, but occasionally as le Bousser. On the 30th March, 1322–3, he is called le Bourser, and on the 25th October, 1324, John de Bourser, knight. In the "Dictionary of National Biography," he is referred to as "John de Bouchier or Boussier, judge, first mentioned as deputy by Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to represent him in the parliament summoned in 1306 for granting an aid on the occasion of the Prince of Wales receiving a knighthood. In 1312 he was permitted to postpone the assumption of the same rank for three years, on consideration of paying a fine of 100*s.* In 1321 (15th May) he was summoned to parliament at Westminster, apparently for the first time, as a justice, and on the 31st of same month was appointed a justice of the Common Bench. . . . The last fine was levied before him on Ascension Day in 1329. He died shortly afterwards, as we know from the fact that in the following year his heir, Robert, was put in possession of his estates by the King."

From Morant's "History of Essex," we learn that the estate of Stanstead, in the parish of Halsted, County Essex, was given by Hubert, son of Warine de Montchensy, to his son¹ Roger. This latter being in the 25th of Henry III., a minor, and the king's ward, impleaded Richard St. John, chaplain, his guardian, for burning his houses and wasting his woods in Stansted (Placita 25 Hen. III.). At the time of his death, 33 Hen. III., he had in the vill at Stansted 220 acres of arable land, 8 acres of meadow and pasture, worth yearly 26s. 8*d.* of rent of assize. No mention is made of his children; but he had two sisters, one whose name is not mentioned, wife of David Baltoratrigh, most probably Welsh or Irish; and Joane, married to Walter de Colchester. Between these two co-heirs was this estate divided; and their husbands did homage for it to King Henry III. in 1270. Walter, in right of his wife, had one-half of this manor. Their only daughter and heir, Helen, brought it in marriage to John de Burser, or Bouchier, who by means of this match first came to settle in this place, where his posterity grew in time so eminent. He was the son of Robert de Burser and Emma, his wife, and was a knight. About the 5th of Edwd. II. he purchased the manor of Abel's. Abel de St. Martin's son and heir was Thomas, who had issue William, that enjoyed this manor (Abel's, or Bois Hall) in 1302. His cousin and heir, Robert de St. Martin, by deed dated 5 Edwd. II., conveyed his whole estate to John Bousser, with the services of the several tenants, who released all their rights and claims to this estate, or any part of it, for themselves and their heirs (*Ex cartis orig., &c.*). The 13th of the same king, he and Thomas de Vere were made conservators of the peace for this county (*Pat. 13, Ed. II.*). He lies buried in an arch within the south wall of this church (Halsted). Of his two sons—Robert and John—Robert, the elder, succeeded him; John was a churchman, and became Archdeacon of Essex. Edward III., in 1330, granted Robert de Bousser a court-leet for all his tenements in the parish of Halsted, and free warren in all his demesne lands in Halsted, Stansted, Markeshall, Stisted, Coggeshall, and seventeen lordships more in Essex. He had licence in 1336 to impark his woods in this town, and, in 1341, to make his house at Stansted a castle (*Cart. 10, 15 Edw. III.*).

In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, on February 18th, 1331–2, Robert de Bousser appears with three others as a Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer for the counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; but on the 27th January following, John de Ticchebourn was appointed in his place, as he was attendant on the King's business elsewhere.

March 25th, 1332, Westminster, admission of Robert de Bousser, Knight, and Robert de Wanton, as guardians of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a minor, who is going on a pilgrimage to Santiago, to defend all

¹ See also "Feudal Aids," vol. ii., p. 143.

pleas and suits affecting the Earl in the Courts of England until the Feast of All Saints.

We have further evidence here of the connexion existing between the Bouchier family and the great family of de Vere, Earls of Oxford; therefore, it was most probably to the latter that they owed their rise to such prominence.

On the 21st of March, 1332-3, Robert de Bousser and six others were appointed Commissioners of Assize for the counties of Essex and Hertford; on July 16th, 1334, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Pleas following the Justiciary of Ireland, during pleasure, and ordered to be at Dublin by Michaelmas. On the same day, Thomas de Loreth was appointed Chief Justice for Pleas following the Justiciary of Ireland, in case Robert de Bousser does not wish to go to these parts, and second Justice if Robert does go. This patent does not appear to have been enrolled in Ireland, consequently he is not mentioned amongst Lodge's patent officers. No mention of his having been in Ireland has been found; he probably never came over, being too much occupied with affairs of State in England.

In the same year there was enrolled an "Acceptance of a demise by Joan, widow of Thomas de Corbrige, and Thomas, her son, to Robert Bousser, of the life-interest in 40 acres of land, 5 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, and 4 acres of wood, &c., in the County of Essex"; and the same was granted by the Crown in the following year "to Robert de Bousser in consideration of his manifold services, escheats of the late rebellion of Gilbert Mauduyt, of Scotland, and now held by said Joan, &c., shall remain to him, Margaret, his wife, and his heirs, to hold, &c."

In 1336 he was appointed with Adam de Everyngham to hold an inquisition what persons broke the close of Hugh de Audele (Audley?), carried away his goods, and abducted Margaret, his daughter, and to certify the King fully of the whole matter. No commission including Robert de Bousser appears in 1337, for in that year he accompanied the King in his expedition to the Schelde,¹ when he destroyed the garrison of the island of Cadsant, which had interfered with English traders.

John, first Lord Campbell, Lord Chancellor of England, in his fine work, "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England," writes thus, vol. i., p. 234: "The first lay Lord Chancellor in England was Sir Robert Bouchier,² Knight, a distinguished soldier. He was the eldest son of Sir John Bouchier, a Judge of the Common Pleas, the representative of a family long (?) settled at Halstead, in Essex. His education was very slender, being engaged in military adventures from early youth; but he showed great capacity as well as courage in the field, and was a particular favourite of King Edward III., whom he accompanied in his

¹ Froissart's "Chronicles," vol. i., chap. xxix.

² Rot. Cl. 14 Edw. III., m. 10, 14th December, 1340.

campaigns; in 1337 he was at the Battle of Cadsant, and had lately before Tournay witnessed the discomfiture of all Edward's mighty preparations for the conquest of France. He joined in the loud complaints against the ministers who had been appointed to superintend the supplies and levies at home, and in the advice that the Stratfords should be punished for their supposed misconduct.

The resolution being taken to put down the ascendancy of ecclesiastics—from the shrewdness and energy of this stout knight—he was thought a fit instrument to carry it into effect, and not only was the Great Seal delivered to him, but he was regarded as the King's chief councillor.

Lord Campbell seems to have been quite mistaken in stating that Sir Robert Bouchier had no legal training, for it may be safely inferred from the number of times recorded in the Patent and Close Rolls of Edward III. that he was appointed a Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer, and of Assize, as well as his having been named Chief Justice of Ireland, that he had been bred to the law, and had spent much more time at that profession than in soldiering. It must be remembered, however, that the Calendars of the Patent and Close Rolls had not been published in Lord Campbell's time, and that he had no index to guide him to the facts we have elicited from them. Sir Robert de Bousser seems to have made himself very unpopular, according to Lord Campbell's account, by taking the King's part against Primate John de Stratford, ex-Lord Chancellor, and for revoking by an Order in Council the statute passed by Parliament, and assented to by the King, "That if the Chancellorship or other great offices became void by the death or other failure of the incumbent, the choice to remain solely with the King, he taking therein the assent of his Council; but that every such officer shall be sworn at the next Parliament according to the petition, and that every Parliament following the King shall resume into his hands all such offices, so as the said officers shall be left liable to answer all objections."

To appease the outcry against his proceedings, the King dismissed Sir Robert de Bourghier, as he was then called, from the office of Lord Chancellor on the 28th October, 1341, and on the following day appointed Sir Robert Parnynge as Keeper of the Great Seal. The ceremony of delivering it to the new custodian is described at length in the Close Rolls, on the 18th December, 1340, to Sir Robert de Burghcher, and in the October following to Sir Robert Parvyng, or Parnyng.

In 1342 a grant of £30 a year, charged on his manor of Stanstead, was made by Sir Robert de Boucher to Master John Boucher, his brother, Archdeacon of Essex, and afterwards enrolled. Memorandum that Robert came into Chancery at Westminster on 30th January, 16 Edward III., and acknowledged the preceding deed.

On the 25th February, in the same year, he had summons to Parliament as a Baron, and again in 22 and 23 of Edward III.

In 1346 he was with Edward the Black Prince in the heat of the

Battle of Cressy, and the next year one of the ambassadors to treat with the French about a peace.

The versatility of his character may possibly be attributed to his Irish descent from Dermot MacMurrough, whose great-granddaughter, Jane, one of the co-heirs of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was the wife of Warine de Montchensy, of whom Lord Bourchier's mother, Helen de Colchester, was in part the heir. The Bourchier family had, therefore, the blood of the Lords of Kilkenny in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in their veins.

Sir Robert Bourchier, first Lord Bourchier, married Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Prayers, of Sible Hedingham, by Anne, daughter and heir of Hugh de Essex, who was descended from a younger son of Henry de Essex, baron of Raleigh, by Adeliza, sister of Aubrey de Vere, first Earl of Oxford. By her he had two sons, John, his successor, and William, of whom hereafter. Sible Hedingham lies close to Halsted.

He died in 1349, having been cut off by a plague which almost universally raged in that year, and was buried in Halsted Church, where his monument still remains. Sir John, his eldest son, succeeded him as second Baron Bourchier. He was engaged for the greater part of his life in the French wars, and was made a Knight of the Garter. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Coggeshall. He died in 1400, and was succeeded by his only son,

Bartholomew, third Baron Bourchier, who survived his father only nine years, and died in 1409. He married, first, Margaret, widow of Sir John de Sutton, by whom he had no issue; and, secondly, Idonea, widow, first of Edmund de Brooksburn, and later of John Glevant, by whom he left an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth Bourchier, Baroness Bourchier. She married, first, Sir Hugh Stafford, and, secondly, Sir Lewis Robsart, *x.c.*, but had issue by neither. She died in 1432, when the Barony of Bourchier devolved upon her cousin and next heir, Henry, second Earl of Ewe.

We shall now return to Sir Robert Bourchier's second son, William, ancestor of Sir George Bourchier, who married, in 1359, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir John de Louvain, and died in 1365, leaving an only son,

William, who was created Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, by Henry V. He raised the house of Bourchier still higher by marrying the Lady Anne Plantagenet, daughter, and eventual sole heiress, of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III.; she was the widow of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, who was slain at Shrewsbury in 1403. By her he had four sons, all of whom became Peers of Parliament, and one daughter, *viz.* :—

1. Henry, Earl of Ewe, created Earl of Essex.
2. Thomas, who became Archbishop of Canterbury and a Cardinal.

3. William, who was summoned to Parliament on 2nd January 1449, as Baron FitzWarine, in right of his wife, and was ancestor of the Earls of Bath.

4. John, who had summons to Parliament 26th May, 1455, also in right of his wife, as Baron Berners, the only one of the peerages held by the Bouchier family now extant, being held by Emma Harriet, daughter of the late Rev. Robert Wilson, who married Sir Henry Thomas Tyrwhitt, Bart., now deceased. The Baroness Berners is a second cousin of Major Archdale Wilson, late Adjutant of the Kilkenny Militia, who is also a descendant of William Bouchier, Lord Berners, whose male descendants failed on the death of his grandson, John, second Lord Berners, in 1532. This John, second Lord Berners, had by a concubine, Elizabeth Bakyn, three sons, James, Humphrey, and George, and a daughter, Ursula, all of whom he named in his will. (Books in the College of Arms prove this, 2 D.V., fol. 51. Cert. Book, 1, 5, fol. 162 B.¹)

1. Eleanor, married John Mowbray, third Duke of Norfolk.

Henry, second Earl of Ewe, eldest son of William (Bouchier), first Earl, was advanced in 1446 to the dignity of Viscount Bouchier. He married Lady Isabel Plantagenet, sister of Richard, Duke of York, the father of King Edward IV., who soon after his accession created him Earl of Essex, and gave him large grants out of the forfeited estates of the unfortunate Lancastrians. He had seven sons, viz.—(1) William, who married Lady Ann Widville, sister of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV., by whom he left an only son, Henry, who succeeded his grandfather as second Earl Essex in 1483; (2) Henry; (3) Humphrey; (4) John; (5) Thomas; (6) Edward, slain at Wakefield; and (7) Fulke. None of his younger sons left any heirs male, and consequently the earldom of Essex and the viscounty of Bouchier became extinct on the death of Henry, the second Earl of Essex.

Henry, second son, was captain of the body-guard called "The Spears," to King Henry VIII. upon his accession. This company was composed of fifty gentlemen at arms, splendidly mounted, equipped, and furnished, and afterwards attended him with great pomp to the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" in France. He married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Say, and by her had an only child, Anne, who married Sir William Parr; but that marriage was dissolved by Parliament in the 5th of Edward VI., and her issue declared illegitimate.

There remained only therefore of the great Bouchier family the line of William, third son of William, first Earl of Ewe, who had been summoned to Parliament in right of his wife as Baron FitzWarine. He married, in 1437, Thomasine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Hankford of Hankford, she then being only fourteen years of age. Her mother was Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir of Fulke, sixth Baron FitzWarine;

¹ Banks' "Dormant and Extinct Baronage," vol. ii., Berners.

she was married in 1420, and died before 1430, leaving a second daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1433-4. Sir Richard Hankford married secondly, Lady Anne Montacute, daughter of John, third Earl of Salisbury of that name, and by her, who died in 1457, left another daughter, Anne, co-heir with her half-sister, Thomasine. She was only twelve weeks old when her father died, and her mother's only child. (Inq. p. m., 28th February, 1434). She became the wife of Thomas de Ormonde, who was third son of James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, and eventually succeeded as seventh Earl on the death of his brother John, sixth Earl, in 1478, unmarried. Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde, had by his first wife, Anne Hankford, two daughters, Lady Anne Butler, who married Sir James St. Leger, and Lady Margaret Butler, who married Sir William Boleyn; and their granddaughter, Anne, was the mother of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory.

William Bouchier, Baron FitzWarine, died in 1470, and was succeeded by his son,

Fulke Bouchier, ninth Baron FitzWarine, who had summons to Parliament the 19th August, 1472. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John, sixth Baron Dynham, by Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Richard de Arches, and sole heir to her brother John, seventh Baron Dynham, who died s. p. in January, 1508-9. They had one son, John, who succeeded his father, and two daughters, Joan who married James, Lord Audley, and Elizabeth, who married firstly, Sir Edward Stanhope, and secondly, Sir Richard Page. Both the Marquess and Marchioness of Ormonde are descended from Anne (daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope and Elizabeth Bouchier), who married, as his second wife, Edward Seymour, first Duke of Somerset, *k.g.*, Lord Protector in the reign of Edward VI., who was beheaded on the 22nd of January, 1552. The Marchioness is also descended from Henry Bouchier, second Earl of Ewe, and from John Bouchier, Lord Berners in right of his wife, therefore from three sons of William, first Earl of Ewe.

Fulke, Baron FitzWarine, died in 1479, and was succeeded by his son John, tenth Baron FitzWarine, who was nine years of age at his father's death, and, on making proof of his age in 1491, had livery of his estates, and was summoned to Parliament, 12th August, 1492. He inherited the Dynham estates through his mother, but also further enriched himself by marrying about 1499, Cecilia, daughter of Giles, Baron Daubeney, who was heir to her brother Henry, Earl of Bridgwater. Being a great favourite of Henry VIII., he was created Earl of Bath in 1536; he died 30th April, 1539. His eldest son, John, second Earl of Bath, succeeded to his father's honours and estates; he was born in 1500, being aged forty years when his father died. He married, firstly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Hungerford, who died early, leaving an only child, Elizabeth. The Earl married secondly, Eleanor, daughter of George Manners, Lord de Ros, and sister of the first Earl of Rutland, and by her had issue, four sons and two daughters:—

1. John, Lord FitzWarine, born 1529, who married in Dec., 1548, Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson, and died 28th Feb., 1556, in v.p., leaving a son William, who succeeded his grandfather as third Earl of Bath.

2. Henry, of whom we have no further account, as he probably died young and unmarried.

3. Sir George, of whom hereafter.

4. Fulke, who also apparently died young.

1. Mary, married Hugh Wyot, of Exeter.

2. Cecilia, married Thomas Peyton, of Plymouth.

John, second Earl of Bath, married thirdly (ma. lic. dated same day as that of his eldest son), in December, 1548, Margaret, widow of above-mentioned Sir Thomas Kitson, and mother of his son's wife, by whom he had further issue, two daughters, viz. :—

3. Susanna.

4. Bridget, married Thomas Price, of Vaynor, in Montgomeryshire. The Earl died on 10th Feb., 1560–1.

We now turn to Sir George Bouchier, the father of the two children commemorated on the tablet of which we have been treating. He was probably born between 1535 and 1540; but no record of his baptism has come to light. Like his forefathers, he was a gallant soldier, and became a capable commander and man of affairs. He appears by the Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland to have been sent over as a military captain in 1567, and in December, 1571, he was in command of the garrison of Kilmallock, consisting of 200 Englishmen, evidently placed there to hold the Geraldines in check. On the 6th December Michael Meagh, sovereign of that town, wrote to the Government that James FitzMaurice (known as the arch-traitor), having preyed Sir William Burke's country, is pursued by Sir Thomas of Desmond, Capt. Bouchier, Apsley, and William Lacye, who killed eight score, besides many drowned in the Meilkearne. On 4th January following, Lord Deputy FitzWilliam and the Council wrote the same to the Queen. This defeat brought the arch-traitor to his knees literally, for on 10th December, 1572, Andrew Skyddye wrote to the Lord President of Munster that Mr. Bouchier, on 8th December, had a conference with James FitzMaurice at Duntrileague, who there made his humble submission, lighting from his horse, and kneeling upon both his knees in the mire, cried for God and Her Majesty's mercy.

In December, 1573, Captain George Bouchier wrote to the Lord Deputy that the Earl of Desmond would do great mischief but for the Countess and John FitzEdmund's¹ continual crying to him. On January 7th following, Justice Walsh wrote to the Lord Deputy that Desmond

¹ Sir John Fitz Edmund Fitz Gerald, of Cloyne, whose daughter, Eleanor, m. Robert Walsh, of Castle Hoyle, County Kilkenny.

refuses to put away his great numbers till Captain George Bouchier with his soldiers shall leave Kilmallock.

On March 8th, 1574, the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the Earl of Desmond the Queen's commands:—"Charge him to deliver to the possession of Captain Bouchier the castles of Ballymartyr, Castlemaigne, Castlemange, the castles and pieces of Kenry, and all other castles and pieces in Munster. And to render himself simply before the last of March." Desmond having got out of the Queen's clutches after spending seven years in the Tower, had no notion of putting himself into that predicament again, but clearly meant to defy her. One of his followers soon after robbed Bouchier's man coming from Dublin to Kilmallock with money to pay the garrison; in consequence, the Lord Deputy and Council again wrote to Desmond on May 12th, requiring that he should punish one Fox for this robbery, and restore the money—a mandate which he probably also treated with contempt, as he had done the previous one. By some stratagem, not mentioned in the State Papers, Desmond captured Bouchier, for he wrote on the 14th May to the Lord Deputy that he had taken Captain Bouchier and his men for raising a stir in the country. This was a flagrant act of rebellion; but the Lord Deputy seemed to be powerless to make reprisals, and Bouchier remained in *durance vile* for two months. Captain Robert Holmes wrote from Kilmallock on 27th May that his captain is closely kept, and not suffered to speak to a friend, but does not say where he was imprisoned. Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had been lately sent over as Earl Marshal of Ireland, wrote on June 5th from Dublin to Desmond, with whom he had probably been well acquainted in London, entreating him that his cousin George Bouchier may be released, and remonstrated with Desmond against following evil counsel. Next day the Earl of Ormond wrote to Burghley, "that the Earl of Desmond handles Captain Bouchier cruelly." On June 15th the Queen wrote to Lord Deputy FitzWilliam:—"We marvel much, considering the advertisements you write you receive daily almost from every quarter of Munster, how Desmond goeth forward in surprising good subjects and exacting pledges of them, how he retaineth Captain Bowerchier in very straight holds. . . . Therefore without attending further answer from him, you shall proceed against him with the forces you have, which are such as heretofore have sufficed for others, that have supplied (filled) your place, to have prevented like rebels of greater strength and force than we perceive he is of."

FitzWilliam does not appear to have bestirred himself, even after this sharp reproof. Essex, however, on July 10th, wrote to the Lords that he had had an interview with Desmond, and a conference in presence of his Countess and the Earl of Kildare. That Captain Bouchier was released, and that, in his opinion, war was concluded against Desmond unseasonably. Here "concluded" perhaps means "determined upon."

The Queen was evidently highly incensed against Desmond, for, writing to the Lord Deputy on August 20th, 1574, she said: "and not to rashly run to such excessive and rebellious doings as to take by subtilty or force castles being in our possession from us, and to keep in prison our faithful servant, Captain Bouchier, without any cause." On January 2nd, 1575, Bouchier was about to go to England, as the Lord Deputy wrote to Burghley on that date, "the behaviour of the bearer, Captain George Bouchier, every way answered to his noble descent."

On January 13th following, the Earl of Essex writing to the Privy Council, asked "for preferment of his cousin George Bouchier, having served seven years. His Company's sufficiency. His miserable imprisonment in Munster."

On the next day Vice-Treasurer Fitton wrote to Burghley: "Has given his bill to bearer, Captain Bouchier, uncle to the Earl of Bath. He hath well deserved both by valiantness of hand, and enduring imprisonment, &c."

These commendations were not without good results; Bouchier in 1571 had been granted a lease of the monastery and lands of Gallen, in the King's County, moieties of tithes of Fyrrye, Gallen, and Rennagh, late in County Westmeath, now united to King's County, and moiety of tithes belonging to Laragh, in O'Ferrall Bane's country (Longford), to hold for twenty-one years, rent £3 12s. 2d. Also in 1574, another lease of the priory of Ballibeg, County Cork; the lands of Ballibeg, and the tithes of thirteen rectories, for twenty-one years, rent £41 10s. for seven years, and £81 10s. for remainder of term. Now more substantial rewards were to come. Grant under Queen's letter of 30th April, 1575, to George Bouchier, Esq., of the whole manor of Onaght, County Tipperary, and the islands of Great Saltes and Little Saltes, County of Wexford. To hold for ever by the service of one-fortieth of a Knight's fee. Rent, £15 6s. 8d. 25th August, 1575.

Grant under same letter of the lands of Much Riverston, Little Riverston, and Kenock, County of Meath, possessions of Christopher Eustace, attainted—To hold for ever in fee-farm by service of one-twentieth of a Knight's fee, rent £15 19s. 2d. Grant under same letter to George Bowchier, *alias* Bowrgehier, Esq., of lands of Ballibegan, *alias* Ballilogan, parcel of the lands of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the County of Wexford, parcel of the Manor of Carrick, *alias* Carge (rent 20s.); a close containing sixty acres by the town of Wexford (6s. 8d.); the ferry of Carge, *alias* Carrick, possessions of the said Earl of Shrewsbury (5s.); a ruined castle and land in Rosbrenagh, parcel of the possessions of the late Hospital of S. John of Athy (3s. 4d.); the Church of S. Olave, *alias* S. Tullock, in Dublin, with the cemetery and precinct, belonging to the late Monastery of S. Augustine of Bristol, in England (13s. 4d.). To hold for ever in socage, rent 48s. 4d., as above. 28th August, 1575.

Grant under same letter. A messuage in Kilmainham, and a small

pasture called Jefferd's Grove, in the parish of Cromlyn, County of Dublin, possessions of the late Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland (rent 10s. 8*d.*); a tenement in S. Patrick's-street, by Dublin, belonging to late Friars Preachers, Dublin (6s.); a garden in Thomas-street, in the suburbs of Dublin, belonging to late Monastery of Thomas'-court (13s. 4*d.*); a messuage and 32 acres in Cromlyn, County of Dublin, belonging to late Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem (30s.). To hold for ever in free socage. 28th August.

Grant under same letter. Lands of Enesco, in County Westmeath, parcel of the possessions of the late Monastery of S. Peter of the Newtown, by Tryme. To hold for ever in free socage, rent £4. 28th August, 1575.

Grant under same letter. Lands of Annaghe, in Barony of Foure, County Westmeath, part of possessions of late Priory of Molingar. To hold for ever in socage, rent 26s. 6*d.*

Grant under Queen's letter of 18th November, 1578. Rectory of Drumrath, County Westmeath. To hold for ever in common socage, rent 40s.

Grant under same letter. Land of Donabroke, County Dublin, called Kilmacargin, part of the possessions of S. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, rent 10s., and a garden in the parish of Blessed Mary of lez Dames, in the city of Dublin, called Powers' Inns, of ancient inheritance of the Crown (10s.), a garden in said parish in Castell-street (12*d.*), a garden in the parish of St. Olave's in Fishamble-street, Dublin (12*d.*), possessions of the Abbey of the B.V.M. in Dublin. To hold for ever in free socage, rent 22s., as above.

Sir George Bouchier was knighted by Lord Deputy Drury, 15th or 16th Nov., 1579, at Aharlow, in camp near where the rebels lay.—Ware. These rebels were evidently Desmond's followers, though he himself was apparently friendly, and in constant communication with Drury. The latter was very ill, and scarcely able to sit on his horse; he died shortly afterwards in Waterford.

There are no references of consequence to Sir George Bouchier in the State Papers after this period, until the following year, when the Desmond Rebellion had again placed Kilmallock in danger. James Golde, the Attorney in Munster, informed Sir Nicholas Malbie, by his letter of November 27th, 1579, that Sir George Bouchier was charged with the keeping of Kilmallock; and on December 3rd, Ormond wrote to Pelham—"I send enclosed letters from Captain Bouchier and the Sovereign of Kilmallock. It seems strange that 130 men should not suffice to guard Kilmallock, unless the townsmen should betray the town, as at Youghall they did most traitorously."

Sir George Bouchier to the Earl of Ormond (enclosed letter)—"I have received your order to repair to you. Our case is very hard. I never received but £250 for four months' pay, which amounts to £500.

The townsmen have utterly refused to stay within the town, and will leave the same if I go away. The Earl (Desmond) is looked for daily here. He has his brother here upon the borders to plague the town continually. I desire that whenever you call me away, I may carry with me my whole company; so shall I avoid the slander of losing my place. I have not fifty pounds of powder. You promised me my passport into England.

Kilmallocke, 23rd November, 1759."

"Postscript—I beseech you to send some other to guard the town that I may meet you."

SOVEREIGN AND INHABITANTS OF KILMALLOCKE TO THE EARL OF ORMOND.

"You wrote to Bourcher to take half his company with him. If you were acquainted with the weakness of the town, you would have thought 200 soldiers little enough to defend it—Sir George was so earnest to go, as I was fain to keep the keys of the gates from him."

Signed, John Verdon, Sovereign, and by sundry of the inhabitants.

On 29th January, 1580, Lord Justice Pelham and the Privy Council in Dublin wrote to the Council in London informing them that "the rebels are divided into two companies, the one in Imokillie, and the country between Youghal and Cork; and the other in the great wood and Arlowe (Aherlow).

"We have sent to Youghal 300 footmen, and 100 horsemen; 500 footmen and one company of horsemen shall be residing in Kilmallock under Sir George Bouchier. There is great scarcity of money and victuals."

Signed by Pelham and Ormond.

Pelham to the Privy Council, Limerick, 11th April. On the 8th I sent Sir George Bouchier and Captain Mackworth to Kilmallock with 200 footmen, and Captains Sentleger and Apslie with two gisons, containing both about 100 horsemen, besides 100 of Sir George's company that was remaining in that town.

On 16th April, Pelham informed the Council that Sir George Bouchier with 200 footmen, and Captain Sentleger with his band of fifty horses, made a journey to beat the great woods adjoining the river of Maie; and having preyed the same, were set upon in their return, with twenty shot (musqueteers?), 200 footmen, and twenty horsemen of the rebels, which they repulsed, slew about sixty of them, and recovered (returned to) Kilmallock with the prey.

The Lord Justice Pelham and Council in Munster to the Lord Deputy and Council at Dublin.

"We have received your letters. We shall presently repair thither. In the absence of me, the Lord Justice, absolute authority rests in the Earl of Ormond, as General, to prosecute the war, to whom we have written, but lest he might be impeded, we have authorised Sir George Bouchier to be Colonel in our absence. Asketten, 23rd August, 1580. (Signed) Wm. Pelham, H. Wallop, L. Dillon, Ed. Waterhouse, G. Fenton."

On same date Pelham writes that he has left Sir George Bouchier in his place, as he was going to Dublin to present the sword to the Lord Graie. He also wrote to Sir William Winter: "I have substituted in my place Sir George Bouchier, to remain at Asketton as Colonel of the army in Munster, with power (saving in the County of Cork) to prosecute the wars."

The Commission was as follows:—To be Colonel and Governor under the Earl of Ormond, of all Her Majesty's forces in Munster. Under the Privy Signet at Limerick, 27th August, 1580. Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.

Instructions for Sir George Bouchier. Repair into Kerrie, and prey, burn, spoil, and destroy all that you may, of the traitors' goods, cattle, and corn. Advertise the Lord General of Province. You may parley with the traitors, and protect such of them as you think good, for forty days, except the Earl, Sir John, Doctor Sanders, and the Seneschal.

As you shall be driven to maintain a table for your own diet, and for such as shall resort unto you, you shall have allowance of the sum of 20s. ster. per diem, to bear the charge thereof. Various other directions follow.

Limerick, 27th August 1580.

Signed by the Lord Justice and Council.

From a return printed in the State Papers, the whole number of the forces left in Munster by Lord Justice Pelham amounted only to 3,215 men.

On September 16th, it was reported to the Privy Council that a great prey of cattle had been taken by Sir George Bouchier, who had sent 1400 cows and stud (horses?) to Askeaton. On September 22nd his march into Kerry was reported, where he burned the north and south sides of Slieve Mish, meaning probably the Dingle promontory.

On October 5th, it was mentioned that Ormond and Bouchier will take the field from Liscarroll the 8th of October.

On February 24th following, Bouchier was again in garrison at Kilmallock, whence he wrote to the Council that there was not enough of victual at Limerick to serve 400 soldiers eight days; Ormond reported this to Walsyngham from Cork.

(To be continued.)

ENNISCORTHY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY—WHO
BUILT THE CASTLE?

BY WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

[Submitted MAY 30, 1904.]

So much legend has attached to the building of Enniscorthy Castle, including its traditional ascription to Raymond le Gros, that it may be well to place before the members of this Society some reliable facts. Strongbow and King John are also quoted as builders of this fine old keep on the Slaney, but the majority of guide-books incline to Raymond le Gros.

In the present Paper I mean to make clear two facts. First, that Enniscorthy Castle was not built by Raymond le Gros. Secondly, that it was built by Gerald Prendergast, between the years 1232 and 1240.

Enniscorthy, as a place-name, means 'the island of the pillar-stones, or the standing-stones'—at least such is the meaning of the Irish name, *Inis-courthe*. Passing over the pre-Norman period, let us at once come to the year 1170, when Raymond le Gros came to Baginbun, County Wexford.

It is certain that Raymond, in December, 1170, went to Aquitaine, at the request of Strongbow, as ambassador, offering the fruits of the Earl's conquest to King Henry II. At this date the O'Briens were Lords of the Duffrey (Dubh-thir = black [turfy] land), in which Enniscorthy was situated—the name still surviving in the present Deanery of the Duffrey.

On August 10th, 1173, Strongbow was appointed Viceroy of Ireland in conjunction with Raymond, and both warriors returned from Normandy in October of the same year to take up their new positions. Some months later, Raymond retired to Carew Castle, in Wales, mortally offended, as Strongbow had given the Constablership of Leinster to Hervey de Montemarisco, and given away his sister, Basilia, to Robert de Quincey, who became, in her right, Baron of the Duffrey.

Owing to the defeat of the Anglo-Normans, under Hervey de Montemarisco, at Thurles, in 1174, by Roderic O'Connor, King of Ireland, Strongbow determined to recall Raymond le Gros, promising him the hand of his sister, Basilia, and other valuable gifts. Raymond returned to Ireland in September, 1174, and facilitated Strongbow's escape from Waterford, whence both marched to Wexford. Selskar Abbey was the scene of an important event in March, 1175, when Raymond was married to Basilia de Clare; and Strongbow gave his

brother-in-law the Constableness of Leinster, and the lands of Forth, Idrone, and Glascarrig. Forth and Idrone are in County Carlow, whilst Glascarrig is in the north-east of County Wexford—twenty-two miles from Enniscorthy.

Thus, in 1175, Raymond le Gros was lord of certain lands in County Carlow, and a small tract in County Wexford; but he had no connexion whatever with Enniscorthy. It also appears that Enniscorthy, which was then in the parish of Templeshanbo, belonged to the Church, but it was claimed by Maud de Quincey, in right of her father Robert, and supposed to devolve on her husband, Philip de Prendergast.

A further proof—if needs be—that Raymond had naught to do with the erection of Enniscorthy Castle, is the fact that he built the Castle of Forth O’Nolan, County Carlow, in 1180, and he died, without issue, early in 1186, after which his widow took another husband in the person of Geoffrey FitzRobert, an illegitimate son of Robert FitzStephen.

In 1198, Philip Prendergast married Maud de Quincey, and thus acquired the lordship of the Duffrey, including Killoughrim; but Enniscorthy was a separate estate, belonging to the See of Ferns, then ruled by Bishop O’Molloy. We know that Bishop O’Molloy was an upholder of the rights of the Church, and he took good care that the lands of Enniscorthy should not be “grabbed” by Philip Prendergast—a Welsh adventurer.

From Sweetman’s “Calendar of Documents” we learn that Bishop St. John, the successor of Bishop O’Molloy, on July 7th, 1225, was granted by King Henry III. a weekly market at his manor of “Senebod,” or Templeshanbo. This Bishop of Ferns, who was also Treasurer of Ireland, was granted by the King on July 6th, 1226, a weekly market at his manor of “Ferles,” or Ferns, and an annual fair there for eight days from the Vigil of Pentecost till the Feast of the Holy Trinity.

And now we come to the positive proof that Enniscorthy was a manor of the See of Ferns in 1226. Under date of July 6th, 1226, as is recorded in the Close Rolls of Henry III., the King granted to Bishop St. John “a weekly market on Tuesday at *his manor of Enniscorthy*.” Sweetman prints the name as “Iscordy,” and fails to identify it with Enniscorthy; but it is absolutely certain that the scribe’s attempt at the Irish place-name, *Inis-coirth*, resulted in “Iscordy.” The Bishop was also granted an annual fair at his manor of Enniscorthy, and at his manor of “Senebald,” or Shanbo [Templeshanbo].

In 1226, Ferns Castle was finished, and Bishop St. John took up his residence therein. A year later, Philip Prendergast was anxious to build a suitable fortress to defend his Duffrey estate, and he accordingly entered into negotiation with Bishop St. John for the purchase of the manor of Enniscorthy. Accordingly, on April 8th, 1227, Bishop St. John, with the consent of the Chapter of Ferns, exchanged the manor of Enniscorthy for six ploughlands for ever, the deed being sealed by the

Bishop and Chapter, and by Philip Prendergast. By the terms of this deed, in 1227, "the said Philip and his wife, Maud de Quincey, were given the manor of Enniscorthy" in exchange for six stated ploughlands, the former inheritance of Philip Prendergast.

Thus, in 1227, and not before, Philip Prendergast acquired Enniscorthy, and the indenture was subsequently enrolled at the request of Sir Henry Wallop on November 4th, 1595 (Egerton mss., Brit. Mus., No. 75). Philip Prendergast, who was summoned as a baron in 1206, 1207, and 1221, fell ill in 1228, and died in the month of August, 1229, being succeeded as Lord of the Manor of Enniscorthy by his son Gerald.

It is in the highest degree improbable that Philip Prendergast could have built the Castle of Enniscorthy between the years 1227 and 1229. Probably he selected the site and laid the foundation stone, but he certainly never built the castle.

We thus arrive at the year 1229, and the passing of the Duffrey lands to Gerald Prendergast. This Gerald, whose first wife was Matilda, sister of Theobald Butler, was summoned by King Henry III. to the Brittany war of 1229, and paid a fine of sixty marks for relief in homage to the king for his Irish estates on September 10th, 1229 (Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 4). During Gerald's absence, his Enniscorthy property was held in custody for him and his brother-in-law. Theobald Butler died July 19th, 1230.

Gerald Prendergast returned to Ireland in October, 1231, and took over his Enniscorthy estates. Almost the first thing he did was to obtain a confirmatory deed of the indenture made to his father regarding the manor of Enniscorthy. This deed of confirmation was signed in October, 1231, and the witnesses included William Prendergast, Milo de Cogan, Richard de Marisco, Ralph de Sumery, Robert Wolf, Peter de Staunton, Richard St. Leger, Reginald, Archdeacon of Ferns, Master W. Forest, Vicar-General (Official) of Ferns, &c.

In 1232, Gerald Prendergast founded the Priory of St. John, near Enniscorthy, for the Canons of St. Victor, as a cell to the great Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin. Not long afterwards he took for his second wife a daughter of Richard de Burgh, Viceroy of Ireland.

Secure in the favour of Church and State, Gerald, Lord of the Manor of Enniscorthy, built the castle between the years 1232 and 1240. Of course, he sided with his father-in-law in the Anglo-Norman internecine feuds against Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was killed in an ambush on the Curragh of Kildare on Saturday, April 1st, 1234. A few months later he took some chattels from Anselm Marshall; but on December 23rd, 1234, the king ordered him to deliver up the chattels and hostages, Marshall being taken into the "king's peace." Gerald received a special letter of thanks from the king in August, 1235, for testifying his loyalty, as appears from the Close Rolls (19 Hen. III., p. 2).

In 1243, Richard de Burgh died *en route* for Gascony ; but his son-in-law returned scatheless. From the Close Rolls we learn that the king wrote a very complimentary letter to Gerald Prendergast on July 7th, 1244, thanking the Lord of Enniscorthy for all his good services. It would seem that Gerald was determined to fight against the Scots in the early summer of 1244 ; but as Alexander, King of Scotland, had made peace with the English monarch, his services were not required. The king therefore wrote, "That he may return to his own country, but that he was to be ready for active service in the following summer."

The date of Enniscorthy Castle may, therefore, be fairly assigned as between the years 1232 and 1240, and the style of architecture confirms the historical facts. It only remains to add that Gerald Prendergast died in August, 1251, leaving two daughters, Maria and Matilda, co-heiresses. Maria married John de Cogan, sometime Lord Justice, who in her right acquired the lands of Belvoir and Douglas, County Cork ; and Matilda married Maurice Rochford, who in her right became Lord of Enniscorthy, the County Wexford lands being valued at £195 8s. 1*d*. This Maurice Rochford was confirmed in the Enniscorthy property on April 20th, 1252, as custodian of the marriage and dower of Gerald Prendergast's daughter, whom he married in January, 1253, and he died in 1258.

After three "restorations," this magnificent castle (which had been leased to Edmund Spenser, the poet, on December 6th, 1581) was almost a ruin in 1898, when it was acquired by Mr. P. J. Roche, J.P., of Woodville, New Ross. During the past two years Enniscorthy Castle has been admirably restored and enlarged by its owner, Mr. Roche, and it is now again inhabited as a residential dwelling.

Miscellanea.

Iniscathay, part of the Diocese of Killaloe.—(Note on Appendix A., p. 126).—There is very strong evidence that Iniscathay, or Scattery, was in the diocese of Killaloe in the fourteenth century. In 1358, Thomas, O. F. M., a Franciscan friar of Nenagh, was appointed Bishop of Iniscathay. Three years later the Bishops of Limerick and Ardfert objected to the revival of this ancient See (Theiner). However, Pope Urban V., in 1363, recognised the claim of Iniscathay, and granted the said Thomas, Bishop of Cathays, an Indulgence, applicable to all penitents who, on certain specified days, visited the *Cathedral Church of Cathay, dedicated to St. Senan*. At this date (1363) the Bishop was in Avignon, at the Papal Court, having gone to get confirmation of his bishopric granted him by Pope Innocent VI. After the death of Thomas, Iniscathay was annexed to Killaloe, but some of its possessions went to Limerick and Ardfert.

On the seventh of the Ides of January, 1390, Pope Boniface IX. issued a mandate to the Abbot of Iniscathay, *in the Diocese of Killaloe*.

On 4 Ides Dec., 1392, Pope Boniface IX. granted an Indulgence towards the repair of "the Church of the Augustinian monastery of St. Mary the Virgin, Iniscathay [Inysgad], *in the Diocese of Killaloe [Laonen].*" ("Calendar of Papal Petitions and Calendars of Papal Registers," Rolls Series.) Thus, at Rome, Iniscathay was regarded as a separate diocese from 1358 to 1370; and when it was no longer an independent See, it was annexed to Killaloe. Anyhow, these two Papal documents of 1390 and 1392 make Iniscathay as in the diocese of Killaloe. This view supports the opinion of the Rev. Sylvester Malone, as given in two papers contributed to this *Journal* in 1874.—WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

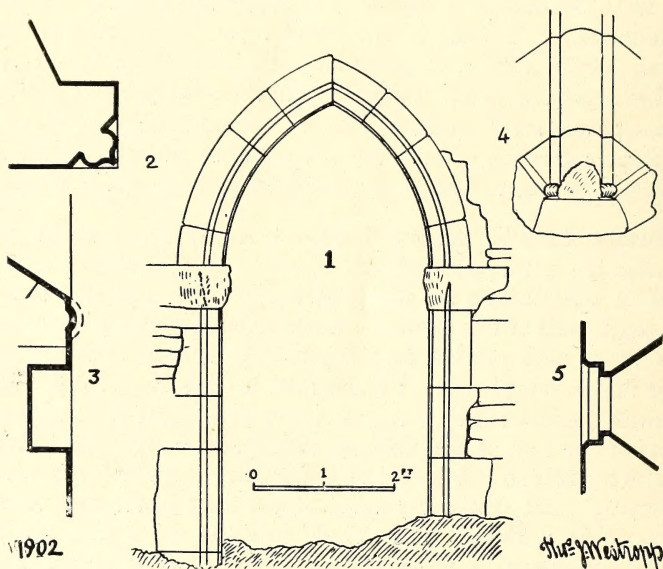
Mr. Flood does not, I think, touch the position for which I contend, viz. that Scattery Island was assigned to Limerick. He accepts the theories published in the *Journal* of 1874, but he does not even attempt to prove (any more than the author of that paper) by palæographic arguments, the forgery of any of (still less all) the very definite records of the Black Book. He relies mainly on documents produced abroad in a case of confessed fraud and misrepresentation. The claims of Thomas, the fraudulent Bishop, were at once exposed by, among others, the Bishop of Limerick; proving that that prelate had tangible interests in Iniscatha. On Mr. Flood's theory the Bishop of Limerick had no interest whatsoever in the matter. This narrows the evidence to a possible claim to, or even a temporary possession of, Iniscatha Island by the See of Killaloe, and in no way touches my contention that Archbishop Usher is right as to its allotment, and that it (the Island) was certainly held by Limerick in 1201, 1290, 1409, and 1419. Mr. Flood entirely ignores documents

of apparently the weightiest character on the other side. In 1201 the Inquisition of Meyler Fitz Henry (found by twenty-four local men of three nations, and similar to an earlier Inquisition found with equal solemnity and local knowledge) states that Iniscathidch belonged to the See of Limerick. He does not explain the connection of Iniscatha with Rathkeale, the See of Limerick, and the county of Kerry, in judicial records ("Plea Rolls," xix. Ed. I.), nor the mention of "Iniscathy, Limericen Dioc.," 1409. Lastly, till he establishes the (entirely unnecessary) forgery of the *Taxatio Procuracionum*, we must receive the statement, in 1418-1422, that the See of Limerick and Deanery of Rathkeale held Iniscatha. "*Ecclesia de Iniscathigh ejus rector, precentor et communitas, Eaglas montin et presentat apud Iniscathigh vicar: et fecit custodem super conventum ibidem.*" Till these independent and concurring testimonies are discredited, I must continue to hold the views based upon them, and refuse to hold the allocation of Iniscatha to the See of Limerick to be a mere figment supported by forgery.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Kiltoola Church, County Clare.—A recent event shows us that legislation has not superseded the necessity for vigilance by local antiquaries in safeguarding our venerable ruins. I was grieved to find the entire south wall of this ancient church levelled to the ground, and the blocks of its neat pointed door dispersed in a heap of stones stacked against the graveyard wall. I found that, in the spring of this year, local authorities (considered by a recent Act of Parliament to be trustworthy curators of our ancient monuments) employed a "boy," on contract, to deal with the ruin, which he did by demolishing one side (even where not overhanging), and destroying some of the most interesting remaining features of the building. The church evidently dates from the earlier part of the thirteenth century, though I find no record earlier than the Papal Taxation of 1302, in which "Kellsuvleg" appears as a parish church. The parish appears to have been merged into, or superseded by, Inchicronan, possibly when the latter monastery was repaired as a parish church by the Earl of Thomond, in 1615. The church of Kiltoola is pleasantly situated not far from the river Fergus and Dromore demesne. It is an oblong building, 47 feet 2 inches long, and 21 feet 9 inches wide. The east window, which had a plain ambry to each side, was once a beautiful example of the simple but finely built and moulded triplet, but its side lights were closed and a clumsy curtailment of the middle light made in the fifteenth century. These opes were 4 feet 6 inches in the splay. I was unable to measure the light hidden by knotted ivy stems. The details are best shown in the drawings. The whole measured 15 feet 2 inches inside. Two windows occurred at 6 feet 7 inches and 15 feet from the east gable; they were thickly ivied, and their splays were 3 feet 8 inches and 4 feet 8 inches, respectively. The splay of the door

¹ The "Custos" of Iniscatha appears in various independent authorities:—MSS., T.C.D., F. 4, 23; the "Red Book of Kilkenny"; and that of 1409, cited by Brady.

was 32 feet, and its jamb 36 feet 4 inches, from the east. It was 37 inches wide, the arch rising 33 inches from the spring. The capitals were defaced, but a neat moulding and beading ran round the jambs and head. The wall was 2 feet thick, and leant outward at the windows. A buttress might have saved it, and, at least, the part with the door might easily have been preserved. This strange "conservation" gives a value to this note, which I took two years ago, none the less that those in the Ordnance Survey Letters are valueless and misleading as to the age and character of the building.



KILTOOLA CHURCH, COUNTY CLARE.

1, 2. South Door (now demolished).

3, 4, 5. East Window.

It is discouraging to find such vandalism possible after all the efforts to raise a more healthy interest in our national antiquities. The fact being so, it calls us to greater efforts to protect, sketch, plan, and describe such ruins while there is yet time to do so.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Bog Butter.—The usual hypothesis that this substance was originally deposited in the peat, either for security, or to impart "a peculiar taste or consistence" (Wilde's "Catalogue," R.I.A.), has always struck me as unsatisfactory, and I was surprised lately by hearing a friend, who has lived many years in India, state that the curious custom prevails in that country of burying "gee," or clarified *butter*, to mark the boundaries of land. My friend informs me that masses of charcoal are also used for the same purpose, and that both substances are often used together. May not our finds of bog butter be primitive land-marks also? and may not this be another link in the evidence which suggests an oriental origin



INSCRIPTION ON THE CAREW CROSS, PEMBROKESHIRE.

ma ϕ 3 1 τ
 ευ τ ρ ε =
 c ε τ . τ . ϕ x

INSCRIPTION ON FETHARD CASTLE STONE.

z ma ϕ 3 1 τ
 1 ευ τ ρ ε z
 ϕ ε τ . τ . ϕ x

INSCRIPTION ON BAGINBUN STONE.

(Black letters copied from Fethard Castle Stone; the added letters and alterations in others are in outline.)

for the ancient races that colonized this country?—W. FALKNER, *Hon. Sec., S. Westmeath.*

The Inscribed Stones at Fethard Castle and Baginbun.—The following analysis of the Baginbun inscription may help to solve an enigma that seems to have baffled the penetration of antiquaries of late years.

The prints of the lettering are photographic reductions from full-size tracings which were carefully made from recent rubbings; therefore the letters, and their positions in relation to one another, may be accepted as correct. On the rubbing from the Fethard Castle stone the first letter (c) on the last line was absent, owing, I was told, to the stone at that spot having perished. The letters as first cut on the Baginbun stone are in black; alterations subsequently made in some of them are left in outline, and the added letters are altogether in outline. Comparing the Baginbun letters in black with those on the other stone, the form of the letters, and the distance between the lines, approximate so closely as to point to the conclusion that this inscription was copied in the first instance from a rubbing of the enlarged one—about double the size of the Carew inscription—previously cut at Fethard Castle.

When his copying was completed and exposed to view, the carver found a slant in his front margin, and a want in the centre at the other side, owing no doubt to his work, as it progressed, being covered up to prevent discovery. To correct these blemishes, he adopted the simple expedient of adding a letter (Z) in front of the first line, and a smaller one (r) before the second, thus squaring the front margin; then, studying the other side, he evidently considered that a similar want on the Castle stone was insufficiently filled by a double hyphen, so he used instead another letter (Z). It is evident these letters were brought in for no other purpose than *to square the general outline of the panel*. Led thus, by accident, and by a feeling for symmetry of outline, to so far alter the appearance of the inscription, it then seems to have occurred to him to change it still farther, and render it as unlike as he could to the other. To accomplish this he proceeded to alter some of the other letters, and to add an inverted x over the first dot, and another letter (r) in the position of the second one, with the result that he produced “the jumble of extraordinary nondescript characters here brought together,” in the expectation, I suspect, that they would prove a rare puzzle to future antiquaries.

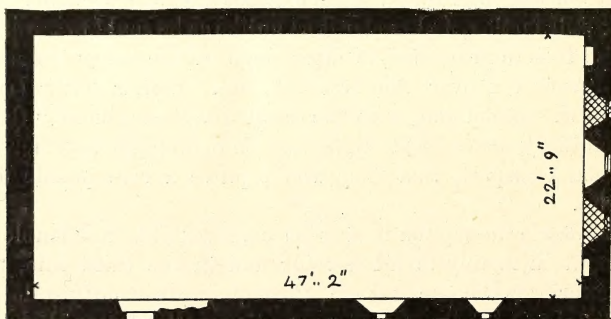
In the Castle inscription it may be observed that the double hyphen was brought in merely to fill a void; and in the third line, that the second letter was the one first cut, through inadvertently following the E immediately above it on the stone; the c (the letter absent on the rubbing) was cut afterwards in front *outside the margin*. The few letters then left, being insufficient in themselves to fill the remainder

of the line, were spread out by dots placed between them, and the line extended unduly to balance the projection of the c at the other end.

I would place the date of both the cutting and the discovery of the Baginbun inscription between 1876 and 1880. Subsequent to 1876, because the antiquaries, who displayed an interest in the Fethard Castle stone by copying or rubbing from it, or by writing of it, between 1863 and 1876, were altogether silent on the existence of an inscription at Baginbun, which in the circumstances would not, I believe, have occurred had they known of one there; and if Mr. du Noyer, or the Rev. James Graves—the latter an occasional summer visitor at Fethard—did not know of one, I feel quite satisfied there was nothing of the kind to be found there. I place the date prior to 1880, because in that year I first heard of it, and I recollect its being then spoken of as if only recently brought to light.

The manner of its *bringing*, as pictured by Mr. Orpen for his earlier date—"attention was drawn" to it, and when "cleared of earth and grass, and cleaned," the beholder was "impressed with its resemblance to the Carew inscription"—is exactly what would happen after it had lain covered up with earth and grass, sufficiently long to remove the newly-cut appearance from the lettering, and render it ripe for *discovery*!

As to "its resemblance to the Carew inscription," I am of opinion that with five added letters, and with the majority of the others quite *dissimilar* to those at Carew, its general appearance would not suggest such a resemblance, unless to one who was very familiar with the Castle lettering, that formed, as I have shown, the actual foundation of the Baginbun inscription. Mr. Orpen remarks that in the minute points in which the Fethard stone differs from the Carew stone, "the difference increases the resemblance of the former to the Baginbun stone." In other words, the letters as first cut on the Baginbun stone, *that were not altered*, retain their likeness to the letters they were copied from.—W. H. LYNN, Architect.



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1902

KILLOOLA CHURCH, COUNTY CLARE—PLAN. (See p. 386.)

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—The works marked thus (*) are by Members of the Society.]

* *The Celtic Trews.* By David MacRitchie. (*Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1904.)

THE companions of this paper, while sufficiently interesting and varied, dealing in space from the "ballads" of Denmark to "the Scottish ancestors of President Roosevelt," and in time from "the mediæval stage" to "Scottish industrial undertakings before the Union," do not call for as much mention in an Irish journal as the paper of Mr. MacRitchie. "Habit maketh the man," and may well be his "proper study," though why the ancient and decent garments—nay, if the "Breeches Bible" translate correctly, the oldest garments of the human race—should have been declared unfit for polite discourse, is hard to say. Kilt and tunic and trunk hose have all been dealt with; then why not the more ample, if less picturesque, trews and their modern derivatives, even though a proverb denies them to the Highlander?

The trews adorned the Celtic race of Western Europe when, 2,000 years ago, they appeared before the astonished eyes of the Mediterranean races. "The costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined, in some cases, by a belt, with trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch."

Varro and Diodorus vividly describe the tartan, with its various colours, red predominating, in "little squares and lines." Pliny notes that the "French inhabiting beyond the Alps" could counterfeit even the Tyrian purple with floral dyes (*Hist. Nat.* xxii. 1).

"Transalpinus" meant "a man wearing trousers," and even ordinary schoolboys will remember the Gaul's "braccata" and "togata"—what the Elizabethan writers would render "the wild" and "the civil." History records the "tempest of provocation" raised by a Roman emperor wearing the garb of old Gaul. The Romans sneered at the Druids as "the long-trousered philosophers." The Celtic ladies, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, wore—not metaphorically—the rational dress of their lords.

Leaving the "classical times," the author (passing over such varieties of knickerbocker and trousers as Irish Art—even in the "Book of Kells"—might have supplied) comes at once to the dress of the Highland clans in the last four centuries.

¹ Elton's "Origins of English History" (2nd Ed.), London, pp. 110–111.

This is first illustrated in a German print of "a fierce mountain Scot" in 1767—one of a pack of cards printed in Nürnberg the Ancient. It shows the tartan trews, and is convincingly "fierce," if not minutely accurate in detail. However, we find in August, 1538, a description of James V. clad in "Highland tartan hose" of three ells, at 4s. 4d. an ell. In 1639 the Scotch cavaliers entered England. They are described by Defoe (probably on authentic information) "as like a regiment of Merry-Andrews," and Mr. MacRitchie suggests that the harlequin's dress is a survival of the close-fitting trews and coat of a Celtic juggler. In 1723 Macky gives a description of Highland gentlemen at the fair of Crieff "in their slashd short waistcoats, a trousing (which is breeches and stockings of one piece)." The common men "spake all Irish—an unintelligible language to the English." The paper finishes with a note from "Les Celtes," by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, regarding the use of trousers by the Gauls in the third century before Christ. He asserts that the Gauls derived them from the Germans, they from the Scythians, and the last from the Iranians of Persia. He also derives the Gaelic "triubhas" from old French "trebus," Low Latin "tubrucus," *i.e.* u-brucus, or high-breeches. Shakespere speaks of the "straight trossers" of the kernes of Ireland (Henry V., Act III., Sc. 7). We could have wished a little more study as to Irish side-lights, but welcome the paper as a contribution of no little interest on Celtic costume.

* *Studies in Early Irish History* (from the "Proceedings" of the British Academy, vol. i.). By Professor John Rhys.

PROFESSOR RHYS contributes a valuable Paper to the first volume of the "Proceedings" of the British Academy. It was originally intended as an account of the famous bilingual stone at Killeen Cormac, near Colbins-town; but having found what he takes to be a form of the ancient name of Ireland in the Roman inscription, the Professor proceeds to deal fully with it and other kindred forms of the name, and gives us incidentally an ethnographic sketch of early Ireland, all of which is extremely interesting and useful, whether or not we are satisfied with his reading and interpretation of the stone. Many of the positions have, no doubt, been taken by him before; but here some important modifications and additions are made, and the foundations are more amply secured.

As to the stone, it was Father Shearman who, in 1860, first saw the Roman epigraph. He read it IV VERE DEVIDES, and translated it "Four true Druids." Unfortunately he at once jumped to the conclusion that he was looking at the tombstone of Dubthach maccu Lugair, and he

saw in the four true druids Dubthach and his three sons. This view he afterwards supported with a great deal of learning, but it seems clear that he was biassed by his pre-conceived idea. He identified the district as that of the Ui Cormaic, probably rightly. He took Killeen Cormac to stand for *Cill Fine Cormaic*, which seems a needless analysis, except that he later on tried to identify the church supposed to have stood there with the Palladian church called Cill Fine. He found that the Ui Lugair, to whom Dubthach belonged, were a sub-tribe of the Ui Cormaic, and he supposed that Killinulugair, a church (or place) mentioned in certain twelfth-century documents as belonging to Glendalough, was another name for Killeen Cormac. Lastly, he found a reference in the Lebar Brecc to the burial of Dubthach and his three sons in *dinlatha ceneoil Lugair*, which he translates, "at the marshes of Cinel Lugair." (See his "Loca Patriciana," printed in the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of our *Journal*.) This reference, however, Professor Rhys shows, by comparison with the corresponding passage in the Book of Leinster, to be mistranslated. There the word *dinlatha* appears as *dind flatha*. Similar variants in spelling, we may add, will be found in the two MSS. of the Prologue of the "Calendar of Oengus," l. 155, as printed by Dr. Whitley Stokes.

Professor Rhys accordingly translates the phrase "in the *dinn* (or fortified height) of the ruling family of the race of Lugar"—a description which, he says, can hardly refer to a church. The correction is, however, not very important, as it is quite doubtful whether there ever was a church at Killeen Cormac. We might just as well suppose the mound to have been originally a fortified place, which, if given up to burial, might have long since lost all trace of fortification. More fatal to Father Shearman's conjecture is the fact that his reading of the Ogam inscription cannot be maintained. He read it *Duftano Safei Sahattos*, which, with the help of Dr. Stokes, he translated "(Stone of) Duftan, the wise Sage." Unfortunately, there seems to be no doubt that the scores which he took to represent the *D* and the *t* of Duftan were no part of the original inscription, and they have consequently been ignored by Brash and later epigraphists. Professor Rhys's reading, in which he has been closely followed by Mr. Macalister, is *Ovanos Avi Ivacattos*, i.e. (the monument) of Ovanus, descendant of Ivacattus.

The Roman epigraph is, however, the more important. There is some doubt whether it should be read *IVVENE DRVIDES* or *IVVERE DRVIDES*. Mr. Macalister preferred the former, and ingeniously suggested an equation with the *Uvan*, as he read it, of the Ogam; but Professor Rhys is almost certainly right in returning to the reading *IVVERE*, the top of the *R* having flaked off. The Professor, with some doubt, takes *druvides* as a genitive singular, and the whole as equivalent to *Iverae Druidis*; and this he understands to mean "of the Druid of Ireland," and to refer to the man mentioned in the Ogam.

But was *Ivvera* a name by which Ireland was known? In the first place, Professor Rhys sees in it the native name which gave rise to *Insula Sacra*, by which, according to Avienus, a writer of the fourth century, Ireland was known to the ancients. M. Gaidoz had already asked, "What more natural than that a Greek writer, thinking he had found the abode of the blessed in this ocean-isle of which only the name was known, should have turned 'Ιέρην, or 'Ιερνὶς νῆσος, into 'Ιερὰ νῆσος?" Professor Rhys replies, "There was something even more natural than this, namely, that *Ivvera* should become 'Ιέρα and then 'Ιερά, just as *Ivverna* has corresponding to it in Greek 'Ιέρην." This certainly gives a better foundation to the ingenious conjecture of M. Gaidoz. Ireland, it appears, must henceforth be satisfied with being the *Insula Sanctorum* of early Christian times, and must give up all claims to pre-Christian sanctity.

Incited, perhaps rashly, by these brilliant conjectures, the present writer feels inclined to push the matter further. Carnsore Point was known to Ptolemy as 'Ιερὸν ἄκρον, the Sacred Promontory, a name always rather puzzling, and now that the *Insula Sacra* is gone, more puzzling than ever. May we not suppose that it, too, the first point in Ireland which traders from Gaul or South Britain would sight, originally received a name merely meaning "the Irish Head," and that its actual form is due to the same process which transmuted *Ivvera* into 'Ιερά? With reference to this promontory, Camden says: "I don't question but it was called to the same sense (i.e., sacred) by the inhabitants. For the last town in it, where the English landed when they first invaded this island, is called in Irish Banna, which signifies 'holy.'" Camden, no doubt, was told of the word beannuighe, meaning 'blessed,' or 'holy'; but, unfortunately for the argument and the dignity of the place, the Irish name for Bannow Bay (the place intended) is Cuan an Ōainb = the 'Harbour of the Pig,' a name attested by Keating. (See the first volume of our *Journal*, p. 191.) This leads to a further conjecture, which we shall offer for Professor Rhys's consideration. Later on in his Paper, in dealing with the triple division of Ireland suggested by the three queens of the Tuatha Dé Danann, namely, Ériu, Fodla, and Banba, he naturally associates Ériu, with the Érna, or Ivernians, of Munster, Fodla with the Ulaid and their ancestor, Ollam Fodla, in ancient Ulster, while the intermediate country is left for Banba. Her name should mean 'the Boar Lady,' or 'Boar Goddess.' This suggests to Professor Rhys that Banba's people may have been an offshoot from the Aestii, a Celtic-speaking people, located somewhere in the fens and islands between the Rhine and the Elbe, and described by Tacitus as "wearing as a religious symbol the device of a wild boar." With the aid of the Welsh story of Kulhwch and Olwen, he is able to locate the Boars at a place called Esgeir Oerfel, somewhere in Leinster, whence they crossed to Porth Clais, near St. David's, to fight against King Arthur. "This," he says, "makes for the

association of Banba with Leinster." Now our suggestion is that Bannow, Cuan an Óamb = 'the Boar's Haven,' got its name from these people of the boar-totem. It is about the nearest port in Ireland to the coast of Dyfed, and it is the place where some untold centuries afterwards the men of Dyfed under their Cambro-Norman leaders came to take a more than ample revenge. It is further worth noticing that on the coast, about five or six miles to the east of Bannow, is the parish of Kilturk, anciently called Kenturk (see *Journal*, vol. iii., p. 218), Cenn Tuipc = 'the Boar's Head'—a name by which we suspect Crossfarnoge Point was designated in pre-Christian times; and that in the same district is the townland of Ballyseskin, Baile pepcinn = 'the Town of the Marsh'—a name which recalls Sescenn Uairbeóil, with which Esgeir Oerfel has been identified by Professor Kuno Meyer. We may be unduly prejudiced in favour of our own little *bonneens*, but these curious names in the precise place indicated seem a strong confirmation of Professor Rhys's location of Banba and her boars.

To return to *IVERA*.—A discussion of this name leads Professor Rhys to a very full analysis of all related names of Ireland, or of Irish peoples, and their assumed forerunners. The general conclusion is reached that the basis of the geographical names was usually some form or other of the ethnic names, as in the well-known case of Scotia, so named from the Scotti. The name *Iberi* for Goidels is attested in two letters of Columbanus. The Goidelic singular would be *Ivera-s*, Brythonic *Ivero-s*, with the genitive and plural *Iveri*, common at an early date to both. This name is then considered in relation to the eponymous ancestors in the Milesian pedigree, and is found to yield *Iar*, with a genitive *Hir*, or *Ír*, used also as nominative, and then becoming indeclinable. Then *Iar* was provided with a new genitive, *Iair*, or *Ier*.

This analysis of the name seems to explain all the forms which at first sight are very confusing; but further, the bifurcation of the name had a curious influence on the pedigrees, and we find *Iar* or *Hír*, son of *Ith*, uncle of *Mílid*, eponymous ancestor of the *Érna* of Munster, and *Hír*, or *Ír*, son of *Mílid*, ancestor of the *Fír Ulaid*, or original inhabitants of Ulster. But Professor Rhys regards both peoples as pre-Celtic, and presumably of the same race, and there are indications in the legend that at one time they were regarded as descendants of one undivided ancestor, and that they (along with their ancestor) were cut in two by the incoming Goidels.

Finally, this ethnic name *Ivera-s*, plural *Iveri*, underlying the *Iberi* of Columbanus, is shown to be the key to the whole group of allied names; not only to the geographical name *Ivera*, or *Ivera*, underlying the *Íepá* of Avienus, and the *Ípav* (perhaps *Íepav*) of Diodorus, and found on the Killeen Cormac Ogam, but through adjectival forms to the Welsh *Merweryd* = Mare Hibernicum, the *Érna* of Munster, the kindred names on Ptolemy's map, and, not to mention latinized and other forms, lastly

through a derivative to *Ériu* itself. Why this primitive ethnic name is not better attested is a problem not fully solved. But the suggestion is made that the name was, perhaps, avoided owing to its evident liability to be confused with *Iberus*, meaning an Iberian of Spain, with which, after all, it may have had a common origin.

We cannot follow Professor Rhys in his geographical distribution of the early inhabitants of Ireland, and its connexion with ethnology and the pedigrees. We might question his location of Ptolemy's Manapia at Arklow, rather than at Wexford; but we have said enough to show the great importance and interest of this Paper, and we have only space for one further remark.

As the scientific naturalist can reconstruct an extinct animal from a tooth, or a single bone, so the trained philologist can arrive at far-reaching conclusions from seemingly very slight data. Thus, from the fact that *Ivvera* is spelled with a double *v* (a fact paralleled by other ogamic forms), coupled with the fact that Juvenal and Pomponius Mela both use an intervocalic *vv* in *Iuuerna*, their name for Ireland, Professor Rhys incidentally reaches the conclusion that the Goidels practised writing of some kind or other as early, at any rate, as the first century. If the remaining premiss is sound—viz., that the spelling could not have been indicated to a Roman by the pronunciation, whatever exactly it was, but that the sound would have been represented by a single *v* or (later) *b*—the conclusion would seem to follow that the form must have come from “an educated Goidel . . . as the spelling which he had been taught, and for which the pronunciation of his language supplied the reason then, or at some previous time.” This conclusion has an important bearing upon other problems than that of Juvenal's spelling.

Proceedings.

A GENERAL MEETING of the 56th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 25th of October, 1904, at 8 o'clock, p.m.:

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Fellows and Members attended:—

Vice-Presidents.—William C. Stubbs, M.A.; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Hon. General Secretary.—Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., F.S.A.

Fellows.—H. F. Berry, M.A., I.S.O.; John Cooke, M.A.; R. S. Longworth Dames, M.R.I.A.; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A.; Richard Langrishe, J.P.; William R. J. Molloy, J.P., M.R.I.A.; John Robert O'Connell, M.A., LL.D.; P. J. O'Reilly; Andrew Robinson, C.E.

Members.—Arthur W. Beatty; Mrs. S. Bewley; Samuel Bewley; Rev. T. R. Brunskill, M.A.; Joseph S. Carter, Solicitor; Mrs. Gould; P. J. Griffith; Rev. Canon Healy, LL.D.; Miss Anna M. Joly; Richard Lane Joynt, M.D.; Richard J. Kelly, B.L., J.P.; Edwin Lloyd, Solicitor; Mrs. Long; Rev. Dr. Lucas; J. Gibson Moore, J.P.; Joseph H. Moore, M.A.; Bartholomew O'Hennessey; J. E. Palmer; Thomas Paterson; Miss A. Peter; Miss E. M. Pim; Miss Ida Pim; Hugh Pollock; Miss Powell; W. Johnson Roberts, Solicitor; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; Rev. H. Stewart, M.A.; Rev. Canon J. H. Walsh, D.D.; Richard D. Walshe, J.P.; C. J. Wilson.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates were elected:—

AS FELLOW.

Thorp, John Thomas, LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S., 57, Regent-road, Leicester: proposed by Charles F. Forshaw, LL.D., *Fellow*.

AS MEMBERS.

Blake, Martin J., 13, Old-square, Lincoln's Inn, London: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

Boedicker, Dr., Birr Castle Observatory, Birr, King's County: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Brady, Sir Francis William, Bart., 26, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *President*.

Doherty, E. E. B., Oaklands, Bandon: proposed by O'Donovan, D.L., *Fellow*.

Doran, A. L., 1, Goldsmith-terrace, Bray: proposed by John Cooke, *Fellow*.

Guinness, Henry Seymour, Eversham, Stillorgan, County Dublin: proposed by Howard R. Guinness.

Joyce, Mrs. Frank, Issercleran, Craughwell, County Galway: proposed by His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, *Vice-President*.

Lloyd, Edwin M., Solicitor, 4, Lower Ormond-quay; and Donore-terrace, South Circular-road, Dublin: proposed by P. J. Griffith.

M'Cracken, George, Solicitor, Martello, Bangor, County Down: proposed by John Wilson Montgomery.

Meehan, Rev. J. W., B.D., B.C.L., Professor, St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, County Galway: proposed by Thomas B. Costello, M.D.

Minchin, Mrs. Edith Margaret, Boskell, Cahirconlish, County Limerick: proposed by Thomas Hayes, County Inspector, R. I. C.

Oakden, Charles H., 30, Shortlands Gardens, Shortlands, Kent: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

O'Ryan, Rev. T. W., c.c., Presbytery, Inchicore: proposed by George Duncan.

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

“Irish Motes and Early Norman Castles” (concluding notes), by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., *Vice-President*. (Illustrated with lantern slides.)

The President exhibited and described the Brass Weights of “The Standard of Ireland,” 1683, &c., “according to authority.”

The following communication was received from the Superintendent of the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland):—

“AMIENS STREET TERMINUS, DUBLIN.

“REDUCED FARES TO MEMBERS OF ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

“DEAR SIR,

“With reference to the present arrangement under which Members of above travelling to attend Meetings of the Society are conveyed at single fare for the double journey, I beg to say that in future, in accordance with a recent Rule made by the Irish Railway Managers, the charge will be single fare and a quarter for the double journey; and I shall be obliged if you will have the Vouchers amended accordingly.

“Yours truly,

“R. J. MOORE.

“To ROBERT COCHRANE, Esq.,

“Hon. Gen. Sec.”

The Society adjourned until Tuesday, the 29th of November, 1904.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, St. Stephen's-green, on Tuesday, November 29th, 1904, at 8 o'clock, p.m. (the President, JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, Esq., D.L., in the Chair), when the following Papers were read, and Exhibits described :—

“The Battle of Dundonnell, Bag-in-bun, A.D. 1170,” by Goddard H. Orpen, B.L., B.A. (Illustrated with lantern slides.)

“Some Greek Inscriptions in Ireland,” by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *President*. (Illustrated with lantern slides.)

The following Paper was taken as read :—

“Sheriffs of the County Cork, Henry III. to 1660,” by Henry F. Berry, I.S.O., M.A., M.R.I.A.

The above Papers were referred to the Council for publication.

EXHIBITS.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. GARSTIN).—Seal of “The Treasury of Ireland,” said to have been that of the last Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

Additional Coin-weights of the “Standard of Ireland,” 1683, &c.

MR. P. HANRATTY (Castleconnell).—A Socketed Bronze Celt, found near Gorey, County Wexford, and some Irish Silver Coins.

The Society adjourned until Tuesday, the 31st of January, 1905.

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